

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS.

THE
ACTS AND MONUMENTS
OF THE CHURCH.

BY
JOHN FOX.

A NEW EDITION,

EDITED BY THE REV. JOHN CUMMING, D.D.

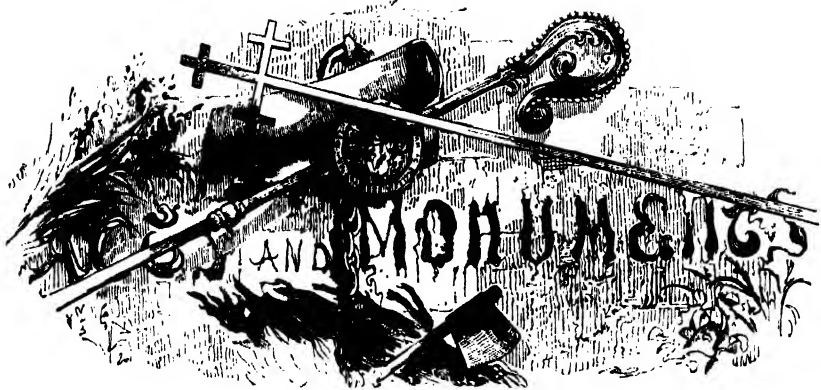


IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. III.

London:
CHATTO AND WINDUS, PICCADILLY.
1875.

" had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment : they were they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword : they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented ; of whom the world was not worthy."—HEB. xi. 36—38.

" their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies."—COWPER.

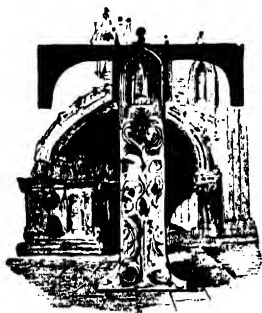


THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

WHEREIN

IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS, WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GOOD MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.

The story, life, and martyrdom of Master John Rogers.



HE fourth of February suffered the constant martyr of God, Master John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and suffering, here followeth in order set forth.

And first touching his life and bringing up.

John Rogers, brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at length was chosen and called by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant, whom he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, who both, for the hatred they bare to popish super-

stition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, The Translation of Thomas Mathewe. He, knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant, King Edward the Sixth, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then,

being orderly called, having both a conscience, and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Paul; and the dean and the chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity-lesson there; wherein he diligently travailed, until such time as Queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with his idolatry and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he, being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council, being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer; and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keep his own house; and so he did; although by flying, he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the recovery of religion in England, for that present, desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a great space; during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing; which God would not to be lost,

but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

The examination and answer of John Rogers, made to the lord chancellor, and to the rest of the council, the twenty-second of January, A. D. 1555.

First the lord chancellor said unto me thus: "Sir, ye have heard the state of the realm, in which it standeth now."

Rogers.—"No, my Lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded."

Then said the lord chancellor, "General things, general things," mockingly. "Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such a unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they (of which there are eightscore in one house, said one that was by, whose name I know not) have, with one assent and consent, received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye? Are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England. Will ye do that?"

Rogers.—"The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from."

L. Chan.—"Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head."

Rogers.—"I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ."

L. Chan.—"Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the Eighth to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?"

Rogers.—"I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God."

L. Chan. &c.—"Yea," said the lord chancellor, and Tonsal, bishop of Durham, and N****, bishop of Worcester, "if thou hadst said so in his days"—and they nodded the head at me with a laughter—

"thou hadst not been alive now." Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor, also, said to the Lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the lord chancellor said, "What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rogers.—"My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, &c., (as is before said,) seeing you, and all the bishops of the realm, have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long ago condescended unto it." And there he interrupted me thus:

L. Chan.—"Tush! that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome."

Rogers.—"With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way, with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?"

L. Chan.—"I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto: whereas, in this parliament, it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Here my Lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant; unto whom I answered: "My Lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my Lord, by more or lesser part: but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him: "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee."—And so there were indeed ten persons more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called: of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them;

and nine were contrary, which all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus: Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him? and he answering yea, was so discharged by the friendship of my Lord William Howard, as I have understood.—He bade me tell him what I would do: whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not? "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c., and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing."

L. Chan.—"Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee."

Rogers.—"I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me, to confer by writing and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past: and will ye now, without collation, have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded."

L. Chan.—"If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such a one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment."

Rogers.—"My Lord, I deny that I am a heretic: prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text."—But still the lord chancellor played on one string, saying:

L. Chan.—"If thou wilt enter into our church with us, &c., tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now."

Rogers.—"I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head."

Worcester.—"Why! do ye not know what is in your creed: 'I believe the holy catholic church?'"

Rogers.—"I find not the bishop of Rome there. For 'catholic' signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan.—"Show me one of them; one, let me hear one!"

I remembered myself, that amongst so many I were best to show one, and said, "I will show you one."

L. Chan.—"Let me hear that; let me hear that."

Rogers.—"The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against 1 Cor. xiv."

L. Chan.—"I deny that; I deny that it is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that. How prove you that?"

Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter: "To speak with tongue," said I, "is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c., and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue; wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God" (meaning God only at the most). This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

L. Chan.—"Well, then it is in vain unto men."

Rogers.—"No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

L. Chan.—"Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but into the wind."

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree, (for they must agree; they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paul,) as to wit, "to speak not to men, but unto God," and, "to speak into the wind," and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun; but here arose a noise and a confusion.—Then said the lord chancellor:

L. Chan.—"To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible."

Rogers.—"I will prove them possible."

"No," said my Lord William Howard to my Lord Chancellor. "Now will I bear you witness, that he is out of the way; for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto

God—and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man."

Rogers.—"I have not granted nor said," turning me to my Lord Howard, "as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter."

Lord Howard.—"I understand so much, that that is not possible."

"This is a point of sophistry," quoth Secretary Bourn.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the Lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Halle, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester.—"Yea, and at Wittenberg too."

Rogers.—"Yea," but I could not be heard for the noise, "in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin."—And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my Lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but, perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another: "Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but to let them alone, and commit the matter to God."—Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. Chan.—"No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor."

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Worcester.—"But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that."

Rogers.—"I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures."—And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to

hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor bade to prison with me again: "And away, away," said he; "we have more to talk withal:" If I would not be reformed (so he termed it) "away, away!" Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood in a window by, said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that."

Rogers.—"Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes;"—lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the queen's Majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c. I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her Grace, and all their Honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spake at once.—"No," quoth they then, a great sort of them, and specially Secretary Bourn: "A married priest, and have not offended the law!"

Rogers.—"I said I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful."

Divers at once.—"Where was that?" said they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers.—"In Dutche land. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying, that I was come too soon with such a sort; I should find a sore coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said, (I could not well perceive who,) that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

I said, "The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man;" and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

Rogers.—I said, yes, that I could tell where it was;—but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand; but at this present I was informed that I should to-morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true imps of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death; and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all, in us all; which is the very property of a head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do): and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the most jeopardy of the battle; but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and, at this present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly, desire and beseech you all to pray: and also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children; whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation—the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, Amen.

The twenty-seventh day of January, at night.

The second confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made, (if it might have been heard,) the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth day of January, 1555.

"First, being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and the whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament, (in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic Church of Rome,) and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors:—I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant; but now, I understand that it was a

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The twenty-seventh day of January, at night.

The second confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made, (if it might have been heard,) the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth day of January, 1555.

"First, being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and the whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament, (in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic Church of Rome,) and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors:—I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant; but now, I understand that it was a

mercy of the antichristian Church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the rising which he spake of, was a very fall into error and false doctrine. Also, that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not, to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. 'Should,' quoth he, 'when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one or any private person have authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.'

"I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could, rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the lord chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogance, pride, and vain-glory.—I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogance, and vain-glory was. It was a poor pride, that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

"Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of antichrist; and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, that the queen's Majesty (God save her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I, ever believe it.

"Then said Dr. Aldrich, the bishop of Carlisle, that they (the bishops) would bear him witness. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'that I believe well:' and with that the people laughed; for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants in a manner: yea, and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then Master Comptroller and Secretary Bourn would have stood up also, to bear witness, and did.

"I said, it was no great matter: and, to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves; but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me; yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

"Then, after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament; and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great sort new men, of whom I knew few)—whether I believed in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

"I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler; and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. 'Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand 'really and substantially' to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament.' And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: 'My Lord,' quoth I, 'ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to feed; and I had never a penny of my livings—which was against the law.'

"He answered, that Dr. Ridley which had given them me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

"'Was the king, then, a usurper,' quoth I, 'which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?'

"'Yea,' quoth he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also:—'But yet I do misuse my terms,' quoth he, 'to call the king usurper.' But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

"I asked him, wherefore he put me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen.

"I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and

thereupon would set my life. 'I preached,' quoth I, 'a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience; which was not small.' I alleged also, that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

"'Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after,' quoth he, 'against the commandment of the council.'

"'That did I not,' quoth I; 'let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.'

"I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, so long until they may catch them in their laws; and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which, by a crafty devised law, was cast into the lions' den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house.

"Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold also, that worthy man who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my Lord Chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

"This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the twenty-eighth day of January at afternoon, after that Master Hooper had been the first, and Master Cardmaker the second, in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end; and in the end, Amen, sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of

God! Amen, Amen! let every true Christian say and pray.

"Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me, (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand,—as to wit, the same that the fox doth with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs,) and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calleth his antichristian false church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

"I said, that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into *his* church would I, by God's grace, never come.

"'Well,' quoth he, 'then is our church false and antichristian?'

"'Yea,' quoth I.

"'And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?'

"'False,' quoth I;—and cast my hands abroad.

"Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock.

"'Come again,' quoth the lord chancellor, 'to-morrow between nine and ten.'

"'I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call,' quoth I.

"And thus was I brought up by the sheriffs to the compters in Southwark, Master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets. (Thus much was done the twenty-eighth day of January.)

"The second day, which was the twenty-ninth of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the compters in Southwark to the church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Overy's, where we were the day before in the afternoon, as is said. And when Master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then my lord chancellor said unto me:

"'Rogers,' quoth he, 'here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined; whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.'

"'My Lord,' quoth I, 'I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and, that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.'

"'When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scripture and authority of the first,

best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing, (meaning not only of the primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached,) ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not, to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet, my Lord,' quoth I, 'I am able to show examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterward, hath, by the word of God, declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples,' said I, 'I am able to show two. I can also show the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic, to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

" 'Item, I could show,' said I, 'the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitane, who saith, that unto a simple layman, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ—albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly, and without respect of fear and favour, agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of—specially seeing the like had been permitted in that old church, even in general councils; yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For,' said I, 'if Henry the Eighth were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive,) then will ye, (pointing to my Lord Chancellor,) and ye, and ye, and so ye all, (pointing to the rest of the bishops,) say, Amen: yea, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.'

" Here my Lord Chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down mockingly, saying that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

" 'My Lord,' quoth I, 'I stand, and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?'

" 'Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate?' quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant, proud fashion; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no, not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, bring God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

L. Chan.—'See what a spirit this fellow hath,' said he; 'finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.'

Rogers.—'I have a true spirit,' quoth I, 'agreeing and obeying the word of God:' and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my Master Christ's matters; but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his Church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, that are now in England, are the chief members): 'Of laws I mean,' quoth I, 'and not of all men and women which are in the pope's church.' Likewise when I was said to have denied their sacrament, (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution; more for his own and his popish generations' sake, than for religion or God's sake,) I told him after what order I did speak of it (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the twenty-eighth of January); wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he lusted; for the most of them were of his own servants at that day (the twenty-ninth of January, I mean). At the last I said, 'I will never deny that I said; that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.'

"To be short, he read my condemnation before me particularly, mentioning therein but two articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of antichrist, and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity; and so he gave me over into the sheriffs' hands, which were much better than his."

The copy of this his condemnation here, I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory, through the whole story to be referred unto.

The sentence condemnatory against Master Rogers.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee John Rogers, priest alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes: because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these: That the catholic Church of Rome is the church of antichrist: item, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ: the which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare, the same: we therefore, Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful law-

yers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, (the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew,) through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness, (which, through manifold ways, thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy,) to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine, and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended, the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm, and believe the same; and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: we therefore, I say—albeit, following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church: notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee; nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions—we therefore, (Stephen, the bishop aforesaid,) not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy, (which we are greatly afraid of,) with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate, impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be

done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated; but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid!"

"After this sentence being read, he sent us (Master Hooper I mean, and me) to the clink, there to remain till night: and when it was dark, they carried us, (Master Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other,) with bills and weapons enow, out of the clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's churchyard; and so into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate, through the city.

"But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse; and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was, to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing: for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

"Well my Lord,' quoth I, 'here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked there-for. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.'

"What is that?' quoth he.

"That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do.'

"No,' quoth he, 'she is not thy wife.'

"Yes, my Lord,' quoth I, 'and hath been these eighteen years.'

"Should I grant her to be thy wife?' quoth he.

"Choose you,' quoth I: 'whether ye will or not, she shall be so nevertheless.'

"She shall not come at thee,' quoth he.

"Then I have tired out all your charity,' said I. 'You make yourself highly displeased with the

matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whoredom; as in Wales,' quoth I, 'where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to do the like.' Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last."

Other good matter there is besides, penned by Master Rogers in the prison, which he thought and would have answered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be seen by his own setting down.

"Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said. Now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched: the one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me: the other was to prove that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

"And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this manner I purposed to have proceeded:—

"It is not unknown to you, that King Henry the Eighth, in his time, made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard; he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome; he pulled down abbeyes: and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

"King Edward the Sixth, in his time, made lawful the marriage of priests; turned the service into English; abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery; set up the holy communion: and all by consent of parliament.

"The queen that now is hath repealed the act that made her bastard; hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority: beginneth to set up abbeyes again; hath made the marriage of priests unlawful; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath set up the mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

"If the acts of parliament, made in King Henry's time and in King Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken

and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

"If your acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coined, (I call them yours, because ye only bear the swinge—devise, and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow,) be good, and according to God's word, then the former acts were naught; which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary. —If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will do to the world's end, in your book *De vera Obedientia*, where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be a usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England?

"Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

"In King Edward's days the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queen that now is came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also contrary to their own consciences: so great is your cruelty.

"For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom, (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over,) ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that what ye could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for, if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

"And as it is most true, that acts of parliament have, in these latter days, been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole parliament house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted, that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and, like men-pleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in one year, they would ever be

ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry; and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they would forego lust or living, for God or for religion.

"King Henry by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by God's word Christ to be head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

"King Edward also, by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion: the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching; and all they by practising confirmed the same.

"Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty, like wavering weathercocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, 'Come again, come again to the catholic church;' meaning the antichristian Church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

"Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scantily can stand a year in strength? or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

"Ye charge the gospel preachers with the undoing of this realm: nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set to sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be true doctrine, in King Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

"Therefore, to conclude that which I purposed, forasmuch as the acts of parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to God's most manifest word—as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass,

the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage, (which St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils,) with many such others: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive and best church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in Acts v., where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and Pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandments to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us. Notwithstanding, when they were charged therewithal, they answered, We ought more to obey God than man: even so we may, and do answer you—God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.

“The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips: yet when ye have done that which God's hand and counsel hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his Holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it. And whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure that God's word will prevail, and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust. And that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against, of all such as fear God and love his truth.

“And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

“Now touching the second point: That whereas my Lord Chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto a unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purposed to have said:

“Secondly, my Lord, whereas ye yesterday so

highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent King Edward's days, it may please your Lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil governance in many things, specially their covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospel; as also their negligence to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This can all London testify with us.—I would also have told him, what I myself, for my part, did once at Paul's Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeyes, and other church goods: and I am assured right well, that never a papist of them all, did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord there-for: I was also, as is well known, fain to answer there-for before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like, so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

“But, my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so infest against them, it is neither any just nor public cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

“But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will, with your governance, bring England out of God's blessing into a warm sun. I pray God, you do not.

“I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

“And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, (for so you report and brag openly of yourself,) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answer thus: God's works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss

of God's wonderful works, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness: 'He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof.'

"This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies' hands, to kill, slay, burn, &c.: that is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet doth God use this order, and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extreme madness.

"Can the world show a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon, or why he put that most holy man, John Baptist, into the hands of Herod's son to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly, without open judgment, most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod? Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thralldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Judah and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No verily, but his true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly show, if I had time.

"But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods' services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: the contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians' hands. And all the others (the Herods and Pharaoh, I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary; and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is

now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

"They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather. The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea, Christ and the apostles, did teach: of which none taught any thing of our adversaries' doctrine; namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be the head of Christ's church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, especially Paul, John, and Daniel; which thing, if I might have life and books, I would so (by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it: and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they, in their days, were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world; for unto John Baptist it was said, Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet? &c.—as who should say, Thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church; for we be in ordinary possession of the church; and of us thou hast received no such power: we abide by our circumcision. And the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that were all condemned as heretics, and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas heard like words of the Philippians: These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by St. Paul, *Quid vult spermo-logus hic dicere?* What will this prater, (as my Lord Chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate,—when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written,) trifler, news-carrier, or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage? that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, &c. And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a preacher of new devils, &c.; and the Jews say by Paul, laying hands on him, Help, O ye Israelites, say they; this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, (meaning the Jews,) and the law of this place (meaning Jerusalem): and yet was never a word of these true. And the same Jews said of Paul,

Out of the earth with that man, or, Away with him; for it is not lawful for him to live, or, he is not worthy to live. And how many more of these examples are to be found in the Bible! Although, I say, these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known (yea, and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also) unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world, had of them); and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked there-for) not a few that already know it; as we ourselves also are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences—that we are not heretics, but members of the true catholic church; and that our adversaries the bishops and popish clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

“But here they will cry out, ‘Lo! these men will be still like John Baptist, the apostles, and prophets,’ &c.

“I answer, ‘We make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things.’ The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this; that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

“We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: *that* we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing, for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our Master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sisters, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is; being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice; which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted, and be-blotted with many filthy sins, which, if the great mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measureless unspeakable

mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual: herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our Head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all Christian men to be like them; and herein are all true Christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them.

“But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart (that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof) into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, and disobedience towards God and his commandment, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures; to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God; to obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness there-for, and to make them to sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts: yea, and often falling into gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalene, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes—let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers do with their children, he utterly destroyeth, yea, and everlastingly damneth, the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land; yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, (that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruel death,) God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty

hand and stretched-out arm. Pharaoh did, with most great and intolerable labours and burdens, oppress and bring under the poor Israelites; and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have not we the like examples now-a-days? Oh that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good brethren I will not speak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For, although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgments. Oh that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was, by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that this bloody, butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his most bloody brethren, shall escape? or that England shall, for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great a brunt?—Yes, undoubtedly.

“If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already, by these hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will show itself one day, when the plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those crown-shorn captains, and that shortly; howsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the mean while, by God's good sufferance and will.

“Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall'd, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple builded up again by Zerubbabel, Esdras, and Nehemiah, &c. And the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin, and be taken in of strangers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the dispersed English flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edward's days; and our bloody Babylonical bishops, and the whole crown-shorn company, brought to utter shame,

rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying false doctrine; their hypocrisy, bloodthirst, whoredom, idleness; their pestilent life, pampered in all kind of pleasure; their thrasonical boasting pride; their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that, If judgment beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the end of them, that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear? Some shall have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce, O ye wicked papists; make ye merry here, as long as ye may!”

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably entreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned: the fourth of February, A. D. 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was warned suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself to the fire; who, being then found asleep, scarce with much shogging could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, “Then,” said he, “if it be so, I need not tie my points:” and so was had down first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner but one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be: “Nothing,” said he, “but that I might talk a few words with my wife before my burning.” But that could not be obtained of him. “Then,” said he, “you declare your charity, what it is.” And so he was brought into Smithfield by Master Chester and Master Woodroffe, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been showed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefly, and in few words, to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom: first, this godly Master Rogers was committed to prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations

he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light: wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little above, how Master Rogers craved of Bouner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife; which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likewise it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings; yet, after his death, his wife and one of her sons, called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son aforementioned, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs; who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matter above specified. In the latter end whereof was also contained, that which concerneth a propheticall forewarning of things pertaining to the church, and which, in the same his words as they be there written, may be seen in the end of his Admonitions, Sayings, and Prophesyings.

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in prison, to the printer of this present book, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion: "Thou," said he, "shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches; or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was, (Master Hooper also agreeing to the same,) that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got; so that popish priests should clean be put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes. And if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good in-

structions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place; and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsel and request: showing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers things touching Master Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King Edward the Sixth, there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, for wearing of priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Master Rogers, being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of King Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition: that if they would needs have such a uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c., then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with a host upon it. Whereupon if they would consent, he would agree to the other: otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap; as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus devised: that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander Andrew, their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doing more shall be said, God willing, hereafter, would in no case suffer that.

The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to Master Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, "There was never little fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him;" presupposing they should both be burned together, although it happened otherwise; for Master Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of Master Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him Master Woodroffe, one of the aforesaid sheriffs, and calling Master Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine,

and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," quoth Master Woodroffe, "thou art a heretic." "That shall be known," quoth Rogers, "at the day of judgment." "Well," quoth Master Woodroffe,

"I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for *you*," quoth Master Rogers: and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the fourth of February, by the sheriffs towards Smithfield, saying the psalm *Miserere* by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great

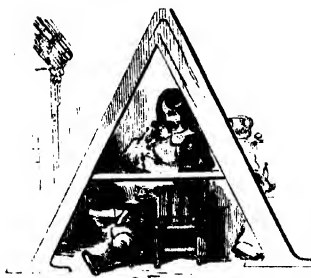


praises and thanks to God for the same. And there, in the presence of Master Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number

of people, the fire was put unto him; and when it had taken hold both upon his legs and shoulders, he, as one feeling no smart, washed his hands in the flame, as though it had been in cold water. And, after lifting up his hands unto heaven, not removing the same until such time as the devouring fire had

consumed them—most mildly this happy martyr yielded up his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused. He was the first proto-martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death, with wonderful patience, in the defence and quarrel of Christ's gospel.

The history and martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, burned for the defence of the gospel, at Coventry.



After that Queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, as is before declared, divers godly ministers of the word, which had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did, notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward,) but as the private pastors of particular flocks; among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worshipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places meet for that purpose, as namely in the school of Eton; from whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the King's college in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time. Shortly after that, he did forsake the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealthily; and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named Sir William Chester, who afterward chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burned at Coventry. Thus, by the mind of his friends, Laurence should needs have been a merchant; but Almighty God, who hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end. For although that Saunders was bound by fast indenture to play the merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation; so that when his other fellows were busily occupied about that kind of trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations; as one not liking that kind and trade of life.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice thus in his secret prayers

inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was, of that his solitariness and lamentation; who then, perceiving his mind nothing to fancy that kind of life, (for so Saunders declared unto him,) and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and, giving him his indenture, so set him free. And thus Laurence Saunders, being ravished with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long time in the traffic of merchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study; where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much. Therewith, also, he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scripture, to furnish himself to the office of a preacher. In study he was diligent and painful; in godly life he declared the fruits of a well-exercised conscience; he prayed often and with great fervour; and in his prayers, as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared, in which when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief. Then was his company marvellous comfortable; for as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular consolations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others who were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the university, till he proceeded master of arts, and a long space after.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, after licence obtained, he began to preach; and was so well liked of them which then had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where, by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married estate led a life unblamable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield; where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries did give him a full report as well of learning, as of much godliness. After a certain space, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-Langton, whereupon he, keeping residence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of Lon-

don, named Allhallows in Bread Street. Then minded he to give over his cure in the country: and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (such I mean as were for the queen,) he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish doctrine and antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation did bear to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men, which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon, and for it kept him among them as prisoner: but, partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him; seeing he could resign neither of them now, but into the hand of a papist.

Thus passed he to and fro preaching, until that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At that time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithstanding the proclamation aforesaid) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to fly out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock, of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday, the fourteenth of October, as he was coming nigh to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a councillor to Queen Mary, did overtake him, and asked him whither he went. "I have," said Saunders, "a cure in London; and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," quoth Master Mordant, "let them alone, and come not at them." To this Saunders answered, "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire consolation? if any want good counsel, and need instruction? or if any should slip into error, and

receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," quoth Mordant, "preach such a day (and named a day) in Bread Street, London?" "Yes verily," said Saunders: "that same is my cure." "I heard you myself," quoth Master Mordant; "and will you preach now there again?" "If it please you," said Saunders, "to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place; where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them." "I would counsel you," quoth the other, "not to preach." "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Saunders. "Nay," quoth he, "I will not forbid you; but I do give you counsel." And thus entered they both the city, and departed each from other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner, bishop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day. Saunders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty: where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one who was there about him, asked him how he did. "In very deed," saith he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison:" meaning that there his mind was unquiet until he had preached; and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, entreating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had towards Christ. He recited a sum of that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving: and, lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue. The first, he said, was good, because it was according to the word of God, and the order of the primitive church. The other, he said, was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink up all. This was the sum of his sermon. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another ex-

hortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests; so was Laurence Saunders brought before this bishop in his palace of London, who had in his company the aforementioned Sir John Mordant, and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no more to Laurence Saunders's charge, but treason for breaking the queen's proclamation; heresy and sedition for his sermon.

The treason and sedition his charity was content to let slip until another time; but a heretic he would now prove him, and all those, he said, who did teach and believe that the administration of the sacraments and all orders of the church are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furnished with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that church. To this Laurence Saunders answered with the authority of St. Augustine—that ceremonies were, even from

the beginning, invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man; and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the church papistical, because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly unsavoury and unprofitable.

After much talk had concerning this matter, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, "My Lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." This writing the bishop kept for his purpose—even to cut the writer's throat; as shall appear hereafter. The bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas: and like favour found Saunders as Christ his Master did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed, with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with divers others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise.

All this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed, Sir



John Mordant, his guide or leader, walking up and down by him; who, as I said before, was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many suitors met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where, in the mean way, Saunders's leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation, of the said Saunders; which when he had perused, "Where is the man?" said the bishop. Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly knecled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop did sit; unto whom the bishop spake on this wise:

"How happeneth it," said he, "that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?"

Saunders denied not that he did preach; saying, that forasmuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet—exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned: saying also, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto, than his own conscience.

"A goodly conscience surely," said the bishop. "This your conscience could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten: would it not, I pray you?"

Then said Saunders, "We," said he, "do not declare or say, that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that, let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the author:" privily taunting the bishop himself, who had before (to get the favour of Henry the Eighth) written and set forth in print a book of True Obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queen Mary to be a bastard. Now Master Saunders, going forwards in his purpose, said, "We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest the same." The bishop, being in this sort prettily nipped and touched, said, "Carry away this frenzy-fool to prison." Unto whom Master Saunders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at last a

place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in prison, in the same bed, reported that he heard him say, that even in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted; inasmuch as not only in spirit, but also in body, he received a certain taste of that holy communion of saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from every part and member of the body unto the seat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

This Saunders continued in prison a whole year and three months; in all which space he sent divers letters to divers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and also to others; certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and also of his private afflictions, and of sundry his conflicts with his adversaries—as, in writing to his friend, he speaketh of Weston conferring with him in prison, whereof ye shall hear anon, (by the leave of the Lord,) as followeth in the story. In the mean time the chancellor, after this little talk with Master Saunders, (as is aforesaid,) sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea, &c. For the Caiaphas (Winchester I mean) did nothing but bait him with some of his currish eloquence; and so committed him to the prison of the Marshalsea, where he was kept prisoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his cause and estate, thou shalt now see what Laurence Saunders himself did write.

A parcel of a letter of Laurence Saunders, sent to the bishop of Winchester, as an answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him.

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did was such as, being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at the least no wilful breaking of it; forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

"Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul: This I confess, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God

of my forefathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God, &c. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men: so that (God I call to witness) I have a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

"It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true Pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice. Yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith: The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him; for they know not the voice of a stranger. Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God; being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And albeit that the wolf (as Christ saith) cometh in sheep's clothing; yet he saith, By their fruits ye shall know them. For there be certain fruits whereby the wolf is bewrayed, notwithstanding that otherwise, in sundry sorts of devout holiness in outward show, he seemeth never so simple a sheep.

"That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, it is apparent in three principal points:—

"First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

"Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying, of Christ and his office of salvation.

"Thirdly, it spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his pre-script commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against the which Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, doth speak sharply: This people honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. And in another place: Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions.

"Wherefore I,—in conscience weighing the Romish religion, and, by indifferent discussing thereof, finding the foundation unstedfast, and the building thereupon but vain: and, on the other side, having my conscience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church,—I neither may, nor do intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from the same; no, though

an angel out of heaven should preach another gospel than that which I have received of the Lord.

"And although that for lack either of such deep knowledge and profound judgment, or of expedite uttering of that I do know and judge, as is required in an excellent clerk, I shall not be able sufficiently to answer, for the convincing of the gainsayer: yet nevertheless this my protestation shall be of me premised; that, for the respect of the grounds and causes before considered, albeit I cannot *explicita fide*, as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can discuss all that is to be discussed, nor can effectually express all that can be expressed, in the discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion, whereunto I am professed; yet do I bind myself, as by my humble simplicity, so by my *fidem implicitam*, that is, by faith in generality, (as they call it,) to wrap my belief in the credit of the same, that no authority of that Romish religion repugnant thereunto, shall by any means remove me from the same, though it may hap that our adversaries will labour to beguile us with enticing words, and seek to spoil us through philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ," &c.

And thus much of Master Saunders's letter, so much as remained thereof. The residue, because it was rent away, I could not adjoin thereunto. Notwithstanding, by this already expressed, it is sufficient to understand, how good was the cause and state of this blessed child of God, being prisoner for Christ's cause. For the defence whereof he wholly bestowed and resigned himself, in such sort, as he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery; and, when others of his friends had by suit almost obtained it, he discouraged them, so that they did not follow their suit, as by his letter following may appear.

A letter of Master Saunders, to his wife.

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord:— Entirely beloved wife, even as unto mine own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you; for I do daily, twice at the least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him! Amen.

"I am merry, I thank my God and my Christ, in

whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in Ephesians vi.; and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

“A prisoner in the Lord,
LAURENCE SAUNDERS.”

This his constancy is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, antichrist and death. To neither of these did he give place; but, by suffering their malice, got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his own handwriting. It was with Dr. Weston, a man, whom though I should praise, yet would all good and godly men worthily dispraise. Of this the said Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. Weston did at the Marshalsea: whereunto he thus answereth.

“Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he hath concluded with him I know not: I wish it may be to God’s glory, Amen. Master Weston of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly, wily sort, &c. I had not so much good manners, as to take it at his hand; for I said, that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good conscience. ‘Ye be asleep in sin,’ said he. ‘I would awake,’ quoth I, ‘and do not forget Watch and pray.’ ‘What church was there, thirty years past?’ ‘What church was there,’ quoth I, ‘in Elias’s time?’ ‘Joan of Kent,’ said he, ‘was of your church.’ ‘No,’ quoth I; ‘we did condemn her as a heretic.’

“‘Who was of your church,’ said he, ‘thirty years past?’ ‘Such,’ quoth I, ‘as the Romish antichrist, and his rabble, have reputed and condemned as heretics.’ ‘Wickliff,’ said he, ‘Thorpe, Oldcastle,’ &c. ‘Yea,’ quoth I, ‘with many more, as stories do tell.’

“‘The bishop of Rome hath,’ said he, ‘long

time played a part in your railing sermons: but, now, be ye sure, he must play another manner of part.’ ‘The more pity,’ quoth I, ‘and yet some comfort it is to see how that the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings; though now, to please the world, you do turn with the weathercock.’ ‘Did you ever,’ said he, ‘hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?’ ‘No,’ quoth I, ‘for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have been no wiser than others,’ &c.—with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it.”

What a blessed taste this good man had of God’s Holy Spirit, by divers and sundry his letters may right well appear to him that is disposed to peruse the same: whereof certain we have here thought good, the Lord willing, to express; first beginning with that which he wrote out of the Marshalsea to Drs. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, prisoners for the like cause of Christ in Oxford.

*To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley,
and Master Latimer, being imprisoned in
Oxford.*

“In my most humble wise I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord.—Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given unto that our Father of mercies, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of saints in light; which hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his beloved Son; by whom we have redemption through his blood, &c. O most happy estate! that, in an unspeakable wise, our life is hid with Christ in God: but whensoever Christ, which is our life, shall show himself, then shall we also appear with him in glory. In the mean season, as our sight is but in a glass, even in a dark speaking, so we walk in faith, not after outward appearance: the which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reason reputeth but as vain, yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yea, even them which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered the heart of man, &c. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth that we must needs possess, have, and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who be no small part of our joy, and good things given us of God.

“We, heretofore, have had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit;

praised be that our most gracious God there-for ! And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods ; for that in this so glorious sort ye become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick, a spectacle unto the world, both to the angels and unto men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feel, you also may assuredly say, with St. Paul, that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the gospel ; so that our bonds in Christ are manifest, not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all whole Europe ; insomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear. And herein as you have with St. Paul greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed, with you, give thanks for this excellent worthy favour of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you ; yea, and hereafter shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death : of which thing truly we are assured in our prayers for you, and ministering of the Spirit. And although, for your own parts, Christ is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your desire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed and to be with Christ, yet, for the church of Christ, were it much more necessary, that ye should abide in the flesh. Yea, that merciful God, even for his Christ's sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant, through Christ, by your restoring ! Amen, Amen.

“ But if it seem better otherwise, unto the Divine wisdom, that by speedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your behalfs, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof ; so we shall no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake. And herein we shall have to rejoice in the behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed upon God's verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift !

“ And now, most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth of us and our estate, how we stand in the Lord, I do assure your reverences, partly by that I perceive by such of our brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by that I hear of

them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience, which I, most unworthy, have of God's good comfort, (more abundance whereof I know there is in others,) you may be assured, I say, by God's grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, wherein we, believing, are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance (the which Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father) : so, after such portion as God measureth unto us, we, with the whole church of Christ, and with you, reverend fathers, receiving the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written ; I believed, and therefore I have spoken ; we also believe, and therefore speak. For the which we, in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, having even such a fight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wise afraid of our adversaries.

“ And forasmuch as we have such an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly, that though we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours ; yet shall we not be dashed in pieces, for the Lord will put his hand under us. When we are troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift : when we are in poverty, we are not utterly without something : when we suffer persecution, we are not forsaken therein : when we are cast down, yet we shall not perish : but to communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed unto us, that even with him also we shall be glorified : For it is a true saying, If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him : if we be patient, we shall also reign with him : if we deny him, he shall also deny us. Wherefore we be of good cheer, always bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might appear also in our body. For we know, that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by the means of Jesus, and shall join us to himself together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied ; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen, are temporal ; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.

"We testify unto you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Saviour. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the wells of Israel. We trust to be merry together at that great supper of the Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and there to sing that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yea, come Lord Jesus! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen."

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself, even as it were against himself, to the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ's camp.

"Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults, Amen.

"Fain would this flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace. O Lord! how loth is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God's path! It phantasieth forsooth much fear of fray-bugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the rein of God's most sweet promise, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventure there were of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours, who, in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed so to shine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ: and having this treasure in our earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be God's, and not ours, we are (according to his own good will) troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is sufficient; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, nevertheless we perish not; we bear in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also appear in our body. Wherefore, by the grace of our Christ, we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us: but by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. For he that goeth on his way weeping, and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him. Then, then, shall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then, shall be

brought to pass that saying which is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"In the mean season it remaineth for us to follow St. Peter's bidding: Let them, saith he, that are troubled according to the will of God, commit their souls to him with well doing, as a faithful Creator and Maker. He is our Maker; we are his handiwork and creatures, whom now, when he hath made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the shipwright doth the ship; leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the tempest; but he comforteth us his creatures. And in him we live, move, and have our being. Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Christ repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender good-will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by such promises he hath plighted such faith, that though it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful believers should be forgotten of him. He biddeth us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us. And what though for a season he doth suffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and seemeth, as in much anger, to have given us over and forgotten us? Let not us, for all that, leave off to put our trust in him; but let us, with godly Job, conclude in ourselves and say, Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him. Let us, with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who, though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembereth that we are but dust. Wherefore, look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth: so great is his mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the east is from the west: so far hath he set our sins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him. Oh what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most gracious God! We cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful Benefactor, and say with the same psalmist, Praise the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within me, praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits.

"Dear wife, riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ

is unto hungry consciences, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more,) *that* I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the devils in hell. I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

He wrote many other letters, full of godly instruction and consolation, which cannot all in such large sort be added, as I have done these; therefore thou shalt now, good reader, be content with some such short things as are gathered out of his writings. Being in prison he was, to his fellow-prisoners, a profitable prisoner, to whom, as he faithfully disposed the bread of life, so left he record thereof in this English metre following.

"The grace of God declared is, in Christ, his Son most dear,
And teacheth us, in holiness, to live in his true fear;
Whoso then, in that heavenly birth, a child is rightly born,
His Father's will he followeth, and thereunto is sworn.

"Children, of love, their father's will do lovingly embrace;
Servants, of fear, their master's will to do, do somewhat pass:
To children and to servants both, the rod doth oft times reach;
The children and the servants both, the rod doth penance teach.

"All ye, therefore, which in this place in strait bondage now be,
Be servants unto righteousness, from sin be loose and free;
Be mindful of all duty, due unto the Lord above,
Be thankful for his benefits, the pledges of his love.
Consider with yourselves, I say, to sanctify the Lord,
In every place, and that alway, by thought, deed, and by word.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

Of the communion of saints, the true taste whereof he learned and felt even in prison, thus he wrote in a letter which he sent to a gentlewoman, speaking of such friendship as she had showed unto him.

"Herein do I take occasion of much rejoicing in our gracious God and heavenly Father; who, as he hath in his unmeasurable mercies, by faith, hand-fastened us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual espouse of such a heavenly Husband, so he linketh us by love one to another; being by that bond compacted together, with such charitable readiness to do good one to another, that, first, to the glory of God and his Christ; then, to our own joying in the testimony of a good conscience; last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confounding of our adversaries, we bear that badge, as the right espouse of Christ, which he himself noteth in this saying, Herein shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one an-

other. Then, further, by this bond of mutual love, is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that, though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and have our being, who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance, yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another; wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of this mystical body. And though that, either for lack of ability, or else for distance of place, power and opportunity of present helping one another by bodily presence do fail, yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as thereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial Head, by his Spirit to be measured severally as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body. Thus doth our faithful prayer one for another, scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and the arm cannot reach such God's riches," &c.

*A letter, of true taste of God's love by faith;
with the fruits thereof.*

"The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of his Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! Much less can the same by any means be expressly uttered. And, as such heavenly blessings, which, by faith, we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so, hard it is to utter (when the faithful are set on fire by love) their readiness to reach forth by charity, to scatter and give, as by faith they have received. But, alas, we carry this treasure in earthly vessels. Many times faith is feeble, and love loseth her fervour: pray we, therefore, Lord, increase our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who, in our Christ, hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, which crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And, as St. Paul saith, Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken, we also believe, and therefore we speak; yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth us in mind to speak, but in attempting thereof we are driven to say with Moses, O Lord! I am slow-mouthed; and with Jeremiah, O Lord! I cannot speak," &c.

In this letter he doth, with most tender affection, commend his wife and child to the Christian care of that same his dear friend to whom he did write; which doth declare, that, as he had learned to forsake both wife, child, and life, for Christ's sake, so

did he thereby retain that godly care over them which becometh a true Christian.

This affection is most lively set forth in another letter, which he did write to his wife; in which (after he had admonished her that she should not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue) he saith:

"You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger, by keeping of faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in the meditation of God's most holy word, which is the sustenance of the soul; and also by going yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means by which the members of Christ are made daily more meet to inherit his kingdom. Wherefore do this, dear wife, in earnest, without leaving off, and so shall we two, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here, will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth; and so, if we two continue God's children grafted into our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (as it seemeth) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath He said which cannot lie, I will be thy God and the God of thy seed. Yea, if you, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or to do any work of obedience, should be compelled to leave him in the wild wilderness, destitute of all help, that God which heard the cry of that poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, and did succour it, will do the like to this our child, and to the child of any other which feareth God and putteth his trust in him. If we lack faith to believe this, (as many times we do indeed,) let us call for it, and we shall have both the increase of it, and of any other good grace needful for us. Be merry in God, dear wife, for I am very merry. O Lord! what great cause have we for rejoicing, when we think upon that kingdom which God vouchsafeth, for his Christ's sake, freely to give unto us, forsaking ourselves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our cross and follow him. Then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly. Amen; shortly, shortly," &c.

To the commendation of a true fatherly affection doth this also make not a little.

As the said Master Saunders was in prison, strait charge was given to the keeper that no person

should speak with him. His wife yet came to the prison-gate with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband. The keeper, though for his charge he durst not suffer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto his father. Laurence Saunders seeing him, rejoiced greatly, saying, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And unto the standers-by, which praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose this life present, rather than, by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of priests' marriage; but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learn to bear in their bosom true affections—natural, but yet seasoned with the true salt of the Spirit—unfeignedly and thoroughly mortified to do the natural works and offices of married couples and parents, so long as with their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith in a conscience unsoiled. Otherwise, both they and their own lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied, and given in his cause.

And now to come to the examination of this good man: after that the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at the length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which his first examination the effect and purport thus followeth.

"Praised be our gracious God who preserveth his from evil, and doth give them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church, Amen.

"Being convened before the queen's most honourable council, sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak in such form as followeth:—

Lord Chancellor.—"It is not unknown, that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be showed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say, that we have fallen in manner all; but now we be risen again, and returned to the catholic church: you must rise with us, and come home unto it.—Give us forthwith a direct answer."

Saunders.—"My Lord, and my Lords all, may it please your Honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

L. Chan.—"Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay."

Saunders.—"My Lord, it is no time for me now to paint: and as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me. My learning, I confess, to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth, I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer to your demand circumspcctly, considering that one of these two extreme perils is like to fall upon me: the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

L. Chan.—"Conscience! you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from the church."

Saunders.—"The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And whereas your Lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand,) I do assure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old: being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing there-of. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

L. Chan.—"Yea, marry; but, I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Saunders.—"My Lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head: for the man may live, though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint; and so he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of your church again."

Bishop of London.—"And if it like your Lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?"

Saunders.—"What I have written, that I have written; and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force."

L. Chan.—"Well, you be obstinate, and refuse liberty."

Saunders.—"My Lord, I may not buy liberty

at such a price: but I beseech your Honours to be means to the queen's Majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the most extremity that man may do against me, rather than to do against my conscience."

L. Chan.—"Ah sirrah! you will live as you list. The Donatists did desire to live in singularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on earth.—No more be you, and that shall you understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him!"

Saunders.—"Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your Honours! Amen."—This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and so stayed until the rest of his fellows were likewise handled, that they might have them all together to prison. Laurence Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that, which, by their falling from Christ to antichrist, they did deserve; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

The copies of his other examination and excommunication came to the hands of such as do keep them still in secret: but in them, as he defended Christ's cause stoutly, so warned he the pharisaical bishops and papists of their hypocrisy and tyranny freely, and cleared himself of their unjust quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to the prison called the Compter, in his own parish in Bread Street; whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow prisoner, Master Cardmaker, with whom he had Christian and comfortable conference, and also because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his parishioners; as by his letter hereafter shall be declared.

The fourth day of February, the bishop of London did come to the prison, where he was, to degrade him; which when he had done, Laurence Saunders said to him, "I thank God, I am none of your church."

The day following in the morning, the sheriff of

London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where Master Grimoald (a man who had more store of good gifts than of great constancy) did speak with him.

After Master Saunders had given him a lesson meet for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his shrugging and shrinking showing what he was, said, "Of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you; but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you." "Well," said Master Saunders, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me of

a more bitter cup than mine shall be; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope."

After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor shoemaker, which was wont to serve him of shoes, came to him after this manner, and said, "O my good master! God strengthen and comfort you." "Gra-mercies good shoemaker," quoth Master Saunders, "and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing of others.



The next day, which was the eighth of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, barefooted, and oftentimes fell flat on

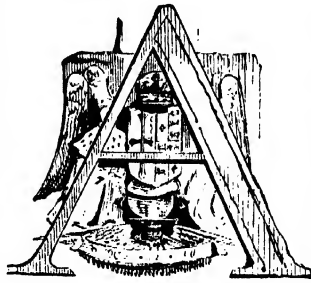
the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to Master Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "wherefore thou hast deserved death," quoth he; "but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee." To whom Master Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are,

which have always resisted God's holy word ; it is you which have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies ; but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that hold I ; that believe I ; that have I taught ; and that will I never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, " Away with him." And away from him went Master Saunders with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed : he rose up again, and took the stake to which he should be chained in his arms, and kissed it, saying, " Welcome the cross of Christ ! welcome everlasting life ! " and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.

And thus have ye the full history of Laurence Saunders, whom I may well compare to St. Laurence, or any other of the old martyrs of Christ's church ; both for the fervent zeal of the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, as also for the cruel torments that he, in his patient body, did sustain in the flame of fire. For so his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering, rather than burning fuel, which put him to much more pain, but that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsaketh his servants, and gave strength to St. Laurence, gave also patience to this Laurence, above all that his torments could work against ; which well appeared by his quiet standing, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

And to the intent to give the reader to understand the better what the grace of Christ worketh in his servants ; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himself without this grace given from above, though he seem otherwise never so stout in himself ; here, therefore, have we added to the aforesaid story of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble was between him and Dr. Pendleton, by the example whereof, such as stand, may learn to understand to take heed with due fear, and not to brag ; to lean to the grace of the Lord, and not to presume in themselves.

A certain communication between Laurence Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, in the beginning of Queen Mary's time.



T' the change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Dr. Pendleton and Master Saunders, men known to the world not

only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God's word in the time of blessed King Edward, met together in the country, where, by occasion, they were at that time, and, as the case required, (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand,) fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Whereupon Master Saunders, whether through very frailty of his weak flesh that was loth to taste the bitter cup, though his spirit were ready thereunto ; or whether it were upon the mistrust of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above ; or whether it were not for any one of the said causes alone, but for both together, or such like ; seemed so fearful and feeble-spirited, that he showed himself, in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at least to betake him to his heels, and to fly the land, rather than to stick to his profession, and abide by his tackle : so as Dr. Pendleton (who on the contrary side appeared not so big of body, but as bold in courage ; nor so earnest before in pulpit, but as ready now to seal the same with his blood) took upon him to comfort Master Saunders all that he might ; admonishing him, as he could do it very well, not to forsake cowardly his flock when he had most need to defend them from the wolf ; neither, having put his hand to God's plough, to start now aside and give it over ; nor yet, (that is worst of all,) having once forsaken antichrist, to fall either himself, or suffer others, by his example, to return to their vomit again.

After which and such-like persuasions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him, " What, man ! " quoth he, " there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than in you ; forasmuch as you see, I carry a greater mass of flesh upon my back than you do, and being so laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcass, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you ; and

yet," said he, "I will see the uttermost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this pampered flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth." Whereunto the other, answering but little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more strength than he presently felt in himself, acknowledging his own weakness, consented notwithstanding, though it were somewhat faintly, to join with him in the profession of the gospel, and so to go up to London, and set forth the same: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, oh what a great change was there between these two persons! The poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodness of Almighty God taking heart of grace to him, seeking the same in humility, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down antichrist, and lustily preaching Christ his Master; for the which he afterward suffered most willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other side, Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in words than constant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good warrior) followed Peter so justly in cracks, howsoever he did in repentance, (which God only knoweth,) that he came not so soon to London but he changed his tippet, and played the *apostata*: preaching, instead of sound doctrine, nothing almost but errors and lies, advancing antichrist, and overthrowing poor Christ with all his main: so his former boldness came to nothing, unless it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful pastor a false renegade, and of a true preacher a sworn enemy to God's everlasting testament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own soul. Wherein are specially to be considered the deep and marvellous judgments of God, who, as he can and doth make strong whom it pleaseth him, when he seeth his time, and most commonly such as appear most feeble; even so, contrariwise, throweth he down others, seem they never so stout, stand they never so much in their own conceits. Wherefore, let him that standeth take heed he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increase our faith, that in him it may be made strong, which of itself is so weak, that it is soon overthrown.

This blessed man of God, enduring long time in prison, did not pass all this time in unfruitful idleness, but still, from time to time, did visit his friends, (as is said,) and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. All which

letters it shall not be greatly needful here to insert; partly because they are to be found in The Book of Letters, partly because we intend also (if God will) to prosecute the same hereafter more at large. In the mean time it shall not be out of place here presently to comprehend certain of them, as in order followeth.

A letter sent to Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, Doctor Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot.

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. Good fathers, and dear brethren, be thankful unto our most gracious God, which hath preserved us, and shall, I doubt not, from blaspheming his blessed name: yea, not only that, but also out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings shall be set forth his praise. They offer us, forsooth, our liberty and pardon, so that we will rise with them into that faith, which we with them were fallen from. Yea, or no, must be answered in haste. They will not admit any needful circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable and abominable. Rise with them we must unto the unity. A pardon, say I, of me must not so dearly be purchased. A pardon I desire, to live with an unclogged conscience. 'The Donatists,' say they, 'sought for such singularity; but they were not meet to live in a commonwealth—no more be you, as you shall shortly understand. Wherefore away with him.' (Yea, the time was named—within this seven-night.) 'There be twelve hours in the day. Death shall be welcome,' said I, 'as being looked for long since: and yet do justice ye were best; for Abel's blood cried, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God save your Honours.' Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah! 'I am a child, I cannot speak.' My brother P. shall show you more herein. By him send me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backside, about eleven of the clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we have such out-walkers; but then will they be at dinner.

"Yours, as you know,

LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

A letter which Laurence Saunders did write to his wife, and others of the faithful flock, after his condemnation to the fire: written the last of January, A. D. 1555, out of the Compter in Bread Street.

"The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever vessels to God's glory. Amen.

"Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I, most unworthy wretch, cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious and good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so specially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

"To number these mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say, rejoice with thanksgiving, for this my present promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: and as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if my dear Husband Christ doth, for my trial, leave me alone a little to myself, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if, for my proof, he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall, and hide himself, (as Solomon saith in his mystical ballet,) yet will he peep in by a crevice to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph. Though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly, yea, threaten grievous bondage to his best-beloved brother Benjamin, yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto us all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried, to come unto him; as we have experience how our very adversaries do help us unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy despatch, yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto, blessed be our God! Be not afraid of fray-bugs which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: fear the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste, which are not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and a good conscience; and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the

kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ, our brazen serpent, hath pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, triumph; and with our Christ, and all his elect, say, Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (us) the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!

"Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer; and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice. I may hardly write to you: wherefore let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you and all them which love us in the faith; and namely, unto my flock, among whom I am resident, by God's providence, but as a prisoner.

"And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity which now I suffer among them for Christ's gospel's sake; bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom; requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor, who, though he be unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high Pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high Pastor.

"Be not careful, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting: this hope is put up in my bosom.—Amen, Amen, Amen! Pray, pray!"

Another letter, to Mrs. Lucy Harrington, a godly gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his troubles.

"Your most gentle commendations, whereof this messenger made remembrance unto me, was for two causes very comfortable: first, for that hereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour

and fatherly good will; whereunto I will daily say, Amen! And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious a God and merciful Father, who, as he hath in his immeasurable mercy, by faith, hand-fasted us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual spouse of such a heavenly Husband; so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together with charitable readiness to do good one to another: so that first to the glory of our God and his Christ, then to our own joining in the testimony of a good conscience, and, last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confusion of our adversaries, we bear the badge, as the right spouse of our Christ, which he himself noted in this saying: Herein shall all men know that ye be my disciples, if ye love one another. Then further, by this bond of mutual love is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that though it be he that careth for us—in whom we live, move, and be—who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance—yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another. Wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of his mystical body. And though that either for lack of ability, or else through distance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail; yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial Head by his Spirit, to be assured severally, as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body.

"Thus doth our faithful prayer, which we make one for another, distribute and scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth such God's riches. According hereunto I well perceive and understand your readiness to do good unto all; and especially I have experience of your ready good-will towards me, in your hearty desire to stretch out your helping hand to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other spiritual sort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as I also therein assure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the same not so much as I would do.

"My need concerning bodily necessities is as yet furnished by God's provision, so that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdensome to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me: the Lord reward you there-for! If God make me wor-

thy to be his witness at this present, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the testimony of his truth, it is enough for me to say to you, that I have a poor wife and child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know, for my sake, you will tender when I am departed hence," &c.

Another letter to Mistress Lucy Harrington.

"Grace and mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter, bringing with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb; and even then chiefly, when there is most eager purpose of speaking, silence doth suppress, and causeth the party so affected imperfectly to express that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feel I sometimes in myself, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! much less may the same by any means be expressly uttered. And as such heavenly blessings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so is it hard to utter, when the faithful are set on fire by love, their readiness to reach forth and to give by charity, as by faith they have received. But (alas!) we carry this treasure in earthen vessels. Many times faith is feeble, and then love loseth her fervour. Pray we therefore, Lord, increase our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And (as Paul saith) Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken: we also believe, and therefore we speak. Yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth in us a mind to speak; but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moses to say, O Lord! I am slow-mouthed, and of uncircumcised lips: and with Jeremiah, O Lord, I cannot speak.

"Albeit that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of heart in my tender Christian duty to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you, let this be settled in your understanding; that, as St. Paul expresseth unto his Corinthians, that they were in his heart either to live or to die, with many other such sayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expressing his vehement affection towards them: so, in some part, I would be like affected towards all God's children, and especially towards you whom I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great

friendship and tender good-will towards my wife: yea, that good gracious God recompense you, which may worthily with the more countervail the same, and fulfil that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And because of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love towards me and mine; I make myself thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my said poor wife; I mean, to be unto her a mother and mistress, to rule and direct her by your discreet counsel. I know she conceiveth of you the same that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for such a friend; and therefore I beseech you, even for Christ's sake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God, neither I, neither she, have any such extreme need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as with mine own mother. I beseech you give my hearty salutations unto Master Fitz-Williams, and my good lady; with thanks also for my poor wife and child. The Lord recompense them!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

Furthermore, as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his little child, the same is lively set forth in another letter which he did write to his wife; wherein he admonished her that she would not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue; the tenor of whose letter here followeth:

"Grace and comfort, &c.—Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the grate where the porter may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it needs not. You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means how to be made members of our Christ, meet to inherit his kingdom.

"Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off; and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth. And so, if we two continue God's children grafted in our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said,

and he cannot lie, I will be thy God, saith he, and the God of thy seed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness, destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience; that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you, or any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him.

"And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it, and also of any other good grace needful for us: and be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing have we, to think upon that kingdom, which he voucheth safe for his Christ's sake, freely to give us, forsaking ourselves and following him! Dear wife, this is truly to follow him; even to take up our cross and follow him: and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly, shortly. Amen."

Another letter to his wife, to Master Robert Harrington and Master Hurland, and other friends.

"Grace and comfort, &c.—Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Christ; and give thanks most humbly and heartily to him for this day's work; that in any part I, most unworthy wretch, should be made worthy to bear witness unto his everlasting verity, which antichrist, with his, by main force (I perceive) and by most impudent pride and boasting, will go about to suppress. Remember God alway, my dear wife; and so shall God's blessing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Christ's sake; be merry, and grudge not against God; and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who, in his Christ, hath given us great cause to be merry; by whom he hath prepared for us such a kingdom, and doth and will give unto us some little taste thereof, even in this life, and to all such as are desirous to take it. Blessed, saith our Christ, be they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for such shall be satisfied. Let us go, yea, let us run, to seek such treasure, and that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit obtained by prayer. My dear friends and brethren, Master Harrington and Master Hurland, pray, pray. The spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak. When I look upon myself, being astonished and confounded, what have I else to say but those words of Peter, Lord, go from me; for I am a sinful man. But then feel I that sweet comfort, The

word of the Lord is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths, and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then wax I bold with the same Peter to say, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life. This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battles, which the root of unfaithfulness, the which I feel in me, will most eagerly give unto my conscience, when we come once to the combat. We be (I ween) within the sound of the trump of our enemies. Play, ye that be abroad, the part of Moses, praying in all places, lifting up pure hands; and God's people shall prevail: yea, our blood shall be their perdition who do most triumphantly spill it. And we then, being in the hands of our God, shall shine in his kingdom, and shall stand in great steadfastness against them which have dealt extremely with us. And when these our enemies shall thus see us, they shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the hastiness of the sudden health; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind, 'These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their lives to be very madness, and their end to be without honour; but lo! how they are accounted among the children of God.'—The blessing of God be with you all, &c.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

To his wife a little before his burning.

"Grace and comfort in Christ, Amen.—Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also ye, my dear friends. Pray, pray for us, everybody. We be shortly to be despatched hence unto our good Christ; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you send me my shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both the sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so; and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation, can do against me. O wife! always remember the Lord. God bless you, yea, he will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray!"

Another letter to Masters Robert and John Glover, written the same morning that he was burnt.

"Grace and consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ.—O my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine inheritance, which I myself indeed am most un-

worthy of, but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come unto me, that we may be merry, with that joy which no man shall take from us. O wretched sinner that I am; not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a vessel unto his honour! But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed not of a not-enough-circumcised heart. Salute my good sisters your wives; and, good sisters, fear the Lord. Salute all others that love us in the truth. God's blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice. O my Christ, help, or else I perish!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

After these godly letters of Master Saunders diversely dispersed and sent abroad to divers of the faithful congregation of Christ, as is afore to be seen; now, in the latter end, we will adjoin two other letters, not written by Master Saunders the martyr, but by Master Edward Saunders the justice, his brother, sent to this our Saunders in prison, although containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent; that the reader may see in these two brethren, so joined in nature, and so divided in religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly saying, Brother shall be against brother, &c., as by the contents of these two letters following may appear.

A letter of Justice Saunders to his brother Laurence.

"After my most hearty commendations: these be to ascertain you, that I have spoken with Master Basset, who hath showed me, that four pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the profit of the prebendary at York, the which you shall have, although, as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reason of your deprivation; before, it was due. As concerning your conscience in religion, I beseech God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghost, and that you may also have the grace of the Holy Ghost to follow the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy ii., To handle rightly the word of truth; wherein you, dissenting from many holy and catholic men, especially in the sacrament, it maketh me in my conscience to condemn yours. For although I have not hitherto fancied to read Peter Martyr, and other such, &c.; yet have I had great desire to see Theophylact, and divers others of this sort and opinion, both notable and holy fathers (if any credit be to be given to the writings of our ancient fathers before us): and surely the sentences and judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my conscience, than three hun-

dred of the Zuinglians, or as many of the Lutherans, can or should do. Thus in haste, willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert. If you shall need towards your finding, (if you shall require it of me,) you shall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who send us all things good for us.—Scribbled this Thursday, by your brother and petitioner to God,

ED. SAUNDERS."

Another letter of Justice Saunders to his brother, wherein he seeketh to win him to popery.

"As nature and brotherly love with godly charity require, I send you by these letters (*quantum licet*) most hearty commendation; being sorry for your fault, and your disobedient handling of yourself towards my Lord Chancellor, who, I assure you, mindeth your good and preservation, if you can so consider and take it. I would be glad to know, whether you have not had with you of late some learned men to talk with you by my Lord Chancellor's appointment, and how you can frame yourself to reform your error in the opinion of the most blessed, and our most comfortable, sacrament of the altar: wherein, I assure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this present, using to my great comfort hearing of mass, and, somewhat before the sacring time, the meditation of St. Bernard, set forth in the third leaf of this present book. The accustomed using whereof I am fully professed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that confession of holy Bernard, than to Luther, &c., or to Latimer, &c.; for that the antiquity, the universality of the open church, and the consent of all saints and doctors, do confirm the same: ascertaining you that I have been earnestly moved in mine own conscience these ten or twelve days past, and also between God and myself, to move you to the same; most earnestly desiring you, and as you tender my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that you would read over this book this holy time, at my request, although you have already seen it, and let me know wherein you cannot satisfy your own conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.

"By yours, from Serjeants' Inn,

ED. SAUNDERS."

The story, life, and martyrdom of Master John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester: burnt for the defence of the gospel at Gloucester, February the ninth, A. D. 1555.



HOOPER, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through God's

secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures: in the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer; so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Thus Master Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and showing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit, being then about the beginning of the six articles, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, fell oftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins in Oxford, who, by and by, began to stir coals against him; whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to void the university; and so, removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good upon him; but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Winchester, after long conference with Master Hooper four or five days together, when he at length perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Master Arundel's request, he sent home his servant again; right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudging stomach against Master Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger

that was working against him. Whereupon Master Hooper, leaving Master Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend, (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows,) took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Master Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England again, and was retained of Master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for; whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas. And so escaped he (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany; where he, entering acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, of Master Bullinger, being, his singular friend. There also he married his wife, who was a Burgouian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto his gospel, amongst many other English exiles who then repaired homeward, Master Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself; but, seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so, coming to Master Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, (as duty required,) to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom Master Bullinger again (who had always a special favour to Master Hooper) spake on this wise:

"Master Hooper," said he, "although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return, out of long banishment, into your native country again; where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church, by you, may fare the better; as we doubt not but it shall.

"Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this: that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty; but you shall leave here a barren, a sour, and an unpleasant country, rude and savage; and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our re-

joining one fear and care we have, lest you, being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where ye shall come, peradventure, to be a bishop, and where ye shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-willers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you."

Whereunto Master Hooper, answering again, first gave to Master Bullinger and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good-will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so, touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of theirs, there was no cause therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country, if there were nothing else in his conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends; although, said he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had blessed his country of England with many great commodities; yet, neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends, should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom he was so entirely bound unto: "and therefore you shall be sure," said he, "from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you, how it goeth with me. But the last news of all, I shall not be able to write: for there," said he, (taking Master Bullinger by the hand,) "where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes. And that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me," &c.

To this also may be added another like prophetic demonstration, foreshowing before the manner of his martyrdom wherewith he should glorify God, which was this: When Master Hooper, being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, should have his arms given him by the herald, (as the manner is, here in England, every bishop to have his arms assigned unto him,) whether by the appointment of Master Hooper, or by the herald, I have not certainly to say; but the arms which were to him allotted were these: A lamb in a fiery bush, and the sun-beams from heaven descended down upon the

lamb; rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our story again. Thus when Master Hooper had taken his farewell of Master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he made his repair again into England in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, where he, coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once, every day; and never failed.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus's harp, as the proverb saith; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides other his gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time: in house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good bishop, in his Epistle to Timothy, I know not one in this good bishop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might, peradventure, be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himself.

This, by the way, I thought to note, for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, who, having in himself a certain conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel: but, being abashed at his austere behaviour, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands; which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external

behaviour, as neither they show themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor, on the other side again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravity in this man neither was excessive, nor did he bear that personage that was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him, peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common sort ought to be chastened, not only with words and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's Majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him; and, after that, he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good and lucky beginning of the godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion then begun in the Church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitions than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chimere, and under that a white rochet; then, a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's Majesty, most humbly desiring his Highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenor.

The king's letters or grant for the dispensation of John Hooper, elected bishop of Gloucester: written to the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops.

"Right reverend father, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen

our right well-beloved and well worthy, Master John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study both in the Scriptures, and other profane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation; to the intent all our loving subjects, which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might, by his sound and true doctrine, learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall in *præsumption* of laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you shall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge there-for.

"Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the fifth of August, the fourth year of our reign.

Ed. Somerset.	W. Paget.
W. Wiltshire.	An. Wingfield.
W. North.	N. Wooton."

Besides this letter of the king, also the earl of Warwick (who was afterward duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose and effect: that Master Hooper might not be burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience; as by the purport of the letter here is to be seen, as followeth.

"After my most hearty commendations to your Grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my Lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to show him your Grace's favour, the rather at this my instance; which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's Majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his Highness, none other but that your Grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdensome to his conscience. And so, for lack of time, I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster, the twenty-third of July, 1550.

"Your Grace's most assured loving friend,
J. WARWICK."

Both this grant of the king, and also the earl's letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of the aforesaid ceremonies; saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the mean time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition—that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself appparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God, in like manner, they, who took upon them the other part of that tragedy, had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the public concord and edifying of the church; for no man in all the city was one hair the better for that hot contention.

I will name nobody, partly for that his oppugners, being afterwards joined in the most sure bond of friendship with him, in one, and for one cause, suffered martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use, according to my accustomed manner, to keep my pen from presumptuous judging of any person. Yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration: to admonish the reader hereby, how wholesome and necessary the cross of Christ is sometimes in the church of Christ, as by the sequel hereof afterward did appear. For as, in a civil governance and commonwealth, nothing is more occasion of war than overmuch peace; so in the church and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietness, so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the public cross of persecution.

Furthermore, so I persuaded myself, the same not to be inexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For, if it do not a little appertain to our public consolation and

comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foul dissension between Paul and Barnabas, of the fall of Peter, and of David's murder and adultery; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to hear and know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the less despair in our infirmity, considering the same or greater infirmities to reign in the holy saints of God, both prophets, apostles, and martyrs?

And thus, by the way, thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us, either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailness of ours. Now again, on the other part, it remaineth to record, after the foresaid discord, the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward, being in prison for the truth's sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by Bishop Ridley to the said bishop of Gloucester. The copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand, hereafter followeth.

"My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto, since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or, if I might, yet was I greatly in doubt how my letters might safely come unto your hands. But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past, in certain by-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

"And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspirereth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God: let us join hands together in

Christ; and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.

"I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow prisoner, and venerable father, D. C.; by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy, in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity, and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God.

"I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again; for I stand much in fear lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow prisoners and co-captives in the Lord; and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother. Farewell.

"N. RIDLEY."

Master Hooper, after all these tumults and vexations sustained about his investing and priestly vestures, at length entering into his diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him

under King Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the whole realm of England. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them: and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men Master Hooper was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock; who, being bishop of two diocesses, so ruled and guided either of them and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. With his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-a-days; whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort of poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

But now, again, we will return our talk to Master Hooper, all whose life, in fine, was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example; to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them that were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the public affairs of the church: and, certainly, there appeared in him at home no less example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ,

for the which also he spent his blood; yet, nevertheless, there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad: for every where he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all; no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled; yet, if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and, when they were served, (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments,) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. After this sort and manner Master Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in King Edward's time did safely flourish and take place: and would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance, in their function!

After this, King Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a pursuivant to be at London; and that for two causes: first, to answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was before, in King Edward's days, deprived thereof for papistry. Secondly, to render account to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for that he, in King Edward's time, was one of his accusers, in that he showed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his council, openly at Paul's Cross. And, although the said Master Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him, (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get

him away, and shift for himself,) yet he would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying, "Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep."

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforesaid Drs. Heath and Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the queen and her council, to answer to certain bonds and obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her; and, when he came before them, Winchester, by and by, received him very opprobriously, and, railing and rating of him, accused him of religion. He, again, freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But, in fine, it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward; it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for the which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall hereafter in its place more plainly appear.

The next year, being 1554, the nineteenth of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the queen's commissioners; where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics: which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the testimony and report of one, which, being present at the doing, committed the same to writing.

A letter or report of a certain godly man, declaring the order of Master Hooper's deprivation from his bishoprics, March the nineteenth, Anno 1554.

"Forasmuch as a rumour is spread abroad of the talk had at my Lord Chancellor's, between him with other commissioners there appointed, and Master Hooper, clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions and evil reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat myself, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same; partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtful people; and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably Master Hooper was handled at their hands, which, with all humility, used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience he might have been permitted to speak; assuring all

men, that whereas I stood in aammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have credited, either that set forth by the king's Majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the queen's Majesty; their unreverent behaviour towards Master Hooper doth move me the rather to credit his doctrine, than that which they, with railing and cruel words, defended; considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true myself—so I appeal to all the hearers' consciences, that there were present, (so they put affection away,) for the witness of the same."

Master Hooper examined before the commissioners.

The bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Ilandaff, and Chichester, sat as commissioners.—At Master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

Hooper.—"Yea, my Lord, and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me."

Durham.—"That is matter enough to deprive you."

Hooper.—"That it is not, my Lord, except ye do against the law."

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great space; but as well the commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture, as was unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called Master Hooper "hypocrite," with vehement words, and scornful countenance. Bishop Toustal called him "beast:" so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and divers others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would; and brought in this text, 'There be, that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven.

Master Hooper said; that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined.

Then Master Hooper said, that it did appear by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests; and named the Decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagants: but Bishop Hooper said, that book was not it, which he named. Then cried out the bishop of Winchester, and said, "You shall not have any other, until ye be judged

by this." And then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done or spoken orderly or charitably. Afterward Judge Morgan began to rail at Master Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men; and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that Master Hooper had never read the councils.

"Yea, my Lord," quoth Master Hooper, "and my Lord of Chichester (Dr. Day) knoweth that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not seen.

After this long brutish talk, Toustal, bishop of Durham, asked Master Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence in the sacrament. And Master Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

Then would the bishop of Durham have read out of a book, for his purpose belike (what book it was, I cannot tell); but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then asked Winchester of Master Hooper, what authority moved him not to believe the corporal presence? He said, the authority of God's word; and alleged this text, Whom heaven must hold until the latter day.

Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text have served nothing for his purpose; and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also. Master Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that Master Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married: and said, that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them; and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time.

The true report of Master Hooper's entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own hand, the seventh of January, 1555.

"The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and, within six days after, I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden, for fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then, by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but, as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, while I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

"After one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time; having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.—During which time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, "Let him alone; it were a good rid-dance of him." And, amongst many other times, he did thus the eighteenth of October, 1553; as many can witness.

"I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric; and, since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

"The said warden hath also imprisoned my man,

William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, (saving God's help,) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

Thus much wrote he himself, of this matter.

Another examination of Master Hooper.

The twenty-second of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Master Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at the said Winchester's house at St. Mary Overy's, where in effect thus much was done. The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward the Sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's Holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament; promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be showed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's Holiness.

Master Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction. Neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. "Howbeit," saith he, "if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's Majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy; if mercy may be had

with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

Answer was made, that the queen would show no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near unto the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days; and, in the mean time, his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which Master Hooper was thought to have made, but none were found.

Another examination of Master Hooper.

The twenty-eighth of January, Winchester and other the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where Master Hooper appeared before them at afternoon again; and there, after much reasoning and disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside, till Master Rogers (which was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Master Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Master Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the church door, Master Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Master Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers! must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yea, sir," said Master Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said Master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

By the way the sheriff said to Master Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my Lord Chancellor, and did use no more patience." He answered, "Master Sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death; not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come." Then were they committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with commandment that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them, that night.

The third and last examination of Master Hooper.

Upon the next day following, the twenty-ninth of

January, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said bishop and commissioners, in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Master Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Master Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner entreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, Master Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London bridge, through the city to Newgate. And by the way some of the serjeants were willed to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him; praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him: and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, &c., resorted divers times unto him to assay if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted: for, besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of worldly commodities; not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail: but they found him always the same man,

stedfast and immovable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about, by false rumours and reports of recantations, (for it is well known, that they and their servants did spread it first abroad,) to bring him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. So the bruit being a little spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at last came to Master Hooper's ears: wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credit unto false rumours, having so simple a ground; as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occasion, the copy whereof followeth:—

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

“Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth as we have and do feel, and be daily like to suffer more; yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad, (as I am credibly informed,) that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now, after sentence of death, (being in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution,) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men; or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come; not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point, for I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me; praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

“Therefore, ye that may send to the weak bre-

thren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and, I thank God, I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly; but yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood.

"Forth of Newgate the second of February, anno 1555.

"Your brother in Christ,
JOHN HOOPEE."

Upon Monday morning the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Master Hooper.



After the sentence of degradation thus declared, now let us see the form and manner of their degrading, which here also followeth. But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceed against him as a bishop, but as only against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted for no bishop.

The form and manner used in degrading Bishop Hooper.

The fourth day of February, the year above mentioned, in the chapel in Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notary and certain other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew, the gaoler, bringing with him Master Hooper and Master Rogers, being condemned before by the chancellor; where the said bishop of London, at the request

of the aforesaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, Master Hooper and Master Rogers, after this form and manner: first, he put upon him all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being revested) they should solemnly execute their office. Thus they, being apparelled and invested, the bishop beginneth to pluck off, first the uttermost vesture; and so, by degree and order, coming down to the lowest vesture, which they had only in taking Benet and Collet; and so, being stript and deposed, he deprived them of all order, benefit, and privilege belonging to the clergy; and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to be given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffs being for that year, Master Davy Woodroose, and Master Wil-

liam Chester; who, receiving first the said Master Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present were Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; Robert Cosin, and Robert Willerton, canons of Paul's; Thomas Mountague, and George How, clerks; Tristram Swadock, and Richard Cloney, the sumner, &c.

The same Monday at night, being the fourth of February, his keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in a readiness to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London, and other their officers, forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet Street, where six of the queen's guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who, with the Lord Chandos, Master Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of the day he went to horse, and leaped cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known. And so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the guard learned of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge; and ever carried him to another inn.

On the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocess called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil she could of Master Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears; confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock; and a mile without the town was much people assembled, which cried and lamented his estate, insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, &c.; but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the guard, and others. After his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber, (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay,) that there, being solitary, he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard licensed to speak with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst others that spake with him, Sir Anthony Kingston, knight, was one; who, seeming in time past his very friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Master Kingston, being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer: and as soon as he saw Master Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Master Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said Master Kingston, "Why, my Lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

Hooper.—"Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same."

Kingston.—"But I am sorry to see you in this case; for as I understand you be come hither to die. But, alas, consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good."

Hooper.—"Indeed it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocess, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas, consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself,

through the strength of God's holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word; desiring you, and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers."

Kingston.—"Well, my Lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child: and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

Hooper.—"If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have; and that you may continually live in his fear."

After these, and many other words, the one took leave of the other; Master Kingston with bitter tears, Master Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure Master Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained licence to be brought unto Master Hooper's speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Master Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth: but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul!"

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, which appeared to be sorry for Master Hooper's trouble, saying, "Sir, I am sorry to see you thus." "To see me? Why," said he, "art thou sorry?" "To see you," saith the other, "in this case. For I hear say, you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry." "Be sorry for thyself, man," said Master Hooper, "and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christ's sake is welcome."

The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being then expired, unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who, with the

mayor and aldermen, repaired to Master Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner: "Master Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly king that dead is, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commandment to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Master Sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends," (meaning the guard,) "at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness, by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require, (for the which also I most heartily thank them,) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done: for I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain); but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These and such-like words in effect used Master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereas many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself in the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison.

So it was determined, at length, he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs,

and the sergeants, and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock Master Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in a readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, gloves, and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise: "Master Sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer; for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand, (for it was market day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death,) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas, why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine; and that, out of the word of God: because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal: for the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilingly he beheld the stake and pre-

paration made for him, which was near unto the great elm tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses and the boughs of the tree were replenished with people; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college.

Then kneeled he down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come, (pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom,) who gave attentive ears unto the same; the which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least-wise it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the Lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Master Hooper said, "Good my Lord, I trust your Lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then said the Lord Chandos to Sir Edmund Bridges's son, which gave ear before to Master Hooper's prayer at his request, "Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him." While this talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words following:

"Lord, (said he,) I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am swill and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou that art ascended into heaven, receive me, hell, to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me: the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, (being thereto called,) I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature; such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are

impossible with man, are possible with thee : therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience ; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his gear, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness ; unto whose pleasures, good man, he very obediently submitted himself ; and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So, desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains,) he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought ; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them said, "Ye have no need thus to trouble yourselves ; for I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands : notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good."

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short, (for his belly was swollen by imprisonment,) he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened : and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refused them, and would have none, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you."

Thus being ready, he looked upon all the people, of whom he might be well seen, (for he was both tall and stood also on a high stool,) and beheld round about him ; and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. "O sir !" said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." "There-

in," said Master Hooper, "thou dost nothing offend me ; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer green faggots than two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place, (it was a lowering and cold morning,) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots, (for there were no more reeds,) and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair, and scorch his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, (but as one without pains,) "O Jesus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul !" After the second was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire !" And all this while his nether parts did burn ; for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two : and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In the which fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me ; Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me : Lord Jesus, receive my spirit !" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums : and he knocked his breasts with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood, dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast, in knocking, to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he abode the

extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side : but, having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed. And he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the world : for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

A letter which Master Hooper did write out of prison, to certain of his friends.

“The grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you of what extremity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and setting forth the untruth ; intending to cause all men by extremity to forswear themselves, and to take again, for the head of the church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record : and for lack of law and authority, they will use force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, since their authority first began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to see whether we fear more God or man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ whilst the prince and world held with him : but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial, who be his.

“Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power, of his Holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to adversity and constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight. Remember none shall be crowned, but such as fight manfully ; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Ye must now turn all your cogitations from the peril you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril ; either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this world, for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them, draweth from God.

“Wherefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good ; but yet none otherwise than it standeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept ; but yet so far forth as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good abiding and tarrying still among our friends here ; but yet so, that we tarry not therewithal in God’s displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept ; so that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.

“Of adversity judge the same. Imprisonment is painful ; but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more

painful. The prisons stink ; but yet not so much as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God lack. I must be alone and solitary : it is better so to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great ; but loss of God’s grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of noble, learned, and wise men : it is better to make answer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth before the just God at the latter day. I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man : he is blessed that loseth this life full of miseries, and findeth the life of eternal joys. It is pain and grief to depart from goods and friends ; but yet not so much, as to depart from grace and heaven itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adversity of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.

“I can do no more, but pray for you : do the same for me, for God’s sake. For my part, I thank the heavenly Father, I have made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto the will of the heavenly Father : as he will, so I will, by his grace. For God’s sake, as soon as ye can, send my poor wife and children some letter from you, and my letter also which I sent of late to D***. As it was told me she never had letter from me since the coming of M*** S*** unto her ; the more blame to the messengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them ; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, she should have had necessary things : but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her, and you all. I am a precious jewel now, and daintily kept ; never so daintily : for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house, may come to me, but my keeper alone, a simple rude man, God knoweth ; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well.

“The twenty-first of January, 1555.

“Your bounden,

JOHN HOOPER.”

Amongst many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembered in the history of Master Hooper, this also is not to be forgotten which happened between him and a bragging friar, a little after the beginning of his imprisonment : the story whereof here followeth.

“A friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest heretic in England : thinking belike to do some great act

upon him. To whom answer was made that Master Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to prison. He said, for debt. Nay, said he, it was for heresy: which, when the other had denied, 'What sayest thou,' quoth he, 'to *Hoc est corpus meum*?' Master Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this: What remained after the consecration in the sacrament—any bread, or no? 'No bread at all,' saith he. 'And when ye break it, what do you break; whether bread or the body?' said Master Hooper. 'No bread,' said the friar, 'but the body only.' 'If ye do so,' said Master Hooper, 'ye do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also ye break the Scriptures, which say, Ye shall not break of him one bone,' &c. With that the friar, having nothing belike to answer, suddenly recoiled back, and with his circles and his crosses began to use exorcism against Master Hooper, as though," &c.

This and more wrote Master Hooper to Mistress Wilkinson, in a letter, which letter was read unto her by John Kelke.

Comparison between Hooper and Polycarp.



HEN I see and behold the great patience of these blessed martyrs in our days in their sufferings, so quietly and constantly abiding the torments that are

ministered unto them of princes for God's cause: methinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old martyrs of the primitive church: in the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between saint and saint, martyr and martyr, with whom might I better match this blessed martyr John Hooper, through the whole catalogue of the old martyrs, than with Polycarp, the ancient bishop of Smyrna, of whom Eusebius maketh mention in the ecclesiastical story? For as both agreed together in one kind of punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them showed more patience and constancy in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be said. And though Polycarp, being set in the flame, (as the story saith,) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with weapon, and so despatched: yet Hooper, by no less

miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of God's comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did Polycarp, in the fire flaming round about him.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarp, when he should have been tied to the stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words: "Let me alone I pray you; for he that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying." So likewise Hooper, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied with three chains to the stake, requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet, no doubt, would have no less answered to that great patience of Polycarp.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seem not far discrepant. In teaching, alike diligent both; in zeal fervent, in life unspotted, in manners and conversation inculpable: bishops and also martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joined together in one spirit, so might they be joined in one name together—Πολύκαρπος; to wit, much fruitful; to which name also ὁπώρας is not much unlike. In this the martyrdom of Master Hooper may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the martyrdom of Polycarp, for that he was both longer in prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I think none of the old martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was degraded by Bonner with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think, in Polycarp's time, was not used to any.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good martyrs together, so now if we should compare the enemies and authors of their death one with the other, we should find no inequality betwixt them both, but that the adversaries of Master Hooper seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put Polycarp to death, yet ministered to him a quick despatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment; whereas the tormentors of Master Hooper suffered him, without all compassion, to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his martyrdom, what consul or proconsul was there to be conferred with the chancellor here, which brought this martyr to his burning? Let this suffice.

This good bishop and servant of God, being in prison, wrote divers books and treatises, to the number of twenty-four, whereof some he wrote to the parliament in Latin, and one to the bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day: besides he wrote of the sacra-

ments, of the Lord's prayer, and of the ten commandments, with divers others.

Here follow certain of Master Hooper's letters.

As you have heard the whole story of the life and martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us consequently adjoin some part of his letters, written in the time of his imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, of all true Christians, which, by true mortification, seek to serve and follow the Lord through all tempests and storms of this malignant world, as by the reading and perusing of the said letters you shall better feel and understand.

A letter of Master Hooper to certain godly professors and lovers of the truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woful alteration and change of religion.

"The grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly love and embrace his holy gospel. Amen.

"It is told me, that the wicked idol, the mass, is established again by law, and passed in the parliament-house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act to such as speak against it; also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen, before our time, such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant King Edward the Sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to shed our blood for his name's sake; and blessed then shall we think the parents which brought us into the world, that we should, from this mortality, be carried into immortality. If we follow the commandment of St. Paul, that saith, If ye then be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God; we shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pains as others do.

"Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his blessed will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in time to come; and that

we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be used in this troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to have assemblies together of such men and women as be of your religion in Christ; and there to talk and renew amongst yourselves the truth of your religion, to see what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof; to weigh and confer the dreams and false lies of the preachers that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth: and by such talk and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their lies that now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requisite, that the members of Christ comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another: so shall ye be the stronger, and God's Spirit shall not be absent from you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, patient in adversity, and strong in persecution.

"Ye see how the congregation of the wicked, by helping one another, make their wicked religion and themselves strong against God's truth and his people. If ye may, have some learned man, that can, out of the Scriptures, speak unto you of faith, and true honouring of God; also that can show you the descent of Christ's church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive, by the life of our forefathers, these two things; the one, that Christ's words, which said that all must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be true; the other, that none of all his, before our time, escaped trouble—then shall ye perceive, that it is but a folly for one that professeth Christ truly, to look for the love of the world.

"Thus shall ye learn to bear trouble, and to exercise your religion, and feel indeed that Christ's words be true, In the world ye shall suffer persecution. And when ye shall feel your religion indeed, say, Ye be no better than your forefathers; but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy soldiers for this war. And pray God when ye come together, that he will use and order you and your doings to these three ends, which ye must take heed to: the first, that ye glorify God; the next, that ye edify the church and congregation; the third, that ye profit your own souls.

"In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not yet so bloody and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that could not bear the name of Christ without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for

body and soul. Therefore of us Christ said, Think ye, when the Son of man cometh, he shall find faith upon the earth? He said not, Think ye, he shall find any man or woman christened, and in name a Christian? But he spake of the faith that saveth the Christian man in Christ. And doubtless the scarcity of faith is now more (and will, I fear, increase) than it was in the time of the greatest tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the sixth chapter of St. John's Revelation, and ye shall perceive, amongst other things, that at the opening of the fourth seal came out a pale horse, and he that sat upon him was called Death, and hell followed him. This horse, is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the church under the pretence of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing-priests, with such others, that hath killed more souls with heresy and superstition, than all the tyrants that ever were, who killed bodies by fire, sword, or banishment, as it appeareth by his name that sitteth upon the horse, who is called Death: for all souls that leave Christ, and trust to these hypocrites, live to the devil in everlasting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horse, which is hell.

"These pretended and pale hypocrites have stirred the earthquakes, that is to wit, the princes of the world, against Christ's church; and have also darkened the sun, and made the moon bloody, and have caused the stars to fall from heaven: that is to say, have darkened with mists, and daily do darken, (as ye hear by their sermons,) the clear sun of God's most pure word. The moon, which be God's true preachers, which fetch only light at the sun of God's word, are turned into blood, prisons, and chains, that their light cannot shine unto the world as they would: whereupon it cometh to pass, that the stars, that is to say, Christian people, fall from heaven, that is to wit, from God's most true word to hypocrisy, most devilish superstition, and idolatry. Let some learned man show you all the articles of your belief and monument of Christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and ye shall perceive that there was never mention of such articles as these hypocrites teach. God bless you, and pray for me as I do for you.

"Out of the Fleet, by your brother in Christ,

JOHN HOOPER."

To Master Fyrrar, bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philipot, prisoners in the King's Bench in Southmark.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertised by divers, as well such as love the truth,

as also by such as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I shall be carried shortly to Cambridge, there to dispute for the faith, and for the religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have and do profess. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Christ ready, not only to go to Cambridge, but also to suffer, by God's help, death itself in the maintenance thereof. Weston and his complices have obtained forth the commission already; and speedily, most like, he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do advertise you of the thing before, for divers causes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near and is at hand, that we shall testify before God's enemies God's truth: the next, that ye should prepare yourselves the better for it: the third, to show you what ways I think ourselves were best to use in this matter, and also to hear of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know such as shall be censors and judges over us breathe and thirst for our blood; and whether we, by God's help, overcome after the word of God, or by force and subtlety of our adversaries be overcome, this will be the conclusion: our adversaries will say, they overcome; and ye perceive how they report of those great learned men and godly personages at Oxford.

"Wherefore I mind never to answer them, except I have books present, because they use not only false allegation of the doctors, but also a piece of the doctors against the whole course of the doctors' mind. The next, that we may have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the adversaries will have the oversight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was, and ours worse than it was. Then, if we see that two or three, or more, will speak together, or with scoffs and taunts illude and mock us; I suppose it were best to appeal, to be heard before the queen and the whole council, and that would much set forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than malice, and the others that be indurate should be answered fully to their shame, I doubt not; although to our smart and blood-shedding. For of this I am assured, that the commissioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently; for they be enemies unto us and our cause, and be at a point already to give sentence against us: so that if it were possible, with St. Stephen, to speak so that they could not resist us, or to use such silence and patience as Christ did, they will proceed to revenging.

"Wherefore, my dear brethren in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice

this day or to-morrow ; for shortly we shall begone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and the council, or else before all the parliament, as they were used in King Edward's days. Further, for my part I will require both books and time to answer. We have been prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our books ; and our memories, by close keeping and ingratitude of their parts, be not so present and quick as theirs be. I trust God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our adversaries, that shall be our judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemn us, (as far as I know,) and so one of the Convocation-house said this week to Dr. Weston. To whom Weston made this answer, 'It forceth not,' quoth he, 'for a law : we have commission to proceed with them. When they be despatched, let their friends sue the law.'

"Now how soon a man may have such a commission at my Lord Chancellor's hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an indictment for Christ at Caiaphas's hand. Besides that the bishops, having the queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the lords of the temporality ; who, at this present, have found out the mark that the bishop shot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doings. I pray you, help, that our brother Saunders, and the rest in the Marshalsea, may understand these things, and send me your answer betime. 'Judas sleepeth not ; neither know we the day nor the hour.' The Lord Jesus Christ, with his Holy Spirit, comfort and strengthen us all. Amen.

"May the sixth, anno 1554.

"Yours, and with you unto death, in Christ,
JOHN HOOVER."

In exhortation to patience, sent to his godly wife, Ann Hoover : whereby all the true members of Christ may take comfort and courage to suffer trouble and affliction for the profession of his holy gospel.

"Our Saviour Jesus Christ—dearly beloved, and my godly wife—in St. Matthew's Gospel said to his disciples, That it was necessary scandals should come : and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should

perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should condemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine or godly ways should be showed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not ; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a Christian man, with such works and fruits of his profession and Christianity, as his fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works ; and will not try them by the word of God at all. These men, by the just judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtilty of the devil, that they may be kept by one scandalous stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost : as ye may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own lusts, to do one mischief after another ; careless, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itself, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone ; because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of God's word offered unto them : and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where such corrupt minds be, there is also corrupt election and choice of God's honour : so that the mind of man taketh falsehood for truth, superstition for true religion, death for life, damnation for salvation, hell for heaven, and persecution of Christ's members for God's service and honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God, even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to, any thing that God would have preached and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word : wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word : even so can they not abide any other man, to be a Christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God ; but hate him, persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, whether it be man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they pass off no law, whether it be God's or man's, but persecute such as never offended ; yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God's grace.

"In their Pharisaical and blind fury they have

no respect to nature. For the brother persecuteth the brother, the father the son; and most dear friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the world doth use to serve the devil under cloaked hypocrisy of God's title) Christ said, It is expedient and necessary that scandals should come: and many means be devised to keep the little babes of Christ from the heavenly Father; but Christ saith, Woe be unto him by whom the offence cometh! Yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it, unto the world's end: For as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Therefore, forasmuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves, that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment: Ye shall possess your lives in patience, saith he. In the which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles. He sheweth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for, in troubles. And, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our persecutors: because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midst of all troubles the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair, therefore, tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself! Wherefore let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us; but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

“That the spirit of man may feel these consolations,

the giver of them, the heavenly Father, must be prayed unto, for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed by God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the man weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come; and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's precious blood; and so, for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys, contemn all things present—doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

“Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitory life, and therein sheweth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world: If ye be risen again with Christ, saith he, seek the things which are above; where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Wherefore, the Christian man's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joy and consolation, but also the victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and all other tyrants and persecutors of Christ and of Christ's people; the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up; their wounds healed; their bodies made immortal in joy; their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect, in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

“In this first part St. Paul commandeth us, to think or set our affections on things that are above. When he biddeth us seek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never cease from prayer and study in God's word, until we see, know, and understand, the vanities of this world; the shortness and misery of this life, and the treasures of the world to come; the immortality thereof, the joys of that life; and so never cease seeking, until such time as we know certainly and be persuaded, what a blessed man he is, that seeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he lose it. And in seeking to have right judgment between the life present and the life to come, we shall find how little the pains, imprisonment, slan-

ers, lies, and death itself is, in this world, in respect of pains everlasting, the prison infernal, and dungeon of hell, the sentence of God's just judgment, and everlasting death.

"When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he (as St. Paul saith) set his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life present; as you may see how, daily, men and women can praise and commend, yea, and wish for heaven, and to be at rest there, yet they set not their affection upon it: they do more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this world that pleaseth their affection, than the treasure of all treasures in heaven, which their own judgments saith is better than all worldly things. Wherefore we must set our affections upon the things that be above; that is to say, when any thing, worse than heaven, upon earth, offereth itself to be ours, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see, by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and such things as be for this worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment must take place; Set your affections on things that are above. If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must set our affection upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that as our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present; so we should choose them before other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done; for they choose the best and approve it, and yet follow the worst.

"But these things, my godly wife, require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer, than words or talk. They be easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore, seeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who seeth and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled and destitute of all his blessed gifts, we be, by reason of sin. He did command therefore his disciples, when he showed them that they should take patiently the state of this present life, full of troubles and persecution, to say that they might

well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find yourself too much oppressed, (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment,) use the seventy-seventh Psalm, that beginneth, I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me: in which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

"Use also in such trouble the eighty-eighth Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himself, that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him, yet he by prayer humbly resorted unto God, as the only port of consolation, and, in the midst of his desperate state of trouble, put the hope of his salvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit no man of himself can do this; but the Spirit of God, that striketh the man's heart with fear—prayeth for the man stricken and feared, with unspeakable groanings. And when you feel yourself, or know any other, oppressed after such sort, be glad; for, after that God hath made you to know what you be of yourself, he will doubtless show you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Christ his only Son; and use prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be sought unto for his gifts. These Psalms be for the purpose, when the mind can take no understanding, nor the heart any joy, of God's promises: and therefore were the sixth, twenty-second, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-eighth, and sixty-ninth Psalms also made, from the which you shall learn both patience and consolation. Remember, that although your life (as all Christian men's be) be hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe (as St. Paul saith) with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open with him in glory. But, in the mean time, with seeking and setting our affections upon the things that be above, we must patiently suffer whatsoever God shall send unto us in this mortal life. Notwithstanding, it might fortune that some would say, 'Who is so perfect, that can let all things pass as they come, and have no care of them; suffer all things, and feel nothing; be tempted of the devil, the world, and the flesh, and be not troubled?' Verily no man living. But this I say, that, in the strength of Jesus Christ things that come may pass with care, for we be worldly; and yet are we not carried with them from Christ, for we be in him godly. We may suffer things, and feel them as mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as Christian men. We may be tempted

of the devil, the flesh, and the world; but yet, although those things pinch, they do not pierce; and, although they work sin in us, yet in Christ no damnation to those that be grafted in him. Hereof may the Christian man learn both consolation and patience: consolation, in that he is compelled both in his body and goods to feel pain and loss; and in the soul heaviness and anguish of mind: howbeit none of them both shall separate him from the love that God beareth him in Christ. He may learn patience, forasmuch as his enemies both of body and soul, and the pains also they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet, when death cometh, they shall avoid, and give place to such joys as be prepared for us in Christ: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they shall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be servants of God, to go and come as he commandeth them. But we must take heed we meddle not forcibly nor seditiously to put away the persecution appointed unto us by God. Remember Christ's saying, Possess you your lives by your patience. And in this commandment God requireth of every man and woman this patient obedience. He saith not, it is sufficient that other holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, continued their lives in patience, and patient suffering the trouble of this world; but Christ saith to every one of his people, By your own patience ye shall continue your life: not that man hath patience in himself, but that he must have it for himself of God, the only giver of it, if he purpose to be a godly man. Now, therefore, as our profession and religion requireth patience outwardly, without resistance and force; so requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he use us, that be his own creatures, as him listeth.

"We may not also murmur against God, but say always, his judgments be right and just—and rejoice that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us, as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this world; and have a singular care to this commandment, Be glad and rejoice; for he sheweth great cause why: Your reward, saith he, is great in heaven. These promises of him that is the truth itself shall, by God's grace, work both consolation and patience in the afflicted Christian person. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God, in the end of trouble, in Christ hath ordained eternal consolation; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked world doth curse and abhor such poor troubled Christians. Wherefore

Christ placeth all his honourably, and saith, Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. We may also see with whom the afflicted for Christ's sake be esteemed, by St. Paul to the Hebrews, whereas the number of the blessed and glorious company of saints appear now to our faith in heaven, in joy; yet, in the letter, for the time of this life, in such pains and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore consider both them, and all other things of the world since the fall of man, and we shall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with such confusion and disorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather lost for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to heaven (no not Christ himself) until such time as the world had thought verily that both he and all his had been clean destroyed and cast away? as the wise man saith of the wicked people, We thought them to be fools, but they be in peace.

"We may learn by things that nourish and maintain us, both meat and drink, what loathsomeness and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from that they were when they were alive; from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all-to-hacked; from the trencher to the mouth, and as small ground as the teeth can grind them; and from the mouth into the stomach, and there so boiled and digested before they nourish, that whosoever saw the same, would loathe and abhor his own nourishment, before it come to his perfection.

"Is it then any marvel if such Christians as God delighteth in, be so mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchen and mill to boil and grind the flesh of God's people in, till they achieve their perfection in the world to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meat when it is full digested, and not before; so must he look for his salvation when he hath passed this troublous world, and not before. Raw flesh is not meat wholesome for man: and unmortified men and women be not creatures meet for God. Therefore Christ saith, that his people must be broken, and all-to-be-torn in the mill of this world; and so shall they be most fine meal unto the heavenly Father. And it shall be a Christian man's part, and the duty of a mind replenished with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things; how he deal-eth with them, and how they suffer; and be content to let God do his will upon them: as St. Paul saith, They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled, and never be at rest, but look for the time when God's people shall appear in glory.

"We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation; as Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed. Joseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) lord over his brethren. When Christ would make the blind man to see, he put clay upon his eyes, which, after the judgment of man, was a means rather to make him doubly blind, than to give him his sight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to man's reason. And as touching this world, he useth all his after the same sort. If any smart, his people be the first; if any suffer shame, they begin; if any be subject to slander, it is those that he loveth: so that he showeth no face or favour, nor love almost in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their sore eyes that be sorrowful: yet the patient man seeth, as St. Paul saith, life hid under these miseries and adversities, and sight under foul clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good conscience, and believeth God's promises to be his consolation in the world to come; which is more worth unto him, than all the world is worth besides: and blessed is that man in whom God's Spirit beareth record, that he is the Son of God, whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

"And to judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew: of the which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye shall in this time see this great consolation, and also learn much patience. Were there ever such troubles, as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? Was there since the beginning of the world such affliction? Who was then best at ease? The apostles, that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand; that is to say, your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself, and so be the people of the

world. For when God saith, Trouble shall come, they will have ease. And when God saith, Be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were cast-a-ways. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice; never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent; but, at the latter day, there shall be absolute judgment, and sentence (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men; and yet, towards the end of the world, we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment (and I suppose, for my part, shortly death); now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus, our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen.

"October the thirteenth, A. D. 1553."

To a certain godly woman, instructing her how she should behave herself in the time of her widowhood.

"The grace of God and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy gospel. Amen.

"I thank you, dear sister, for your most loving remembrance; and, although I cannot recompense the same, yet do I wish, with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase, by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God; and that you diligently apply yourself to follow the same: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of St. Paul, It is lawful for the widow or maiden to marry to whom they list, so it be in the Lord; that is to say, to such a one as is of Christ's religion. Dearly beloved in Christ,

remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Whereof I will, when I have better leisure, (as now I have none at all,) further advertise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who stablish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord! Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

“Yours assured in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER.”

To all my dear brethren, my relievers and helpers in the city of London.

“The grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you, dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the hands of my servant William Downton, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you and for you, who hath moved your hearts to show this kindness towards me; praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your souls, as you preserve my body from hunger and other necessities which should happen unto me, were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed not one halfpenny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them, and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God: and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, wishing no further extremity to be used towards us. Yet, if the contrary seem best unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea, death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretches and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and licence of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will; and then, although both we and all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die—no, although the sword be drawn out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet, when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to God’s will, and was content to kill his son, God then saved his son.

“Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey

God’s will, and for his commandment’s sake to surrender our goods and our lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for God’s cause, nor can any thing at length do us good that is preserved contrary unto God’s commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom; for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his commandments. That can by no means be taken from us, which he would should tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means serve: for he that so doth, shall have as many changes as chance in the world. To-day with the world he shall like and praise the truth of God; to-morrow as the world will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man: to-day with Christ, and to-morrow with antichrist. Wherefore, dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward spirits and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man, (I say,) not after the manner of men, but after the infallible word of God.

“Refrain from evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world, in external service, the thing that is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must together concur in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teacheth. For if an honest wife be bound to give both heart and body to faith and service in marriage, and if an honest wife’s faith in the heart cannot stand with an unchaste or defiled body outwardly; much less can the true faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external idolatry; for the mystery of marriage is not so honourable between man and wife, as it is between Christ and every Christian man, as St. Paul saith.

“Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our salvation both of body and soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him: for doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one, and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say our souls serve

him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary for civil order and policy.

"But, alas! I know by myself, what troubleth you; that is, the great danger of the world, that will revenge, ye think, your service to God with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands. But, dear brethren, weigh of the other side, that your enemies and God's enemies shall not do so much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kingdoms of the earth. But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how sore and how fervently the sun shall trouble us in our labour; but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him, who can and will so moderate all afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him, than in Christ he shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your souls and bodies.

"September the second, anno 1554.

"Yours, with my poor prayer,

JOHN HOOPER."

To a merchant of London, by whose means he had received much comfort in his great necessity in the Fleet.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity by your charitable means; but most rejoice that you be not altered from truth, although falsehood cruelly seeketh to distain her. Judge not, my brother, truth by outward appearance; for truth now worse appeareth, and more vilely is rejected, than falsehood. Leave the outward show, and see, by the word of God, what truth is; and accept truth, and dislike her not, though man call her falsehood. As it is now, so it hath been heretofore, the truth rejected and falsehood received. Such as have professed truth, for truth have snarled, and the friends of falsehood laughed them to scorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary success; the one having the commendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falsehood by God; flourishing for a time, with endless destruction: the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortal joys. Wherefore, dear brother, ask and demand of your book, the Testament of Jesus Christ, in those woeful and wretched days, what you should think, and what you should stay upon for a certain truth; and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your book, whe-

ther it be true or false. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to lose the treasure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray; and in Christ daily require help, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace, and defence, that the wickedness of this world prevail not against us. We began well, God preserve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at so much charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write I crave. Send me nothing till I send to you for it; and so tell the good men, your partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you.

"December the third, anno 1554.

"Yours, with my prayer,

JOHN HOOPER."

To Mistress Wilkinson, a woman hearty in God's cause, and comfortable to his afflicted members: afterwards dying in exile at Frankfurt.

"The grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit, be with you. Amen.

"I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how Christianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourself to suffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger yourself to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf; and in suffering of transitory pains, you shall avoid permanent torments in the world to come. Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his displeasure, turneth at length to unspeakable pains; and the gains of the world, with the loss of his favour, is beggary and wretchedness. Reason is to be amended in this cause of religion: for it will choose and follow an error with the multitude, if it may be allowed, rather than turn to faith, and follow the truth with the people of God. Moses found the same fault in himself, and did amend it, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to use the liberty of the king's daughter, that accounted him as her son. Pray for contentation and peace of the Spirit, and rejoice in such troubles as shall happen to you for the truth's sake: for in that part Christ saith, you be happy. Pray also for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whose tuition and defence I commend you."

To my dear friends in God, Master John Hall and his wife, exhorting them to stand fast in the truth.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to show unto you such favour, that whatsoever trouble and adversity happen, ye go not back from him. These days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort ourselves in calling to remembrance the days of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thousands, died for the testimony of Jesus Christ, both men and women, suffering with patience and constancy as much cruelty as tyrants could devise, and so departed out of this miserable world to the bliss everlasting, where now they remain for ever; looking always for the end of this sinful world, when they shall receive their bodies again in immortality, and see the number of the elect associated with them in full and consummate joys: and, as virtuous men suffering martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this world with pains, by and by rested in joys everlasting; and as their pains ended their sorrows, and began ease, so did their constancy and steadfastness animate and confirm all good people in the truth, and gave them encouragement and lust to suffer the like, rather than to fall with the world to consent unto wickedness and idolatry. Wherefore, my dear friends, seeing God, of his part, hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true faith, wherein the apostles and evangelists, and all martyrs, suffered most cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for strength and perseverance, that through your own fault ye be not ashamed or afraid to confess it. Yet ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, nor antichrist with all his imps can prove it to be false. They may kill and persecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is short and miserable; happy be they that can spend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good men and women.

"December the twenty-second, anno 1554.

"Your brother in Christ,

JOHN HOOPEE."

To my dearly beloved sister in the Lord, Mistress Anne Warcop.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving token. I pray you burden not yourself too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hinderance to many. I did

rejoice at the coming of this bearer, to understand of your constancy, and how that you be fully resolved, by God's grace, rather to suffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you grace to begin so infallible a truth, will follow you in the same unto the end. But, my loving sister, as you be travelling this perilous journey, take this lesson with you, practised by wise men; whereof you may read in the second of St. Matthew's Gospel. Such as travelled to find Christ, followed only the star; and as long as they saw it, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their journey. But when they entered into Jerusalem (whereas the star led them not thither, but unto Bethlehem) and there asked the citizens the thing that the star showed before; as long as they tarried in Jerusalem, and would be instructed where Christ was born, they were not only ignorant of Bethlehem, but also lost the sight of the star that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any case, whilst we be going in this life to seek Christ that is above, to beware that we lose not the star of God's word, that only is the mark that showeth us where Christ is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Jerusalem stood in the way, and was an impediment to these wise men; so doth the synagogue of antichrist, that beareth the name of Jerusalem, which by interpretation is called the vision of peace, and amongst the people now is called the catholic church, stand in the way that pilgrims must go by through this world to Bethlehem, the house of saturity and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all Christian travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the pilgrims still in her, that they shall not come where Christ is at all. And to stay them indeed, they take away the star of light, which is God's word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the celestial star was hid from the wise men, when they asked of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these wise men, whilst they were learning of liars where Christ was. First, they were out of their way, and next they lost their guide and conductor, the heavenly star. Christ is mounted from us into heaven, and there we seek him (as we say); and let us go thitherward by the star of his word. Beware we happen not to come into Jerusalem, the church of men, and ask for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and lose also our conductor and guide, that only leadeth us straight thither.

"The poets write in fables, that Jason, when he fought with the dragon in the isle of Colchis, was preserved by the medicines of Medea, and so won

the golden fleece. And they write also that Phaeton, whom they feign to be the son and heir of the high god Jupiter, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the sun round about the world ; but, as they feigned, he missed of the accustomed course : whereupon when he went too high, he burned heaven, and when he went too low, he burned the earth and the water. These profane histories do shame us that be Christian men. Jason, against the poison of the dragon, used only the medicine of Medea. What a shame is it for a Christian man, against the poison of the devil, heresy, and sin, to use any other remedy than Christ and his word ! Phaeton, for lack of knowledge, was afraid of every sign of the zodiac, that the sun passeth by : wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himself in the sea. Christian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of such dangers as Christian men must needs pass by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

"Sister, take heed ! you shall, in your journey towards heaven, meet with many a monstrous beast : have salve of God's word therefore ready. You shall meet husband, children, lovers, and friends, that shall, if God be not with them, (as God be praised he is, I would it were with all other alike,) be very lets and impediments to your purpose. You shall meet with slander and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly ; you shall hear and meet with cruel tyranny to do you all extremities ; you shall now and then see the troubles of your own conscience, and feel your own weakness ; you shall hear that you be cursed by the sentence of the catholic church, with such-like terrors : but pray to God, and follow the star of his word, and you shall arrive at the port of eternal salvation, by the merits only of Jesus Christ : to whom I commend you and all yours most heartily.

"Yours in Christ,

JOHN HOOPER."

Unto these letters of Master Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex also another certain epistle, not of Master Hooper's, but written to him by a famous learned man, Henry Bullinger, chief superintendent in the city of Zurich : of whose singular love and tender affection toward Master Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of Master Hooper's life discoursed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye shall hear by this present letter, as followeth.

A letter of Master Bullinger to the most reverend father, Master John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ, my fellow elder and most dear brother in England.

"The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those who are in bands and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace though Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

"I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May of this present year, both written out of prison. But I, doubting lest I should make answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole libels rather than letters ; whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you : as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in prison, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you, and to your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophesy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass ; especially when we did talk of the power of antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel, His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength ; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew, chap. x., by John, in chap. xv. and xvi., and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written, in 2 Tim. iii. Wherefore I do nothing doubt, by God's grace, of your faith and patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not asked for, nor come by chance ; but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel : for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papists, those worshippers of antichrist, do persecute ? All things touching salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his disciples ; but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their antichrist, and to his institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that

Elias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know, that he is the fulness of his church, and that perfectly : but if antichrist be king and priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ, or who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the apostle calleth the adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to use these disputations with you which are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being persuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

“Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ, and to defy antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ : He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son : but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord’s sake : for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome, by his power, the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome ; promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence. For so again saith the angel of the Lord : If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God ; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath : and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore ; and they shall have no rest, day nor night, which worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of saints ; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. To this he added by and by, I heard a voice saying to me, Write, Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord ; from henceforth, or speedily, they be blessed : Even so, saith the Spirit ; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them : for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.

“Therefore, seeing you have such a large pro-

mise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end. Consider that Christ, the Son of God, is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs are your fellow soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are men sinful and mortal, whose favour a wise man would not buy with the value of a farthing : and, besides that, our life is frail, short, brittle, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord ; who grant unto you, and to all your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy ! Commend me to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Dr. Cranmer, bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, and the good old father Dr. Latimer. Them, and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord’s cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow ministers, the which do speak unto you the grace of God, and constancy in the truth.

“Concerning the state of our church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profess the faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise of our Lord !

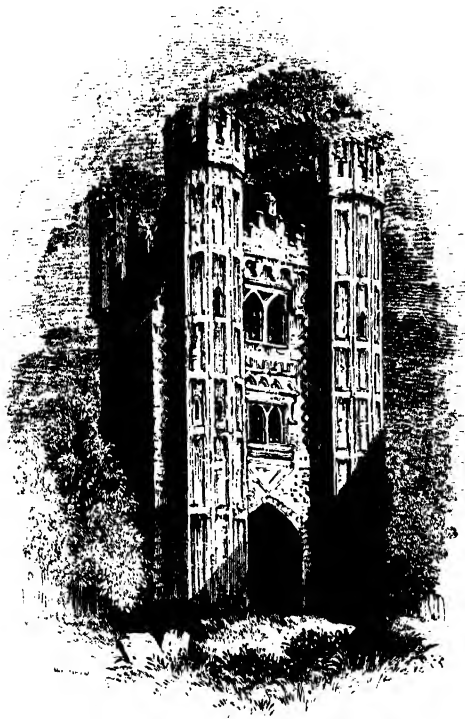
“The word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

“In the mean while the godly sustain grievous persecutions, and, with great constancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my household, with my sons-in-law and kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do all salute you, and pray for your constancy ; being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to us Englishmen ; students, both godly and learned. They be received of our magistrate. Ten of them dwell together ; the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst others, Master Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at commandment ; whereof I will write also to your wife, for I understand she abideth at Frankfort.

“Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when and in what sort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus show pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the same with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally.

“The tenth of October, anno 1554. From Zurich.

“You know the hand, H. B.”



ANCIENT GATEWAY, HADLEIGH.

The history of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who suffered for the truth of God's word, under the tyranny of the Roman bishops, the ninth day of February, A. D. 1555.

The town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney: by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number of that parish became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of St. Paul's Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a

town of cloth-making or labouring people; and (what most is to be commended) they were for the more part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

In this town was Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, parson; who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant, unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: but, contrarily, he forsook the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in Hadley, among the people committed to his charge; where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of Holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, Peter, lovest thou me?

Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep. This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but, as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking sinful and evil doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge, or evil will; ready to do good to all men; readily forgiving his enemies; and never sought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider; insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop: a good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the Sixth. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever ssembled and dissembled, both with King Henry the Eighth and King Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and, contrary to that they had all these two kings' days preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all

the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk of Hadley, which Foster had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry, conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the pope and his maumetry again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Averth, parson of Aldham, a very money mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open advouterer and whoremonger, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin again the popish mass.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their mass again about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down: wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Dr. Taylor, who, according to his custom, sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ringing, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office: and, coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he, entering in, and coming in the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new-shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "Thou devil! who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that started up Foster, and with an ireful and

furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, "Thou traitor! what dost thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?" Dr. Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such popish idolatry, to poison Christ's flock."

Then said Foster, "Wilt thou traitorously, heretic! make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?"

Dr. Taylor answered, "I make no commotion; but it is you papists, that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, thou dost against the canon law, which commandeth, that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of mass: then started up John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, be not afraid, you have a *super-altare*, go forth with your business, man."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the church; and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, she kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury, that this popish idolater to this day doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the papists have ever yet used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that say, "The law of unrighteousness is our strength: come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear," &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter mis-

sive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry and aggrieved in mind; which when foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alleging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

Then said Dr. Taylor to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death; yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing."

Then said his friends, "Master Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth, both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldham, with others that came hither to bring again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should fly into another; we think, in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors."

"Oh," quoth Dr. Taylor, "what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with God's grace) to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall, with much more diligence and fruit, teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

"As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now; nor I shall ever have so glorious a calling as I now

have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood; so that all their doctrine, even from 'Christ's cross be my speed,' and St. Nicholas, unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies.

"Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me; and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they, with weeping eyes, commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named Sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadley one Alcock, a very godly man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who, after Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English litanies in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate; where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who, being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the bishop; and proffered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him.

But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto; but said, "O John! shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good Shepherd Christ, which not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and, with God's grace, will do. Therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me; and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose."

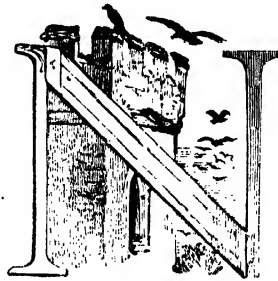
Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor of England. For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three devilish mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ; the which three be these.

First, they have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and left undone.

Secondly, it hath also puffed up many bishops, and other spiritual persons, into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they, by this means, knew the very secrets of princes, they, being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, afore the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometimes to the destruction of princes, and sometimes to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

The examination of Dr. Taylor.



OW, when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, all to reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches;

all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him: "My Lord," quoth he, "I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man; and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your Lordship hath sent for me."

Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I know you you are. Ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto that blessed King Henry the Eighth of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed King Edward the Sixth his son?"

The bishop answered, "Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath: unlawful; and therefore worthy to

be broken : I have done well in breaking it ; and, I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the catholic Church of Rome ; and so I would thou shouldst do."

Dr. Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve ? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him."

"I tell thee," quoth the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herod's oath, unlawful ; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept : and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Then said Dr. Taylor, "But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can assail you, neither the pope nor any of his."

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool."

"My Lord," quoth Dr. Taylor, "leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know, that he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of a council ; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The bishop answered, "Ye are false, and liars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul. And again, Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies. And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"Thou art married ?" quoth the bishop. "Yea," quoth Dr. Taylor, "that I thank God I am ; and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony ; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom." Then said the bishop, "Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldst not suffer the parson of Aldham (a very virtuous and devout priest) to say mass in Hadley." Dr. Taylor answered, "My Lord, I am parson of Hadley ; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock com-

mitted unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass."

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, "Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament (and put off his cap) : and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Dr. Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do ; and confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption ; and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness showed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us."

"Thou sayest well," quoth the bishop ; "it is all that thou hast said, and more too ; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then answered Dr. Taylor, "Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we need any more propitiatory sacrifice : and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, 'Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion : a sacrifice of thanksgiving ;' and therefore the fathers called it *eucharistia* : and other sacrifice hath the church of God none."

"It is true," quoth the bishop, "the sacrament is called *eucharistia*, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption ; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done." Then called the bishop his men, and said, "Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept."

Then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee ; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord, deliver us : and God be praised for good King Edward." So they carried him to prison to the King's Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend

of his; thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant mass-mongers, with their Latin babblings and apish ceremonies; who, like cruel wolves, spared not to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whispered against their popery. As for the godly preachers which were in King Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in King Ahab's days, they were privily kept in corners. As many as the papists could lay hold on, they were sent into prison; there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison called the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Master Bradford; which man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time; as even his adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Master Bradford, hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow. And so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other; inasmuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

Dr. Taylor brought forth to be deprived.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the Arches, at Bow-church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was

led thither, his keeper waiting upon him; where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming, by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound, on pain of damnation, to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him; but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

"You do me wrong then," quoth Dr. Taylor; and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself. But all prevailed not; for he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or sold, I wot not whether, to one Master Newcalle, whose great virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. Taylor, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners full well have proved.

Dr. Taylor brought again before Winchester and other bishops.

After a year and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by King Henry the Eighth and by King Edward, to be again revived by parliament; so that now they might, *ex officio*, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they listed; and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them: when these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor, with certain other prisoners, who were again convented before the chancellor and other commissioners, about the twenty-second of January. The purport and effect of which talk between them, because it is sufficiently described by himself, in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said letter hereunder, as followeth.

"Whereas you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me, on Tuesday, twenty-second of January, so far as I remember: first, my Lord Chancellor said, 'You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's and queen's Majesties' favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm; from the which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive: for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ,

to antichrist. 'For I do believe, that the religion set forth in King Edward's days, was according to the vein of the Holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline, so long as I live, by God's grace.'

"Then Master Secretary Bourn said, 'Which of the religions mean ye of, in King Edward's days? For ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my Lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?' I answered, 'My Lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name: and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was, after that, set forth by the most innocent King Edward, (for whom God be praised everlastingly,) The Whole Church-service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm: which book was never reformed but once; and yet, by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Didst thou never read the book that I set forth of the sacraments?'—I answered, that I had read it.

"Then he said, 'How liketh thou that book?'—With that one of the council (whose name I know not) said, 'My Lord, that is a good question: for I am sure that book stoppeth all their mouths.' Then said I, 'My Lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of God's word in that book.'

"Then my Lord said, 'Thou art a very varlet.' To that I answered, 'That is as ill as *raca* or *fatue*.' Then my Lord said, 'Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow.'—To that I answered, 'I have read over and over again the Holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through; St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through, once; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my Lord, I professed the civil laws, as your Lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also.'

"Then my Lord said, 'With a corrupt judgment thou readest all things: touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written divers books.'—Then said I, 'My Lord, ye did write one book, *De Vera Obedientia*: I would you had been constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a

good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book.'

"Then my Lord said, 'Tut, tut, tut; I wrote against Bucer in priests' marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many years.'—To that I answered, 'I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realm against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws.'

"Then spake my Lord of Durham, saying, 'You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that Justinian writeth, that priests should, at their taking of orders, swear that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum*.'—To that I answered, that I did not remember any such law of Justinian. 'But I am sure, that Justinian writeth, *In Titulo de indicta Viduitate*, (in Cod.) that if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions, and oath taken and made against marriage: and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made to man.—Moreover, in the *Pandects* it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her patron shall lose *jus patronatus*, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?'—I answered, 'By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to Timothy, saith, It is a heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.'

"Then said my Lord Chancellor, 'Thou liest of Chrysostom. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, belie ever without shame both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.'—I answered, 'We read in the Decrees, that the four general councils—Nicene, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon—have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same Decrees, (which is one of the chief books of the canon

law,) that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages: therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou falsifiest the general council; for there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives, which be married.'—Then said I, 'If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine: let the book be fetched!'"

"Then spake my Lord of Durham: 'Though they be not there, yet they may be in Ecclesiastica Historia, which Eusebius wrote; out of which book the decree was taken.'—To that said I, 'It is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.'—I answered, 'My Lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Nay, I call *thee* a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the catholic church?' And with that he rose.—And I said, 'By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church.'

"Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: and my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou shalt have judgment within this week:' and so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My Lord of Durham would, that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men."

And thus much was contained in the aforesaid letter of Doctor Taylor for that matter.

Besides this letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his, concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewise here to express as followeth.

"It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the Holy Scripture. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops, consenting to this sentence against me, be heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that bishops, priests, and deacons, may be married; knowing also that, by St. Paul's doctrine, it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul willeth every faithful minister to teach the people so, lest they be deceived by the marked merchants.

"These bishops are not ignorant, that it is not only St. Paul's counsel, and lawful, but God's commandment also, to marry—for such as cannot otherwise live chaste, neither avoid fornication.

"They know that such as do marry, do not sin.

"They know that God, before sin was, ordained matrimony, and that in Paradise, between two of his principal creatures, man and woman.

"They know what spirit they have, which say it is evil to marry, (seeing God said, It is not good for man to be alone without a wife,) having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance, divers times repeated in the book of Genesis, which is, to increase and multiply.

"They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him; leaving father and mother, and country, the while, at God's commandment. For though father and mother and other friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joined together, as man and wife in matrimony; which must needs be holy, for that it is a figure and similitude of Christ and his church.

"They know that St. Paul giveth a great praise to matrimony, calling it honourable; and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whosoever have need of that God's remedy, for man's and woman's infirmity.

"They know that if there were any sin in matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bed-company. But St. Paul saith, that the bed-company is undefiled.

"They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Jacob, David, &c., to talk with God; neither to the Levites', bishops', and priests' office, in the time of the Old Testament or the New.

"They know that Christ would not be conceived or born of his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, before she was espoused in marriage, his own ordinance.

"They know, by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that a vow is not an impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

"They know that St. Chrysostom saith, it is heresy to affirm that a bishop may not have a wife.

"They know that Ambrose will have no commandment, but counsel only to be given, touching the observing of virginity.

"They know that Christ, with his blessed mother and the apostles, were at a marriage, and [therefore] beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

"To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of priests, is

true: and they know that the papists themselves do not observe, touching that matter, their own laws and canons, and yet they continue marked in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will. Amen.

"My second cause why I was condemned a heretic is, that I denied transubstantiation and concomitance, two juggling words of the papists, by the which they do believe, and will compel all other to believe, that Christ's natural body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be joined thereunto; so that immediately after the words called 'the words of consecration,' there is no more bread and wine in the sacrament, but the substance only of the body and blood of Christ together with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christ, both God and man, ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same. This matter was not long debated in words: but because I denied the aforesaid papistical doctrine, (yea rather, plain, most wicked, idolatry, blasphemous, and heresy,) I was judged a heretic.

"I did also affirm the pope to be antichrist, and popery antichristianity. And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all and singular matters of Christian religion, and of salvation.

"I also alleged, that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's pre-eminence: for Chrysostom saith, that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm, were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both body and goods, in subjection to the kingly authority, who hath the sword in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to antichrist, from light to darkness, from verity to vanity.

"Thus you know the sum of my last examination and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

"God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had Judge Hales. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmovably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting but that my dear God will perform and finish the work, that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen."

And thus much wrote Dr. Taylor, concerning this matter, to his friend.

You heard in the former answers a little before, certain allegations touched of Dr. Taylor out of St. Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, touching the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Now ye shall hear the places of the said doctors cited and produced out of their own books, as here ensueth.

The places of the doctors alleged before, in Dr. Taylor's letter.

"This question was asked of St. Cyprian, 'What should be done with those religious persons, that could not keep their chastity as they had vowed.' He answered thus: 'Thou dost ask what we do judge of virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chastely, are afterward found in bed with a man. Of the which thou sayest, that one of them was a deacon. We do with great sorrow see the great ruin of many persons, which cometh by the reason of such unlawful and perilous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themselves unto Christ in faith, to live purely and chastely, then let them so remain without any fable, and strongly and stedfastly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or else cannot abide, then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of concupiscence: and let them give to the brethren and sisters none occasion of slander,' &c.

"'Certain men do affirm, those men to be adulterers, that do marry after that they have vowed chastity. But I do affirm, that those men do grievously sin, the which do separate them,' &c.

"'Chastity of the body ought to be desired of us: which thing I do give for a counsel, and do not command it imperiously. For virginity is a thing which ought to be only counselled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a precept.'"

A brief recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's causes afore touched, for the reader more evidently to see how the papists do against their own knowledge, in forbidding priests' marriage.

"The pope's clergy, forbidding ecclesiastical persons to marry, do against their conscience and knowledge, as may well be proved by these causes hereunder following.

"First; they know that matrimony in the Old Testament, *de jure institutionis*, is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

"Secondly; they know that in the Old Testament, *de facto*, both priests, Levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others, had their wives.

"Thirdly; they know that matrimony was permitted and instituted of God, for two principal ends; to wit, for procreation, and avoiding of sin.

"Fourthly; they know that in the Old Testament God not only instituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but also induceth and appointeth men to marry and take wives, in these words: It is not good for a man to be alone, &c.

"Fifthly; they know that in the New Testament St. Paul permitteth the state of matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

"Sixthly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth, but also expressly willeth and chargeth men, having not the gift, to marry; saying, For avoiding fornication, let every man have his wife, &c.

"Seventhly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth and commandeth, but also commendeth and praiseth the state of matrimony, calling it 'honourable,' and the bed-company to be 'undefiled,' &c.

"Eighthly; they know that in the New Testament Christ himself not only was not conceived nor born of the Virgin before she was espoused in matrimony; but also, that both he and his blessed mother did beautify and honour the state of matrimony with their presence: yea, in the same began his first miracle.

"Ninthly; they know both by the Old Testament and New, that marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of God's commandment; for both Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old, yea, and barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him: and also to Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and others, their marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, bishops, and priests, in the time of both the Old Testament and of the New. Again, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and also to supply the office of apostleship.

"Tenthly; they know, both by the Old Testament and New, that sinful fornication and adultery depriveth man of God's favour and graces of the Holy Ghost, which graces especially be requisite in the men of the church.

"Eleventhly; they know in their own secret conscience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this vow of chastity, nor they which take it, do observe the vow of chastity. Whereupon rise inconveniences more than can be expressed: but the Lord above knoweth all, besides the secret murders, peradventure, of many a poor infant, &c.

"Twelfthly; they know by St. Cyprian, and St.

Augustine, that a vow is no impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

"Thirteenthly; they know that Chrysostom affirmeth it to be a heresy to say, that a bishop may not have a wife.

"Fourteenthly; they know that St. Ambrose will have no commandment, but counsel only, to be given touching the observing of virginity.

"Fifteenthly; they know that before the time of Pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of one thousand years after Christ, marriage was never restrained, by any forcible necessity or vow, from men of the church.

"Sixteenthly; they know that St. Paul calleth it the doctrine of devils, to forbid meats and marriage, which God hath left free, with thanksgiving, for necessity of man and woman."

After that Dr. Taylor thus, with great spirit and courage, had answered for himself, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their oath made before to King Henry and to King Edward his son, and for betraying the realm into the power of the Roman bishop; they—perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose; that is, to turn with them from Christ to antichrist—committed him thereupon to prison again, where he endured till the last of January.

Dr. Taylor the fourth time, with Master Bradford, and Master Saunders, brought before Winchester and other bishops.



N the day and year aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, and Master Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of

Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham; and there were charged again with heresy and schism: and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors; or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, Master Bradford and Master Saunders, heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist; but they thanked God

for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, "We doubt not, but God the righteous Judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist; and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ."

So was Dr. Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him: "For ye have now another manner of charge," quoth the lord chancellor, "than they had before: therefore look ye; take heed to it."

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night; and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the said Compter in the Poultry a seven-night or thereabouts prisoner, the fourth of February, A. D. 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummery. Now, being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the said Bonner. And at his coming, the bishop said, "Master Doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother, holy church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto Master Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee ere I go." Quoth Dr. Taylor, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him; so he willed another to put them upon his back. And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, "How say you, my Lord? am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?" So the bishop

scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such-like devilish observances.

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said, "My Lord! strike him not, for he will sure strike again." "Yea, by St. Peter will I," quoth Dr. Taylor. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel." So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, "Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us!"* And in going up to his chamber, he still said, "God deliver me from you! God deliver me from you!" And when he came up he told Master Bradford, (for they both lay in one chamber,) that he had made the bishop of London afraid: "for," saith he laughingly, "his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again; and, by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed."

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted unto him, and were, by the gentleness of the keepers, permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons and the keepers of the king's prisons: that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters; but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might. So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their coming-in afore supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany. After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his son Thomas, he said:

"My dear son, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but

* This clause was originally a part of the Litany in the book of Common Prayer.

follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee."

Then, turning to his wife, he said thus:

"My dear wife, continue stedfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it.—Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to you and to my children; whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry."

When he had thus said, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a book of the church-service, set out by King Edward, which he, in the time of his imprisonment, daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of Ecclesiastica Historia; and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last *wale*, as hereafter followeth.

"I say to my wife, and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord! I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits: believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray to him, for he hath

promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

"I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher!

"Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not God: neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and verity.

"Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly, and generally to all England.

"The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, condemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company; through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God and my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

"The fifth of February, anno 1555.

"The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?

"God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn?

"In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded."

On the next morrow after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor; and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watching all night in St. Botolph's church porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Eliza-

beth, of thirteen years of age, (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old,) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

"Now, when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?"—for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here;" and staid. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you; and let him speak to his wife:" and so they staid.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms: and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee,

dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolsack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, whether the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive: and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine



own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony ; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son ; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him ; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, " Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they were come almost at Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who beforetime had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met with them ; and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, " Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty ;" and came to him, and took him by the hand. " Soft, sir," quoth the sheriff, " he is a prisoner ; what hast thou to do with him ?" " I cry you mercy," said Arthur ; " I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison ; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away. And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man : which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared lest, if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand stedfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes) used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmsford met them the sheriff of Suffolk, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him ; and said, " Good Master Doctor ! we are right sorry

for you, considering what the loss is of such a one as ye might be, if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom ; wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years ; and, without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning : and me thinketh it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic Church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's Holiness to be the supreme head of the universal church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon ; which, no doubt, ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good Master Doctor, of a good heart, and good-will toward you : and thereupon I drink to you." In like manner said all the yeomen of the guard, " Upon that condition, Master Doctor, we will all drink to you."

When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, " Master Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will ; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. " Yea, good Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, " God's blessing on your heart ! hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What ! should ye cast away yourself in vain ? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry. At the last, " Good Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, what meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been deceived yourself, and think ye shall deceive many a one in Hadley ?" " Would ye know my meaning plainly ?" quoth he. " Yea," quoth the sheriff, " good Master Doctor, tell it us plainly."

Then said Doctor Taylor, " I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcass, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done ; but here-

in I see I was deceived : and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they ; for this carcass must be burnt to ashes : and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperity ; namely, that he should shortly die, and feed worms in his grave : which meditation if all our bishops and spiritual men had used, they had not, for a little worldly glory, forsaken the word of God and truth, which they, in King Edward's days, had preached and set forth ; nor yet, to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who, at Chelmsford, was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff staid there two days ; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sore to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric, if he would take it : but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind : but upon the sure and unmovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmovable unto the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley ; and, coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired, for somewhat, to light off his horse : which done, he leaped, and set a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. "Why, Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now ?" He answered : "Well, God be praised, good Master Sheriff, never better : for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house.—But, Master Sheriff," said he, "shall we not go through Hadley ?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O good Lord ! I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I have

most heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord ! bless them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and truth."

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children ; who, when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor ! God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children." Such witness had the servant of God, of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime : for God would now the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this : and the sheriff sore rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him ; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voice they cried, saying one to another, "Ah good Lord ! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God ! what shall we poor scattered lambs do ? What shall come of this most wicked world ? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him !" with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

Coming against the almshouses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money which remained of that good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And, coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked, "Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive ?" It was answered, "Yea, they are there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor

now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon Sir Anthony Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the almshouses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus showed he himself in all things an example to his flock worthy to be followed: and taught by his deed, what a great treasure alms is, to all such as cheerfully, for Christ's sake, do it.

At the last, coming to Aldham common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Now was his head knotted evil-favourably, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the *good* bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee:" with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

Then desired he licence of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council. "Well," quoth Dr. Taylor, "promise must be kept."

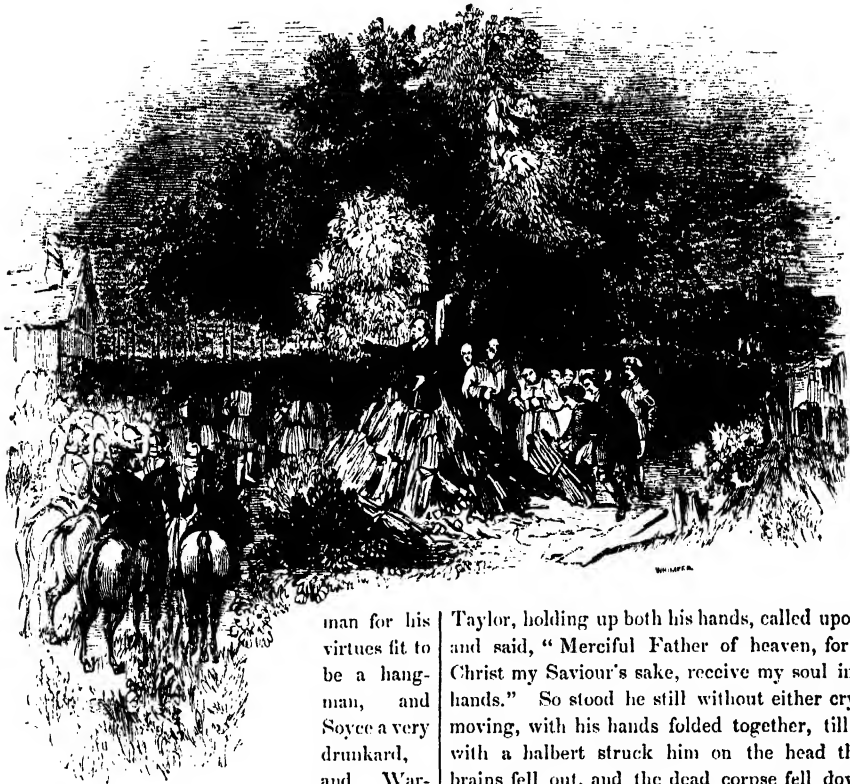
What this promise was, it is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore, they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this mutation of religion, from

truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was; especially this burning of the preachers: but they, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else (that they most feared) the people should more have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand stedfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience toward the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is, to obey God more than men; and, if need require it, to shed their own blood, rather than to depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce. I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away: which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Holmes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him: but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up faggots: but he refused to do it, and said, "I am lame, sir; and not able to lift a faggot." The sheriff threatened to send him to prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

Then appointed he one Mullcine, of Kersey, a



man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwick, who,

Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

in the commotion time in King Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; amongst whom also was one Robert King, a deviser of interludes, who albeit was there present, and had doing there with the gunpowder; what he meant and did therein (he himself saith he did it for the best, and for quick despatch) the Lord knoweth, which shall judge all: more of this I have not to say.

These four were appointed to set up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did: and this Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?"

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm *Miserere*, in English, struck him on the lips: "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin: I will make thee." At the last they set to fire; and Dr.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

They that were present and familiarly conversant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, they never did see in him any fear of death; but especially, and above all the rest which besides him suffered at the same time, always showed himself merry in time of his imprisonment: as well before his condemnation, as after, he kept one countenance and like behaviour; whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of Master John Bradford, who then was in prison and chamber with him.

The same morning, when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning, (about three o'clock in the morning,) being suddenly awaked out of his sound

sleep, he sat up in his bed, and putting on his shirt, said these words, speaking somewhat thick, after his accustomed manner, "Ah, whoreson thieves! ah, whoreson thieves! rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour?" Afterward being risen and tying his points, he cast his arms about a bulk which was in the chamber between Master Bradford's bed and his; and, there, hanging by the hands, said to Master Bradford, "O Master Bradford," quoth he, "what a notable sway should I give if I were hanged!" meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man.—These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those that shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given to this godly and blessed martyr.

At what time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called Sir Robert Bracher, a false pretended protestant in King Edward's days, and afterward a deadly enemy to the same religion; who was also one of them that so unmercifully thrust Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as she herself yet can testify; and notwithstanding the same now since became a protestant again. This Sir Robert Bracher aforesaid, coming to Hadley to the burial of a certain friend of his, and God's great enemy, one Walter Clark, albeit he came somewhat too late to the market, (as he said,) yet desirous to utter such popish pelf and packware as he brought with him, he opened there his baggage of pestilent doctrine, preaching in the same town of Hadley against justification by faith, of the corporal presence, of praying for the dead, and auricular confession; whereof Dr. Taylor having understanding by letters, writeth again to them of Hadley, directing his letter to his wife, in confutation of the said popish poisoned sermon; the copy of which letter we thought not unworthy here, in the end of this story, to be annexed, as under followeth.

"Dear wife, I pray God be ever with us, through Christ our only Mediator. Amen.

"I thank you for my cap; I am somewhat proud of it; for it is one step from the clergy in these days. I thank God my heart is clean divided from their proceedings: for I know that no man can serve two masters, specially if they agree no better than Christ and antichrist do. I am glad that Hadley can skill of such packing-ware as was brought thither the first day of May last past. Christ's sheep can discern Christ's voice from the voice of strangers, thieves, or hirelings. The pack-bringer was sorry that he came too late to the funeral market of his faithful friend. But here I will leave them both to God's judgment, and something touch

the matter whereof the packer made mention on his opening day. At the first he called the Scripture (as I hear) full of dark sentences, but indeed it is called of David, a candle to our feet, and a light to our paths. Our Saviour Christ calleth his word, the light, which evil doers do flee from and hate, lest their deeds should be reproved thereby. St. Paul would have us to walk as children of light, and in any wise not to continue in ignorance or darkness. But all we in the world pertain to two princes; either to the Father of light and truth, or else to the prince of darkness and lies.

"In these days preachers declare evidently of whom they are sent, and with what spirit they speak, and to what prince they belong. For they cry out against God's lights, sun, moon, stars, torches, lamps, lanterns, cressets, and candles, in God's book the Bible, provided of God's great goodness and mercy to avoid all foul darkness, clouds and mists, or dangerous doubtful ways, in this our journey to our heavenly Father's long home, mansion-houses, and dearly purchased heritage. Isaiah, God's faithful messenger, saith, Woe be unto them that call sweet sour, good evil, and light darkness! Therefore cometh my people into captivity, because they have no understanding. Our Saviour Christ pronounceth error and heresies to remain among the people, so long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good consciences, what they mean, which defame or accuse God's blessed word being full of light, as though it were full of darkness. These owls would have all day-lights scraped out of books, hearts, and churches. O Lord, turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkness, lest they go to the prince of darkness, and be cast into the pit of utter darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth!

"Now, touching the packs of wool, and the packs of cloth, I fear they were as all other wares be, transubstantiate into stocks; even his very finest packing stuff against only faith justifying, and for the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, for praying for souls departed, and for auricular confession. Abraham's justification by faith, by grace, by promise, and not by works, is plainly set forth both in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and in the third chapter to the Galatians; and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his son so long after his justification, must needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree justifying before men, and not of justification before God; for then had man to glory in; then did Christ die in vain.

"And whereas the sixth chapter of John was alleged, to prove that Christ did give his body corporally in his supper, even as he had promised in

the said chapter, it is most untrue. For only he gave his body sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually, in his supper to the faithful apostles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody sacrifice for the life of the world upon the cross once for all. There, in his own person, in his own natural body, he bare all our sins. By whose stripes we are healed, as St. Peter proveth. Indeed receiving Christ's sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receive Christ's body and Christ's blood, even, as I said before, the apostles did.

"But the popish mass is another matter. The mass as it is now, is but one of antichrist's youngest daughters, in the which the devil is rather present and received, than our Saviour, the second person in Trinity, God and man. O Lord God, heavenly Father! for Christ's sake, we beseech thee to turn again England to the right way it was in, in King Edward's time, from this Babylonical, Jewish, spiritual whoredom, conspiracy, tyranny, detestable enormities, false doctrine, heresy, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments; from this evident and open idolatry, sacrilege, simony, blasphemy, superstition, hypocrisy, transubstantiate angel of light, and day-devil, kingdom of lies, foul vain schisms, sects, sedition, apostacy, gay sweet poison, honied and sugared viperous venom, wily wolfishness, Satanical subtlety, and abomination in the sight of God, and all such as put on the true spectacles of Holy Scripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, because I fear greatly, that many will be too much ready to go from Christ to antichrist, from the Bible, God's true service and religion, to Latin lying legends, portuenses, mass books, and superstition. They say their church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of God's church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almost in all cases of true faith.

"But, to come again to the packer, rather than preacher, he bringeth St. Chrysostom, writing, *Ad Populum Antiochenum*, where he maketh a comparison between Christ's flesh, and Elias's cloak cast down to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot: at length he said, that Christ ascending up to heaven, took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him in earth.

"The meaning of it is, he did ascend with his flesh, and left a memorial cloak of the same body and flesh, which he calleth his flesh, as he in the sacramental phrase calleth bread his body, because it representeth his body; and as, in like manner of sacramental speech, a lamb was called the passover, the circumcision, God's covenant. He took up his flesh corporally, and left his flesh in mystery and

sacrament spiritually. Or it may be said, that he left his flesh upon earth; that is, his mystical body, his faithful people; whom St. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones. In Genesis xlix. there is no word of Christ's sacrament; but there is a prophecy of Christ's passion wherein his soul was bound, that is, his body. And whereas he speaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as that is spoken of Christ in another place, where he saith, I alone did tread the wine-press; meaning thereby, that Christ alone suffered painful passion for the remission of sins, and for the consolation of his faithful soldiers.

"It is not true, that the packer said, that Christ's infinite power may make his body to be in a thousand places at once, as a loaf to be in a thousand bellies: for then may Christ divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and so consumed; and then might Scripture be false, appointing Christ's body to be but in one place. The articles of our faith tell us sufficiently where Christ's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever shall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally; neither ever was, is, can, or shall be eaten so with any corporal mouth, as the Capernaïtes and the papists most erroneously and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jesus Christ hath no other body natural than is made of the substance of bread, and is in a thousand places at once, as I have often said in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither shall our bodies rise again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are sure that our Saviour Christ's body is made of none other substance than of his mother the blessed Virgin Mary's substance. We are sure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much less of bread. Only he taketh on him the seed of Abraham, in all things like unto us, sin only except. And this is a comfortable doctrine to us Christians, believing stedfastly, as the true catholic faith is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock Christ's church is builded, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.

"I speak nothing now of auricular confession, and praying for souls departed; because I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpose. Sure I am that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for such his packware. He may say what he will of Hebricians and Grecians; and of flesh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, pass and repass, even what he will in such clouds and mists. He reproveth the Scriptures as full of darkness, and yet is full of darkness himself. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other strange places, for his round white cake; for

that such his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the plain simplicity of Christ's supper. He glanced at priests' marriage. He might against that have brought as ancient a doctor as any be alleged out of Hebrew, for his mass and wafer-cake, that is 'Doctor Devil.'

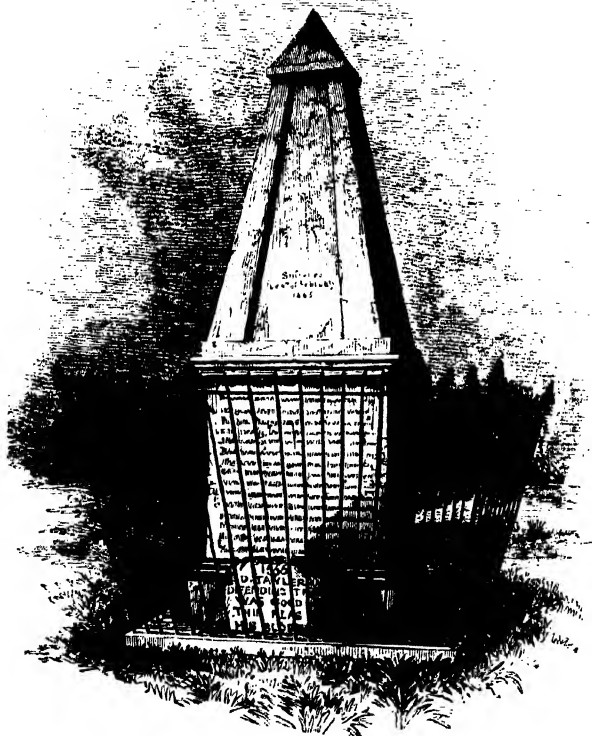
"I marvel that he did not confute and confound St. Paul for the sentences written above the altar, of the which he made mention in the pulpit. For he, and his fellows of Oxford, be so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can easily prove a man an ass, and all writers on the Bible ignorant, simple, full of errors, full of heresies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called catholics, faithful and true Christian people, defenders of the holy mother the church: but truly they take part with the prince of darkness, with antichrist, with Jezebel. They will not be called papists, Pharisees, Jews, Turks, heretics, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adversaries; and that in all

the chief points of it: no, not then, when our Saviour Christ whipt such merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves. God give them grace to repent! God be thanked that the nobility something of late have spied and stopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! sooner bewitched than the foolish Galatians. We have now no excuse.

"We have undoubtedly seen the true trace of the prophetic, apostolic, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, lest we be led out of that way, society, and rule of religion. Now we shall show what countrymen we be, whether spiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, since the beginning of the world; God be praised there-for. If Hadley, being so many years persuaded in such truth, will now willingly and wittingly forsake the same, and defile itself with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichristianity thereunto

belonging, let it surely look for many and wonderful plagues of God shortly. Though another have the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass begun there, I being present no more, I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked profanation of my late pulpit by such a wily wolf. God's love, mercy, goodness, and favour hath been unspeakable, in teaching us the right way of salvation and justification: let us all have some zeal; some care how to serve him according to his goodwill written. The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Christ our only Advocate. Amen.

ROWLAND TAYLOR."



TAYLOR'S MONUMENT.

After that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the laws and the secular arm on his side, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reign and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers aforesaid under foot, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, Master Latimer, Master Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Master Rogers, Master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned, he supposed now all had been cock-sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people, being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would nor durst once rout against their violent religion: not much unlike in this behalf to the manner of the Turks, who, when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and truth of God's word, think by violence of sword to force whom they can to their belief; and, that done, afterward make laws, no man under pain of heresy to dispute, or once to call in question any of their proceedings. Even so, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by trial of God's word, and discourse of learning, neither are disposed simply to seek for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions against God's word, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient to be its own judge, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the pope's church: and so, having kings and queens on their side, they seek not to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but, instead of the law of God, they use, as the Proverb saith, *τὸ νόμῳ χεῖρον*, compelling men by death, fire, and sword, (as the Turks do,) to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed, after flesh and blood, this seemeth to be a sure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turks; and therefore think they to practise the same; at least-wise so they do, upon what example soever they do it. And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesaid, supposing, as I said, that all the rest would soon be quailed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after that Stephen Gardiner had given sentence against Master Hooper, Master Rogers, Master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, being the eighth of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were William Pygot, butcher; Stephen Knight, barber; Thomas Tomkins, weaver; Thomas Hawkes, gentleman; John Laurence, priest; William Hunter, apprentice.

Stephen Gardiner, seeing thus his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner, bishop of London; who supplied that part right doughtily, as in the further process of this history hereafter evidently and too much may appear. Thus Bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at Paul's (the lord mayor and certain aldermen sitting with him) the six persons aforesaid, upon the eighth of February in the year aforesaid, and on the next day, being the ninth of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bonner's own registers: such quick speed these men could make in despatching their business at once. Notwithstanding, because the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next month of March, I will defer the prosecuting of their matter till I come, by the grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their suffering.

In the mean time, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, I have not precisely to say—unless, peradventure, the sermon of Alphonsus, the Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when those six persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the ninth of February, upon Sunday following, which was the tenth of February, the said Alphonsus, a Gray Friar, preached before the king; in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his conscience: but the contrary—that they should live and be converted; with many other things more to the same purport. But, touching the lingering of these men's death, as I have not certainly to affirm, so let it pass.

On the fourteenth of February, Master Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, forasmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his suffering.

Furthermore, this foresaid fourteenth day of February, the lord chancellor, and other his fellow bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, to be set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosier. Howbeit within two days after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the

next day (being the seventeenth of February) his head also was stricken off. Whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected; among whom one Master John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over against the same chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof; and the rather, for that he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he, and three of his servants, were committed to prison; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of money as well to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore, at this his compelled charges, the image was again set up the second day of March then next ensuing: but, for lack belike of careful watching, the fourteenth day of the same month in the night, the head of that dangerous beast, over whom there was such charge given, was again the second time broken off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the fifteenth day, there was a proclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his head, (though he were of counsel, and not the principal doer,) he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

The eighteenth of February, Queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the said queen, in the behalf of Master Coverdale, for his deliverance; who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the said king of Denmark. The matter and copy of which his suit and letters, as they came to our hands, we have here set forth and expressed, whereby the singular love of this good king towards the truth of God's word, and the professors thereof, might the better appear to the world.

First, this virtuous and godly king Christian, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had some knowledge before, (being there in Denmark in King Henry the Eighth's time,) and lamenting his dangerous case, and partly through the intercession of Master Machabæus, superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of kin to Master Coverdale's wife, made intercession by letters to Queen Mary, desiring and requesting the said Miles Coverdale to be sent unto him. The date of which his first letter was about the kalends of May, A. D. 1554.

To this letter of the king, Queen Mary answering again, declared that the said Miles Coverdale was in no such captivity for any religion, but for

certain debt: so neither plainly granting, nor expressly denying his request, but using a colourable excuse for shifting off the matter, as appeareth by his second letter sent to the queen, dated the twenty-fourth of September, as followeth.

"Christian, by the grace of God king of Denmark, Norway, Gothland, and of the Vandals; duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Ditmarsh; earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, &c.: To the most noble princess and Lady Mary, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., our most dearly beloved sister and cousin, wisheth prosperity with good and lucky success of all things.

"We have received your Majesty's letter, whereby answer is rendered, and that very graciously, unto our petition, which we made for the safeguard of Master Coverdale, lately called bishop of Exeter. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cause than was signified unto us afore, yet your Majesty will so regard our intercession that Coverdale himself shall understand it to have done him good. To the which regal promise, seeing we (as reason would we should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he, being in captivity, his friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good promise doth call them from such sorrow and solicitude, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare: we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your Majesty for such your ready and gracious good will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual amity between us and our realms, and so, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of these fortunate beginnings might appertain. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, whom we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his name, and profit of the commonweal.

"Wherefore, seeing your Majesty writeth, that Master Coverdale is in danger for certain accounts of money, and not for any other more grievous offence, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice; and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the bishopric, by reason whereof he came in debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time so great

commodity of it. Moreover, though it be possible to find some perplexity in the account, or haply some other cause, yet your Majesty's letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulness and doubt; insomuch, that we think your Majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpose not to trouble your Majesty by repeating of our petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it that your Majesty would gratify us herein: whereof we plainly hope for such an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly in our presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty. And of this we desire your Majesty to be specially assured again, that we will not only omit no occasion or opportunity to requite this benefit, but also to establish and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our realms on either side. Almighty God preserve your Majesty in prosperous health and felicity.

"Given at our city of Otton, the twenty-fourth of September, A. D. 1554."

To these letters it was a great while before the queen would answer.

The same month, the nineteenth day, was a certain intimation set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strait charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the Pope Julius the Third, by Pole his cardinal and legate *de latere*, and so receive also the joyful benefit of absolution, being sent first from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every of his archdeacons, to be ministered to every private person within his diocese, that would come the said holy time of Lent to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authorized by the foresaid cardinal, so he, for the same purpose, had endued with the like authority all and singular pastors and curates within his diocese, to reconcile and assail from their former heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he had assigned and deputed therefore through his diocese certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles

set aside, he straitly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation, and absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing; and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify up in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth: the copy of which intimation hereunder followeth.

"Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, unto all and singular the lay-people of his diocese, doth send greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Whereas this noble realm of England, dividing itself from the unity of the catholic church, and from the agreement in religion with all other Christian realms, hath been, besides many other miseries and plagues which God's indignation hath poured upon it, grievously also vexed and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of sects of heretics, as Arians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many others, all which sects be most repugnant, and contrary one against another, and all against God's truth, and Christ's catholic faith; whereupon hath grown such slander to the realm, such malice and disagreement among ourselves the inhabitants thereof, such treasons, tumults, and insurrections against our prince, such blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no man's tongue or pen is able to express: it hath pleased the goodness of God to cast his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the pope's Holiness to send his most godly messenger, the most reverend father in God the lord cardinal Pole, legate *de latere*, to bring us the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold the lost sheep that were gone astray: whose message, as it hath been honourably received of the king and queen's Majesties, even so the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, at the last parliament have received it; revoking all the laws the which in the time of schism were promulgate against the authority of the pope's Holiness, and restoring the same and the Church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realm before the said schism, the which reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the clergy and convocation of the province of Canterbury, as also of many other persons—and being so great and necessary to be extended to every person of the realm, it hath pleased the said lord legate's Grace to give and impart unto me, the said bishop of London, for my said diocese, and to all such as I shall appoint in that behalf, power and authority to absolve and reconcile all and every person thereof,

as well of the clergy as of the laity, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errors, and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the unity of the catholic church,—as by the letters of the said lord legate's Grace sent unto me, and from me sent unto every of the archdeacons within my diocess, more at large may and doth appear.

“And forasmuch as in mine own person, as well for the multitude of people as distance of places, I cannot minister this benefit unto every private person myself, and for that also the holy time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true Christian man ought to come unto his own pastor and curate, to be of him confessed, and to receive at his hand wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as also to signify and declare, that for that purpose, I have by the said authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these presents do choose, name, and depute, all and singular pastors and curates having cure of souls within my diocess, and being themselves reconciled herein; that they and every of them by authority hereof, shall have full power and authority to absolve all such as be lay-persons of their parishes from heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, into which they be fallen by occasion thereof, and also to reconcile to the church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said reconciliation.

“And whereas divers pastors and curates in sundry parishes peradventure be not able to satisfy the minds, and to appease the consciences, of some of their parishioners in cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given also authority to every archdeacon of my diocess within his archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every deanery of their archdeaconry, to supply that lack; so that every man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said deanery whom he shall like best, to be instructed and appeased in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if, this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the party's conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party shall repair unto one of mine archdeacons or chaplains, unto whom his mind shall be most inclined, or else to repair unto mine own self, to be resolved in his said scruple or doubt, and to receive and take such order therein, as to one of the said archdeacons, or unto me, shall therein appear to be most expedient.

“Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my archdeacons, that they monish and command every pas-

tor and curate within their archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do, on the first holiday next then following, at the mass time, when the multitude of people is present, declare all these things unto their parishioners, and exhort them that they esteem this grace accordingly, and reconcile themselves to the church before the first Sunday after Easter next ensuing: which thing I also do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the said time being once past, and they not so reconciled, every one of them shall have process made against him, according to the canons, as the cause shall require: for which purpose the pastors and curates of every parish shall be commanded by their archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every man and woman's name that is not so reconciled.

“Further, herewith I do signify and declare unto you, that our holy father the pope Julius, the third of that name, like a most tender and natural father, hearing of the return and recovery of his prodigal child, this realm of England, hath himself made much joy and gladness hereat, and also all other true Christian realms have done the like: exhorting you therefore in our Lord, not to be unthankful yourselves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to seek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to use it, remembering withal the monition and charge which came from me the last year, concerning your coming to confession in Lent, and receiving the sacrament at Easter: which monition to all effects and purposes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and also all your curates, therewith.

“And because all our duties is earnestly and devoutly to pray for the prosperous estate of our sovereigns, the king and the queen of this realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their Majesties accordingly; and specially that it may please Almighty God, to send unto her Grace a good time, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort, and inestimable profit.

“Given at London the nineteenth day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1554, and of my translation the sixteenth.”

The form of absolution to be kept by the pastors and curates in private confessions, concerning this reconciliation: to be used in the diocess of London.

“Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority to me granted and committed, I

absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains, into the which you be fallen by reason of heresy, or schism, or any other ways: and I restore you unto the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity: and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

We have a little overpast the time and story of Judge Hales, for although about this time he most pitifully sought his own destruction, through the cruel handling of the malignant papists—who pass upon nothing but upon their own dignity, little caring who perish besides, so their estimation may be magnified—yet the virtues and memory of that man are not unworthy either to be numbered with the saints that be departed, or at least not to be forgotten or obliterated among the saints that be alive. Concerning whose worthy doings, singular prudence, and incorrupt ministration of judgment, with the lamentable trouble which afterwards fell upon that good man, we thought here, among many other histories, somewhat to express; desiring the good reader to take that which is to be followed in that good man—the rest, to refer to the judgment of Him who only is Judge of all.

The lamentable and pitiful history of Master James Hales, judge.



E have made mention, a little before, of Judge Hales, who alone taking Queen Mary's part, would in no wise subscribe to have any other queen

but her, for that he thought he could not do otherwise with a safe conscience, though all the rest, in a manner, had subscribed to Edward the Sixth's will and testament. Hereby as he did cast himself into manifest jeopardy of the duke of Northumberland, to lose both body and goods, so he deserved at Queen Mary's hands, and her adherents, marvellous thanks and reward of his singular faithfulness, and true heart, towards her. This Sir James Hales, of the county of Kent, was both a worshipful knight and one of the high judges of the realm, who ordered and finished matters of controversy in the same.

Although he did not so much exceed in nobleness of birth and parentage, as he did excel all others in virtue, prudence, gravity, and true ministering of justice; for which he was in great veneration with all men, and was more conspicuous and known to the world thereby, than by sight. There was in him, by nature grafted, a singular gift of prudence, which afterwards, by much practice, he accomplished and brought to a marvellous good perfection; besides that, by his assiduous travail and exercise in demurring and pleading of matters, he attained to the vein of eloquence wherewith he was trimly qualified. In which kind of study, being exercised certain years, and passing the under degrees, he had aspired (being rather thereunto compelled) to the high benches, where he executed his function with justice, fidelity, constancy, and conscience, that even the law itself seemed no less to be printed and written in his life and doings, than in the very volumes or papers; he was always so upright a justiciary and conscionable a judge, declining corruption and embracing law and equity.

To these his gifts and qualities, were linked like sincerity and hearty affection to religion and the gospel of Christ, whereunto he had been, by many years, most earnestly set and addicted; showing himself to be a gospeller, no less by his word than deed, and no less at home than abroad: and, as he was godly himself, so brought he up his family to his godly line and order. He had daily service in his house, which was not ministered by any of his household or waiting chaplains, but by his own self, to the intent he might be the better example to the rest; joining with this devotion the often reading of the Holy Scripture. After this sort and manner he passed his life all King Edward's time; either being busied in weighty and public affairs, or else bestowing his time in virtue and godliness, even until his piety, by reason of the change of the prince and time, might nor could not any more be suffered or permitted.

As the change of the world and time was to every man very dangerous, so to him, in especial, it appeared most perilous; who was in that office and calling, that he could neither be long absent from it in London, neither be there occupied without present peril or jeopardy. Thus, the state of religion being changed and altered, upon a time, he, being counselled by his friends and well-wishers, to leave his forensical trade, and to go home,—providing for his safety by what means he could, either in flying or hiding himself,—refused their counsel; trusting too much there, as by and by you shall understand, to his own wit. To be short; at the term-time when other of the lawyers were wont

to come up to London, he, the said Sir James Hales, likewise came up to do his office and function; persuading and knowing himself to be clear and inculpable. But, as a mouse, according to the old-said saw, falling into the gluepot, he was not so soon at London, but that the bishop of Winchester sent for him, and did expostulate about the calling and vexing of certain prevent-law priests; for, as yet, the mass was not by the laws received and restored, although the queen herself, by her consent and example, set it forward, wherewith divers priests, being couraged, presumed to say mass. And, like as in a main and set battle there are certain nimble and light-armed soldiers, who, in skirmishes amongst their enemies, go before the force of battle; even so, in this troublesome time, there lacked none before-law prelates, or light-armed but much more light-hearted soldiers, who ran before the law, who of duty should rather have followed and obeyed it. And this was not only to be seen in Kent, but also in divers other places; for, in Oxford, as it was told me, there was a certain priest, who there, in Magdalene college, preparing himself to say mass, and being almost in the midst thereof, was, with his vestments, pulled by one from the altar, and constrained to blow a retract, until by the law he might mass it. Thus Judge Hales, like a severe judge and justiciary, suffering such priests not to go unpunished, as that, before a law, presumed to say mass, got thereby the queen's displeasure, but much more Winchester's evil will: which bishop, although he had nothing wherewith justly he might burden him, yet he did expostulate with him, as though it were concerning cruelty, who had showed himself so austere a judge against the priests. Wherefore I thought best to leave in record, all the whole communication had between them, as those that stood by bare it away.

The communication between the lord chancellor and Judge Hales: being there, among other judges, to take his oath in Westminster Hall, October the sixth, A. D. 1553.

L. Chan.—"Master Hales, ye shall understand, that like as the queen's Highness hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood both faithfully and lawfully in her cause of just succession, refusing to set your hand to the book among others that were against her Grace in that behalf: so now, through your own late deserts against certain her Highness's doings, ye stand not well in her Grace's favour; and therefore, before ye take any oath, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation."

Hales.—"I pray you, my Lord, what is the cause?"

L. Chan.—"Information is given, that ye have indicted certain priests in Kent for saying mass."

Hales.—"My Lord, it is not so, I indicted none; but indeed certain indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last assizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have professed the law, against which in cases of justice I will never (God willing) proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same show forth my conscience; and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did."

L. Chan.—"Yea, Master Hales, your conscience is known well enough: I know you lack no conscience."

Hales.—"My Lord, you may do well to search your own conscience; for mine is better known to myself than to you: and to be plain, I did as well use justice in your said mass case by my conscience, as by the law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession."

L. Chan.—"Why, Master Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's Highness's present doings in that case. And further, although ye seem to be more than precise in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, as ye have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice; and if it were well tried, I believe ye should not be well able to stand honestly thereto."

Hales.—"My Lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in conscience, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods, and all that I have, be not able to counterpoise the case, my body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the queen's Highness's pleasure."

L. Chan.—"Ah sir! ye be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion against the service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of justice, seeing the queen's Highness doth set it forth as yet, wishing all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and whereas you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither."

Hales.—"My Lord, I seek not wilful will, but

to show myself as I am bound in love to God and obedience to the queen's Majesty, in whose cause willingly, for justice' sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your Lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my substance, if I be called thereunto. And so in lack of mine own power and will, the Lord's will be fulfilled."

L. Chan.—"Seeing you be at this point, Master Hales, I will presently make an end with you. The queen's Highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration: and, as her Grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time, ye may depart as ye came, without your oath; for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed."

Hales.—"I thank your Lordship: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the queen's Highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly, with due contentation, obey the same."

And so he departed from the bar. Not many days after this communication or colloquy in Westminster Hall, which was October the sixth, anno 1553, Master Hales, at the commandment of the bishop, was committed to the King's Bench, where he remained constant until Lent, being tossed and removed from one prison to another: for then was he removed to the Compter in Bread Street, and afterward from thence was carried to the Fleet, where he endured most Christianly by the space of three weeks.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted unto the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasions, (namely, of Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, and of Judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at last,) I have not to say.

And thus, now we have rehearsed his notable virtues and afflictions, borne out and valiantly sustained by him, will we declare the miserable falls of him, and lamentable chance. And when thus, in divers prisons, he, being tossed and wearied, could in no wise be subdued and overcome by the suppression of his adversaries, he, being yet in the mean time assaulted with secret assaults, recoiled and gave over. Wherein, as I do lament so miserable a case in so worthy a man, even so do I marvel at the vile and detestable frauds and wiles of his adversaries.

There was in the prison where Hales was, a certain gentleman of Hampshire, called Foster, who being suborned, as it should seem, of the bishops,

used all kinds of persuasions that he could, whereby he might draw him from the truth to error; whereby, at length, by continual wearying and seeking upon him, he brought to pass that Hales began to seem that he might be overcome. At last, when this came to his adversaries' ears, the bishop of Chichester was at hand forthwith, very early in the morning of the twelfth of April, to commune with Master Hales in the prison; but I have no certain knowledge what the talk was between them. But, undoubtedly, his constancy was so quailed, that even before, he had given over in the plain field; and for that cause he was in a great dump and sorrow with himself: to whom, by all likelihood, this bishop came to minister matter of comfort. And the same day, in the afternoon, came unto him Judge Portman, and talked with him so long till the time was come that Judge Hales must come to supper. Therefore, when Portman had taken his leave, Master Hales getteth him to supper with a heavy, troubled mind; howbeit he did eat very little, or no meat at all, being brought to an extreme desperation by the worm of his conscience. Albeit, to say the truth, I do not impute the fall of this man to the persuasions of the comers to him, nor to so small causes; for in case that be true, which one told me, (as it is like to be true,) his adversaries went a more subtle way to work with him, than all the world knoweth. For, when they had him sure in the prison, they, like wily spies, found the means to shut him up into that part thereof, where the noise of the streets, the tumult and concourse, the night and day troubles of the talk of artificers, and coming to and fro of men,—and besides, the noise of the prisoners hard by, ringing about his head, troubled him, in such sort, that he could not take his rest,—thinking perchance that if they could not win by any other means, yet by the lack of sleep they might soon make him give over, and come unto their side;—and, perchance, therefore, this was the very policy why they made him change prisons so often. But, for that I have no certainty of the thing, I will leave the truth thereof to the reader's conjecture: and, whatsoever the cause was, that made him to relent in the confession of the truth, undoubtedly he was cast, forthwith, into a great repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience thereby; insomuch that when supper was done, he gat him straight to bed, where he passed over all that night in much care and anxiety of mind. And then, when it was day, he sent, about six of the clock, for a cup of beer, as though he were desirous to drink. His man was yet scarce out of his chamber, when he, with a pen-knife, had wounded himself in divers places, and

would, without fail, have likewise killed himself, (which argueth that he was not well in his wit,) unless the goodness of God had been a present help and preservation unto him; whereby it is evident for all men to understand, how God's favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his chamber, (see what God would have done,) even afore the chamber-door eftsoons the butler met him; who, being desired to fill the drink, and taking the cup, the other returned again unto his master, at the same very time when he was working his own destruction: whereby Master Hales at that time was stopped of his purpose, and preserved, not without God's manifest good-will and providence. When Winchester had knowledge of it, straightway he taketh occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, which he openly in the Star-chamber called "doctrine of desperation." Master Hales, being within awhile after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, getteth himself home unto his house; where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing mass, (having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his testament,) casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of January before, anno 1555.

The unhappy chance of this so worthy a judge, was surely the cause of great sorrow and grief unto all good men, and it gave occasion besides unto certain divines to stand something in doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved, about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Judge, the same shall be his Judge; and he it is, that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain and sure: that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which, if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the man's reason. But if he did it in phrensy, and as being out of his wits, then do I greatly pity his case. Yet, notwithstanding, seeing God's judgments be secret, and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself, neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the last breath went out of his body; me thinketh, their opinion is more indifferent herein, who do rather disallow the example of the deed, than despair of his salvation.

Otherwise, if we will adjudge all those to hell that have departed the world after this sort, how

many examples have we in the first persecutions of the church, of those men and women, who, being registered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithstanding their praise and commendation? For what shall I think of those young men, who being sought for to do sacrifice to heathen idols, did cast down themselves headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid such horrible pollution of themselves? What shall I say of those virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness, and with idolatry, through the persuasion of their mother, casting themselves headlong into a river together with their mother, did foredo themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this Master Hales did? What shall I say of other two sisters, who, for the self-same quarrel, did violently throw themselves headlong into the sea, as Eusebius doth record? In whom, though perchance there was less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered of the wicked unto them, yet that their good desire to keep their faith and religion unspotted, was commended and praised.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus, and that in another virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in Jerome to be Brassilia Dyrrachina, who, to keep her virginity, feigned herself to be a witch; and so, conventing with the young man who went about to dishonour her, pretended that she would give him an herb which would preserve him from all kind of weapons; and so, to prove it in herself, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him smite, whereby she was slain; and so with the loss of her life her virginity was saved.

Hereunto may be joined the like death of Sophronia, a matron of Rome, who, when she was required of Mazentius the tyrant to be defiled, and saw her husband more slack than he ought to have been in saving her honesty, bidding them that were sent for her to tarry awhile till she made her ready, went into her chamber, and with a weapon thrust herself through the breast, and died. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy act of Achetes, who, biting off his own tongue, spit it out into the harlot's face?

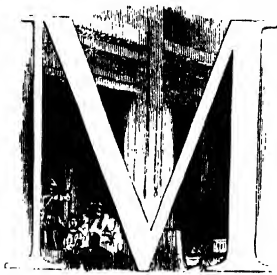
But, in these examples, you will say, The cause was necessary and honest. And who can tell whether Master Hales, meaning to avoid the pollution of the mass, did likewise choose the same kind of death, to keep his faith undefiled: whereof there ought to be as great respect, and greater too, than of the chastity of the body. But you will say, He ought rather to have suffered the tyrants. And why may not the same be said of the forenamed virgins?

These examples I do not here infer, as going

about either to excuse or to maintain the heinous fact of Master Hales, (which I would wish rather by silence might be drowned in oblivion,) but yet notwithstanding, as touching the person of the man, whatsoever his fact was—because we are not sure whether he at the last breath repented—again, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend, the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ Jesus our Saviour—we will leave therefore the final judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead.

And, finally, although he did it of a certain desperation, yet how know you whether he repented even in breathing out his life?—Although I truly am so far from allowing his fact, by any means, that I am wonderfully sorry for his rash and over-hasty temerity; and, therefore, although we do not account him among the martyrs, yet, on the other side, we do not reckon him among the damned persons. Finally, let us all wish heartily that the Lord impute not to him, in judgment, that which he offended in his own punishment. Amen

The history of Thomas Tomkins, martyr, who, having first his hand burned, after was burned himself by Bishop Bonner, for the constant testimony of Christ's true profession.



ENTION was made before of six prisoners, brought and examined before Bishop Bonner the eighth of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight,

Hawkes, Laurence, and Hunter: all which, though they received their condemnation together the next day after, yet, because the time of their execution was then driven off from February till the next month of March, I did therefore refer the story of them to this present month of March aforesaid, wherein now remaineth severally to entreat of the martyrdom of these six persons, as the order and time of their sufferings severally do require. Of the which six aforesaid martyrs, the first was Thomas Tomkins, burned in Smithfield, the sixteenth day of March, A. D. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, was of such conversation, and disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with

her web, as sometimes they did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer; or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any had sought unto him to borrow money, he would show him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it.

And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any usury at their hand, or from strait exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And these were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his neighbours, and almost of all his parish which knew him, as Master Skinner, Master Leeke, and others. Of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, discreet and substantial men, reporting the same unto me; recording moreover as followeth: That Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in prison half a year; during which time the said bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Whereupon the bishop caused his beard to be shaven, and gave the barber twelve pence.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins's beard, this is more to be added: Bishop Bonner, having Tomkins with him prisoner at Fulham, in the month of July, did set him with his other work-folks to make hay; and seeing him to labour so well, the bishop, setting him down, said, "Well, I like thee well; for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good catholic." "My Lord," said he, "St. Paul saith, He that doth not labour is not worthy to eat." Bonner said, "Ah! St. Paul is a great man with thee." And so, after such other talk, the bishop inferring moreover, wished his beard off, saying, that so he would look like a catholic. "My Lord," said Tomkins, "before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on." But Bonner, in fine, sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaven off. The very cause was, for that Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this bishop was not so great against him, but the constancy of the party was much greater with patience to bear it; who, although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means he could be removed from the confession of truth, to impiety and error. Whereupon Bonner the bishop, being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no persuasions he could prevail with him, devised another practice, not so strange as cruel, further to try his constancy;

to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some forefeeling and terror of death. So, having with him Master Harpsfield, Master Pembleton, Dr. Chedsey, Master Willerton, and others standing by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who, coming before the bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning: who, having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, thought there to represent unto us, as it were, the old image of King Porcenna. For as he burned the hand of Scævola, so this catholic bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins, thinking no otherwise but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hincse, that his spirit was so rapt, that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never shrank, till the veins shrank, and the sinews burst, and the water did spirt in Master Harpsfield's face: insomuch that the said Master Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

And whereas the bishop thought by that means to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this Christian Scævola so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have less cause hereafter to marvel at the manfulness of that Roman Scævola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Etruscan tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas Bonner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, rested not until he had consumed his whole body into ashes, at London in Smithfield.

But before we come to his suffering, we will first entreat of some part of his examination and articles, with his answers and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in register recorded.

The first examination of Thomas Tomkins, before Bonner.

This faithful and valiant soldier of God, Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the space (as is

said) of half a year in prison, about the eighth day of February was brought with certain others before Bonner, sitting in his consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule, subscribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the same month last before, containing these words following.

The confession of Tomkins subscribed with his own hand.

"Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

"By me, THOMAS TOMKINS."

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he granted, confessing it so to be. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him (with words, rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he constantly denied so to do. When the bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do. And so the next day, being the ninth of March, at eight o'clock in the morning, to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon the same day to come again, and have justice (as he called it) ministered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth.

Articles objected and ministered the eighth day of February against Thomas Tomkins, with his own hand subscribing to the same.

"Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof; which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged

upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world.

“ I do so believe.

“ Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed or altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

“ I do so believe.

“ Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

“ I do so believe.

“ Thou dost believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmother, and all people, did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

“ I do so believe.

“ By me THOMAS TOMKINS.”

The second examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The next day, being the ninth of February, at eight o'clock before noon, the said Thomas Tomkins (according to the former commandment) was brought again into the place aforesaid, before the bishop and other his assistants, where the aforesaid articles were propounded unto him : whereunto he answered as followeth :

“ To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.

“ To the second he said, that it was only bread, and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the Scriptures teach.

“ To the third he said and did believe, it was a false doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

“ To the fourth, he did also believe the same.”

After this answer he did also subscribe his name to the said articles. Whereupon the bishop, drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read ; and then willed him to re-

voke and deny his said opinions, the which he utterly refused to do ; and therefore was commanded to appear before the bishop again in the same place at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The bishop repeateth again the confession of Thomas Tomkins : written before by the said bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the twenty-sixth of September, anno 1554, which is this.

“ I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore, to Edmund, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven ; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar : And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow, the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing ; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul ; and so have I called it many times, and take it at this present : Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies, as accustomedly are used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed :—Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said ordinary, and talked withal touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by the said mine ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy and manifest error ; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed and passed this writing the twenty-sixth day of September, the year aforesaid.

“ By me THO. TOMKINS aforesaid.”

The names of them that sat upon Thomas Tomkins at this session, were these : Edmund Bonner ; John Fecknam, dean of Paul's ; John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London ; John Morwen, Master of

Arts; Thomas Morton, parson of Fulham; Tristram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinsaw, James Cline, clerks.

The last appearance and condemnation of Thomas Tomkins before Bonner and the commissioners.

The same day and place, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was, the last time, brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop of Bath, to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he answered, "My Lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death."

Then Bonner caused all his articles and confession to be again openly read, and so, in his accustomed manner, persuaded with him to recant. To whom he finally said, "My Lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the truth, and to fall into error and heresy." The bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his law, and so gave sentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him straight unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and constant until the sixteenth of March next after: on which day, he was by the said sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed up his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and confirmation of the weak.

A notable history of William Hunter, a young man, an apprentice, of nineteen years, pursued to death by Justice Broren, for the gospel's sake: worthy of all young men and parents to be read.



THE twenty-sixth day of the said month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of nineteen

years, and born of like godly parents: by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parents. Wherein may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvel-

lous fortitude in the party so young, but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome of the same: whereby Christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man against natural affection. Nature is a strong thing, I must needs confess, and almost invincible, and, among all the affections of nature, there is none that is so deeply graven in a father's mind, as the love and tender affection towards his children, that is, as you would say, towards his own bowels. By which affection we see many, yea rather infinite parents, that are overcome; but, of them that overcome it, very few, or rather none. So much the more, therefore, am I moved not to pass over, in this place, such notable and singular godliness of these parents; who, when they saw their son led towards the fire, did not follow him with lamentation, neither laboured, by their words, to draw him from his godly purpose, neither took pity of his fortune; but, setting aside all private affection of natural love, forgetting nature, and, as it were, forgetting themselves,—neither yet following that common affection of parents at this day, but the example of that holy mother of the Maccabees,—encouraged their son, as much as they could; and rejoicing with wonderful gladness, exhorted him to go through valiantly: insomuch, that when he was ready to suffer death, either of them drinking unto him, rejoiced over him, and confirmed him in the Lord. And here, truly, I cannot tell whether I should rather praise the virtue of the son, or of the parents; for he, indeed, died with great constancy, and after he had recited the eighty-fourth Psalm, as he was a dying, doubtless obtained the crown of blessed martyrdom. But no less constancy, as I think, appeared in them, and they are no less to be accounted martyrs, in the martyrdom of their son: for he, offering his body to torments, with great praise, overcame the tormentors, the torments, and the tyrants. And they, with no less praise, overcame their own natures, offering to the Lord a mind no less constant and strong than he did, and, perchance, felt no less torments inwardly, than he did outwardly. He, broiling in the midst of the flame, suffered his life to be taken from him, not without cruel torment; and they, also, with no less torment, suffered their son to be taken from them. On both sides the strength of the spirit, the fervent heat of godliness, and the love of Christ, overcame all the torments; and, therefore, I thought the praise of the son could not well be recorded, without the commendation of the parents: for as he, dying for the gospel, hath left behind him in

the church, a strong and evident testimony, to confirm the doctrine of the gospel; so they, to confirm a gospel-like life, have given an example, worthy to be followed of all men: example whereof, in the sequel of this history, we have here present before our eyes. Which history, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother, (who, being present with his brother William, and never leaving him till his death, sent the true report unto us,) we have here, with like faithfulness, placed and recorded the same, as followeth.

“William Hunter, being an apprentice in London in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman Street; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be therefore brought before the bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunter's master, one Thomas Taylor, a silkweaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his house. For the which causes, William Hunter took leave of his said master, and thence came to Brentwood, where his father dwelt, with whom he afterwards remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

“After this it happened within five or six weeks, that William going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one Father Atwell, a sunner, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, ‘What! meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou redest, and canst thou expound the Scriptures?’

“To whom William answered and said, ‘Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withal; but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort.’ To whom Father Atwell said, ‘It was never merry world, since the Bible came abroad in English.’

“To the which words William answered, saying, ‘Father Atwell, say not so, for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of the which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what displeaseth him.’ Then said Father Atwell, ‘Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served?’ William answered, ‘No, Father Atwell, nothing so well as we may now; if that we might have his blessed word amongst us still as we have had.’ ‘It is true,’ said Father Atwell, ‘if it be as you say.’

“‘Well,’ said William Hunter, ‘it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed

Bible amongst us continually.’ To the which words Father Atwell said, ‘I perceive your mind well enough: you are one of them that mislike the queen's laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London: but for all that,’ said Father Atwell, ‘you must turn another leaf; or else you, and a great sort more heretics, will broil for this gear, I warrant you.’ To the which words William said, ‘God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatsoever come thereof.’ ‘Confess his name!’ quoth old Atwell, ‘No, no; ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess his name.’ ‘What?’ said William, ‘you say not well, Father Atwell.’

“At the which words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, ‘I am not able to reason with thee: but I will fetch one straightway which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic!’ And he, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straightways brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southwell, who was at an alehouse even over against the said chapel; who, hearing old Atwell say, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying: ‘Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?’ Then William answered, ‘I expound not the Scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort.’

“‘What meddlest thou with them at all?’ said the vicar. ‘It becometh not thee, nor any such, to meddle with the Scriptures.’ But William answered, ‘I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought, Master Vicar, not to discourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own.’

“Unto the which the vicar answered, ‘It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I see thou art a heretic by thy words.’ William said, ‘I am no heretic for speaking the truth.’ But the vicar said, ‘It is a merry world, when such as thou shall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, Father Atwell tells me, with the sixth chapter of John, wherein thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, ‘Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.’ William said, ‘I read the sixth chapter of John indeed; howbeit, I made no exposition on it.’

“Then said Father Atwell, ‘When you read it, I said, that you there might understand how that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood: unto the which you answered,

how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal.'

"Ah," said the vicar, 'what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believeest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?' William answered, 'I learn no such thing in the sixth of John as you speak of.' 'Why,' said the vicar, 'dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?' 'I believe,' said William Hunter, 'all that God's word teacheth.' 'Why,' said the vicar, 'thou mayest learn this which I say plainly in the sixth of John.'

"Then said William, 'You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaïtes, which thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, The words which I speak to you, are spirit and life.'

"Now," quoth the vicar, 'I have found you out: now I see that thou art a heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar.' Then said William Hunter, 'Whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried, whether that you or I would stand faster in our faith.' 'Yea, thou heretic,' said the vicar, 'wouldst thou have it so tried?' William Hunter answered, 'That which you call heresy, I serve my Lord God withal.'

"Then said the vicar, 'Canst thou serve God with heresy?' But William answered, 'I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a stake, to prove whether that I or you would stand strongest to our faith.' But the vicar answered, 'It shall not be so tried.' 'No,' quoth William, 'I think so; for if I might, I think I know who would soonest recant: for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death.' 'That we shall see,' quoth the vicar; and so they departed, the vicar threatening William much, how that he would complain of him: with much other communication which they had together.

"Immediately after, this vicar of the Wield told Master Brown of the communication which William Hunter and he had together; which when Master Brown understood, immediately he sent for William's father and the constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled; because Wood the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and William's father were come, and were before Master Brown, he asked where William Hunter was. His father answered, saying, 'If it please you, sir, I know not where he is become.' 'No!' quoth Master Brown: 'I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth

also, ere I have done with thee.' 'Sir,' said William's father, 'I know not where he is become, nor where to seek for him.'

"Then said Master Brown, 'Why didst thou not bring him, when thou hadst him? I promise thee, if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison, till I shall get him. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him; or else it is not best to look me in the face any more, nor yet to rest in Brentwood.' 'Well,' quoth Master Brown to William's father, 'see that thou seek him forth, and bring him to me.'

"William's father answered, 'Sir, would you have me seek out my son to be burned?' 'If thou bring him to me,' quoth Master Brown, 'I will deal well enough for that matter; thou shalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackest money,' quoth he, 'thou shalt have some;' and bade the constable, Master Salmon, to give him a crown: but William's father took none of him. Howbeit Master Brown would never rest, till William's father had promised him to seek out his son. And thus Master Brown sent the constable home again, and William's father; commanding him to seek out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

After that old father Hunter had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy Master Brown's expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the highway as he travelled; and first he, seeing his father, came to him, and spake to him, and told him how that he thought that he sought for him. And then his father, confessing it, wept sore, and said, that Master Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him. 'Howbeit,' said he, 'I will return home again, and say I cannot find you.' But William said, 'Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatsoever cometh of it.'

"And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said constable, and laid in the stocks till the next day, when Master Brown (hearing that William Hunter was come home) sent for him to the constable; who brought him immediately to Master Brown.

"Now when William was come, Master Brown said to him, 'Ah, sirrah! are ye come?' and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying: 'I hear say you are a Scripture man, you; and can reason much of the sixth of John, and expound as pleaseth you:' and turned the Bible to the sixth of St. John. And then he laid to his charge what an exposition he

made, when the vicar and he talked together. And William said, 'He urged me to say so much as I did.'

" 'Well,' quoth Master Brown, 'because you can expound that place so well; how say you to another place?' (turning to the twenty-second of St. Luke.) And Master Brown said, 'Look here,' quoth he, 'for Christ saith, that the bread is his body.'—To the which William answered, 'The text saith, how Christ took bread; but not that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave: which was bread, as is evident by the text: for else he should have had two bodies, which to affirm I see no reason,' said William. At the which answer Master Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reasoned.

" Then Master Brown said, 'Thou naughty boy! wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Christ call the bread his body plainly? and thou wilt not believe, that the bread is his body after the consecration. Thou goest about to make Christ a liar!' But William Hunter answered, 'I mean not so, sir; but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that holy institution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again: saying, This do, in the remembrance of me.' And also, though Christ call the bread his body, as he doth also say that he is a vine, a door, &c., yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door or vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread his body by a figure.'

" At that word Master Brown said, 'Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still?' and was in such a fury with William, and so ragged, that William could not speak a word but he crossed him, and scoffed at every word. Wherefore William, seeing him in such a fury, desired him that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself; or else send him away. To the which Master Brown answered, 'Indeed I will send thee to-morrow to my Lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination:' and thus left off the talk, and made a letter immediately; and sent William Hunter with the constable to Bonner, bishop of London, who received William.

" After that he had read the letter, and the constable returned home again, the bishop caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: 'I understand, William Hunter,' quoth he, 'by Master Brown's

letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of the Wield, about the blessed sacrament of the altar; and how that ye could not agree: whereupon Master Brown sent for thee, to bring thee to the catholic faith, from the which he saith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter.' William answered, saying, 'I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ, I am sure; but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart.'

" 'Why,' quoth the bishop, 'how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before Master Brown, how that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?' To the which William answered, saying, 'My Lord, I understand that Master Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him; the which I will not recant, by God's help.'

" Then said the bishop, 'I think thou art ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly; but, if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.' William answered and said, 'My Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again; and so, if nobody will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself.'

" Then said the bishop, 'I am content, so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and be shriven; and so continue a good catholic Christian.' 'No,' quoth William, 'I will not do so for all the good in the world.' 'Then,' quoth the bishop, 'if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you.' 'Well,' quoth William, 'you can do no more than God will permit you.' 'Well,' quoth the bishop, 'wilt thou not recant indeed by no means?' 'No,' quoth William, 'never while I live, God willing.'

" Then the bishop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the stocks of his gate-house, where he sat two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water. At the two days' end the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, said to his men, 'Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you.' Then they led him forth out of the stocks, but would

not suffer him to eat with them, but called him heretic. And he said, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his.

"After the breakfast, the bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But William made him answer, how that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop said that he was no Christian; but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, 'I was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace.'

"Then the bishop sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and William said that he was nineteen years old. 'Well,' said the bishop, 'you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet.' William answered, 'God strengthen me in his truth.' And then he parted, and the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on, in bread or drink.

"Thus he continued in prison three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in Paul's, the ninth day of February: at the which time I his brother, Robert Hunter, was present, when and where I heard the bishop condemn him, and five others.

"And then the bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant; and so read to him his examination and confession, as is above rehearsed: and then rehearsed, how that William confessed that he did believe that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he did receive the communion. 'Dost thou mean,' quoth the bishop, 'that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?' William answered, 'I mean not so, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually, through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection: and not, that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporally.'

"Then said the bishop to William, 'Dost thou not think,' holding up his cap, 'that, for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the accidents?' William answered, 'If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe.' Then said the bi-

shop, 'Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity.' 'Yes,' said William, 'I must needs believe that; for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper.'

"Then the bishop said, 'I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member:' and then pronounced sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and so from thence to Brentwood, 'where,' said he, 'thou shalt be burned.'

"Then the bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and persuaded with him; saying, 'If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pound in good money to set up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office; for I like thee well. Thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant.' But William answered, 'I thank you for your great offers; notwithstanding, my Lord,' said he, 'if you cannot persuade my conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ.'

"Then said the bishop, 'If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever.' William answered, 'God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly.' Thus William and the bishop departed, William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month; who afterward were sent down, William to Brentwood, and the others into divers places of the country. Now when William was come down to Brentwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

"In the mean time William's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun: and his mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she was so happy to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

"Then William said to his mother, 'For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a short braid, Christ hath promised me, mother,' said he, 'a crown of joy: may you not be glad of that, mother?' With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, 'I pray God strengthen thee, my

son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bare.'

"At the which words Master Higbed took her in his arms, saying, 'I rejoyce' (and so said the others) 'to see you in this mind; and you have a good cause to rejoyce.' And his father and mother both said, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end. William's father said, 'I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold; the bishop was so hard to him.' But William confessed, after a month, that his father was charged with his board, that he lacked nothing; but had meat and clothing enough, yea even out of the court, both money, meat, clothes, wood and coals, and all things necessary.

"Thus they continued in their inn, being the Swan in Brentwood, in a parlour, whither resorted many people of the country to see those good men which were there. And many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popish superstition and idolatry.

"Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Monday at night it happened that William had a dream about two o'clock in the morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the stake was pitched, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his dream) was at the town's end where the butts stood; which was so indeed. And also he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the stake, and also that there was a priest at the stake, who went about to have him recant. To whom he said (as he thought in his dream) how that he bade him, 'Away, false prophet!' and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It happened that William made a noise to himself in his dream, which caused Master Higbed and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his dream in order, as is said.

"Now when it was day, the sheriff, Master Brocket, called on to set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right arm, saying, 'William! be not afraid of these men which are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned.' To whom William answered, 'I thank God I am not afraid; for I have cast my count what it will cost me already.' Then

the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

"Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and stepped over the parlour groundsel, and went forward cheerfully; the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and I his brother by another. And thus going in the way, he met with his father according to his dream, and he spake to his son, weeping and saying, 'God be with thee, son William!' And William said, 'God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again when we shall be merry.' His father said, 'I hope so, William;' and so departed. So William went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream, where all things were very unready. Then William took a wet broom-faggot, and kneeled down thereon, and read the fifty-first Psalm, till he came to these words, The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

"Then said Master Tyrrill of the Beaches, (called William Tyrrill,) 'Thou liest,' said he, 'thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit.' But William said, 'The translation saith, a contrite heart.' 'Yea,' quoth Master Tyrrill, 'the translation is false: ye translate books as ye list yourselves, like heretics.' 'Well,' quoth William, 'there is no great difference in those words.' Then said the sheriff, 'Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned.' 'No,' quoth William, 'I will not recant, God willing.' Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about William.

"Then said Master Brown, 'Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him.' Then said William, 'Good people! pray for me; and make speed and despatch quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people; and I will pray for you likewise.'

"'Now,' quoth Master Brown, 'pray for thee! I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog.' To whom William answered, 'Master Brown, now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit I forgive you.' Then said Master Brown, 'I ask no forgiveness of thee.' 'Well,' said William, 'if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands.'

"Then said William, 'Son of God, shine upon me;' and immediately the sun in the element shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way: whereat the people mused, because it was so dark a little time afore



Then William took up a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms.

"Then the priest, which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popish book to carry to William, that he might recant; which book his brother would not meddle withal. Then William, seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have showed him the book, said, 'Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest that you be partakers of their plagues.' 'Then,' quoth the priest, 'look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell.' William answered, 'Thou liest, thou false prophet! Away, thou false prophet, away!'

"Then was there a gentleman which said, 'I pray God have mercy upon his soul.' The people said, 'Amen, Amen.' Immediately fire was made.

"Then William cast his psalter right into his brother's hand, who said, 'William! think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death.'

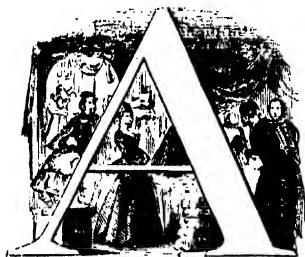
"And William answered, 'I am not afraid.' Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and said, 'Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;' and, casting

down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

"Now, by and by after, Master Brown commanded one old Hunt, to take his brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the stocks till he returned from the burning of Highed at Horndon on the Hill, the same day. Which thing old Hunt did. Then Master Brown (when Robert Hunter came before him) asked if he would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered, 'If I do as my brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had.' 'Marry,' quoth Master Brown, 'thou mayest be sure of it.'

"Then Master Brown said, 'I marvel that thy brother stood so to his tackling;' and moreover, he asked Robert, if William's master of London were not at his burning. But Robert said, that he was not there; but Master Brown bare him in hand that his master was there, and how that he did see him there: but Robert denied it. Then Master Brown commanded the constable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them."

Here followeth the history of Master Causton and Master Higbed, two worthy gentlemen of Essex, who, for their sincere confession of their faith under Bonner, bishop of London, were martyred and burned in Essex, A. D. 1555.



I THOUGH the condemnation of Master Causton and Master Higbed followed after the condemnation of those other martyrs who were condemned with

Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet, because the time of their execution was before the burning of the aforesaid four martyrs, forasmuch that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the twenty-sixth of March, I thought therefore, next after the story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same.

This Master Causton and Master Higbed, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Horndon on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundersby, being zealous and religious in the true service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world, but at length they were perceived and detected to the aforesaid Edmund Bonner, bishop of London: peradventure not without the same organ which sent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who, in this praise of Christian godliness, was nothing inferior to his master.

Bonner, the foresaid bishop, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with Master Fecknam and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fashion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them

again to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining still constant and unmovable in their professed doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London; and with them certain other prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

It was not long after this, but these prisoners, being at London committed to strait prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the bishop and his chaplains to revoke their opinions: at length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the consistory in Paul's, the seventeenth day of February, A. D. 1555; where they were demanded as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath, and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine, (as they termed it,) and so come to the unity of the popish church. Which when they refused to do, the bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the eighteenth of February.

On the which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same; and so committed them again to prison. The copy of which articles hereunder followeth.

"First, That thou Thomas Causton (or Thomas Higbed) hast been and art of the diocese of London, and also of the jurisdiction now of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the Church of England, baptized and christened.

"Item, That thou hadst godfathers and godmother, according to the said order.

"Item, That the said godfathers and godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was used in the realm of England.

"Item, That that faith and religion, which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the Christian people: and so was it in very deed.

"Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion, (that is to say, to the age of fourteen years,) didst not mislike nor disallow that faith, that religion, or

promise then used and approved and promised by the said godfathers and godmother, but for a time didst continue in it, as others (taking themselves for Christian people) did likewise.

"Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and every where in Christendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profession of a Christian man, to believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, there was, and is, by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

"Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine ancestors, all thy kindred, acquaintance, and friends, and thy said godfathers and godmother, did then so believe and think in all the same as the said church did therein believe.

"Item, That thyself hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said religion or faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous opinion or belief that hath been (against the common order of the church) brought in by certain disordered persons of late, at the uttermost within these thirty or forty years last past.

"Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Jerome Lassels, Anne Askew, John Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, Sir Laurence Saunders, priest, John Bradford, Sir John Rogers, priest, Sir Rowland Taylor, priest, Sir John Laurence, priest, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and also condemned as heretics, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; specially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and all the same persons (saving John Bradford, Sir John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes) have suffered pains of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of the said opinions and misbelief.

"Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself bishop of London; Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's; and Hugh Latimer,

some time bishop of Worcester; have been and are at this present reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and misbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons, so erring and believing, (or at the leastwise some of them,) secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their said opinions to be good and true; and the same, to the best and uttermost of thy power, thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

"Item, That thou, having heard, known, and understood, all the premises thus to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but, contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done; condemning, transgressing, and breaking the promise, faith, religion, order, and custom aforesaid: and hast become and art a heretic and misbeliever in the premises, denying the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and obstinately affirming, that the substance of the material bread and wine is there remaining, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, is not there in the said sacrament really and truly being.

"Item, That all the premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest; and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the sad and good people of the city of London, and diocese of the same, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said diocese of London."

These articles being given to them in writing by the bishop, the next day following was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their answers unto the same.

The third day's session upon the examination of Master Causton and Master Higbed.

Upon that day, being the first day of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, gentlemen, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, there exhibited their answers to the articles aforesaid: the tenor of which answers here followeth.

"To the first, they answer and confess the same to be true.

"To the second, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the third, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the fourth, they answer and think the same to be true.

"To the fifth, until this clause, 'and so was it in very deed,' they answer and believe the same to be true. And unto that clause, 'and so was it in very deed,' they answer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

"To the sixth, seventh, and eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the ninth, they answer and say, that they think they have a just and lawful cause and ground to swerve and go from the said faith and religion, because they have now read more Scripture, than either themselves, or their parents and kinsfolk, godfathers or godmothers, have read or seen heretofore in that behalf.

"To the tenth, they answer, say, and believe, that the said persons articulate, have been named, taken, and counted for heretics, and so condemned for heretics: yet about three years past, they were taken for good Christian persons. And forasmuch as these respondents did ever hear them preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, they say that they preached well, in that they said and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the sacrament; but that there is remaining the substance of bread and wine.

"To the eleventh, they answer and say, that howsoever other folks do repute and take the said persons articulate, yet these respondents themselves did never, nor yet do, so account and take them. And further they say, that in case the said persons articulate, named in this article, have preached that in the sacrament of the altar is very material wine, and not the substance of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, then they preached well and truly, and these respondents themselves do so believe.

"To the twelfth, they answer and say, that whereas other folk have dispraised the said persons articulate, and disallowed their opinions, these respondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the said persons, and their sayings.

"To the thirteenth, they answer and say, that they have not broken or condemned any promise made by their godfathers and godmothers for them at their baptism, and that they are no heretics or misbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, and that Christ's natural body is not there, but in heaven: for they say, that the Scriptures so teach them.

"To the fourteenth, they answer and believe, that the premises before by them confessed be true, notorious, and manifest."

After these answers exhibited and perused, then

the bishop, speaking unto them after this sort, began first (as he did ever before) with Thomas Causton. "Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek snares to put you away; I have hitherto respited you, that you should weigh and consider with yourself your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the truth, and return to the unity of the catholic church." Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again dismissed, and commanded to appear the Wednesday next after, at two o'clock at afternoon, there to receive their definitive sentence against them: which thing (as it seemeth) was yet deferred.

Another examination of Master Causton and Master Higbed.

The next Friday, being the eighth of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, Fecknam, and Dr. Stempe, being in his palace, and there had read unto him his aforesaid articles with his answers thereunto; and after certain exhortations to recant his former profession, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised him, so doing, willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure ye measure us, look you to be measured with the same again at God's hands." The bishop still persuaded with him to recant. To whom he answered, "No, I will not abjure. Ye said that the bishops that were lately burned, be heretics: but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were."

The bishop then leaving Master Causton, calleth for Master Higbed; using with him the like persuasions that he did with the other: but he answered, "I will not abjure; for I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years; and do what ye can, ye shall do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the sacrament of the altar. To whom he answered, "I do not believe that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making."

Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the consistory at Paul's, between the hours of one and three o'clock at afternoon.

The last appearance of Master Causton and Master Higbed before Bonner.

'At which day and hour, being the ninth day of March, they were both brought thither : where the bishop caused Master Thomas Causton's articles and answers first to be read openly, and after persuaded with him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now, at the last, to their mother the catholic church, and save himself.

But Master Thomas Causton answered again, and said, "No, I will not abjure ; for I came not hither for that purpose : " and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbed's name) a confession of their faith, to the which they would stand ; and required leave to read the same : which, after great suit, was obtained. And so he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

"First, we believe and profess in baptism, to forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

"2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.

"3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

"4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul ; and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other saint or angel.

"5. We believe, that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, as St. Paul saith, Christ being the head corner-stone. For the which church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation, without fault in his sight.

"6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, Father ! forgive us our sins : but, through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven ; for he in his own person, saith St. Paul, hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight : Besides whom, there is no Saviour, saith the prophet : Neither is there salvation, saith St. Peter, in any other name.

"7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul saith, There is one God, one Mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ. Wherefore, seeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator but Jesus Christ.

"8. We believe, that this church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, by the words of Christ, saying, As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you : for the disciple is not above his master. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ, saith St. Paul, but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

"9. We believe that the church of Christ teacheth the word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from : and also doth minister the sacraments according to the primitive church.

"10. We believe, that this church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, Search the Scriptures ; for they testify of me. We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Also the prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding : For how shall the unlearned, saith St. Paul, say Amen, at the giving of thanks, when they understand not what is said ? And what is more allowed than true faith, which, St. Paul saith, cometh by hearing of the word of God ?

"11. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men : For in vain, saith Christ, ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men.

"Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders : but walk, saith he, in my precepts do that I command you : put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it. Likewise saith Christ, You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me. Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded in that point we must forsake them.

"12. We believe, that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them.

"13. Now, we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused. First, in that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both. Secondly, in that it is made a private mass, whereas Christ made it a communion : for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church. Thirdly, in that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead ; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting

sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle saith, Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remission of sin, saith he, there is no more sacrifice for sin. Fourthly, in that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, Thou shalt worship nothing that is made with hands. Fifthly, in that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use thereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness. Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box; yea, many times so long, that worms breed in it, and so it putrifieth: whereby the rude people have an occasion to speak irreverently thereof, which otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.

"14. Now concerning Christ's words, This is my body, we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for, as the holy apostle saith, There is no Scripture that hath any private interpretation. Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example: Christ saith, This cup is the new testament in my blood. The rock is Christ, saith St. Paul. Who-soever receiveth a child in my name, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, receiveth me.

"Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaites did, which thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ said, Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are spirit and life.

"Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but, 'Believe,' saith St. Augustine, 'and thou hast eaten it:' so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and, as the apostle saith, Try and examine ourselves, whether our conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures; whereof if we be truly certified, being new-born from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly,

with this marriage-garment of our faith, come to the feast.

"15. In consideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Christ himself: This do in remembrance of me. And St. Paul: As often, saith he, as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall remember the Lord's death until he come. Here is no change, but bread still. And St. Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying, Me you shall not have always with you, I leave the world, and go to my Father: for if I should not depart, the Comforter which I will send, cannot come unto you. So, according to his promise, he is ascended as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter saith, That heaven shall keep him until the last day also.

"16. Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is man he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place. Whereunto the Scriptures do agree: for his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as the angel saith: neither was it at Bethany, where Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, I am glad I was not there. And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and man.

"And further, we make here our protestation before God, (whom we call to record in this matter,) that this which we have said, is neither stubbornness, nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus showed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

When he had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop, still persisting sometimes in fair promises, sometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answers? To whom Causton said, "Yea, we will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief therein contained." After which answer the bishop began to pronounce sentence against him.

Then he said, that it was much rashness, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word; whereunto they submitted themselves

most willingly. "And therefore I," quoth Causton, "because I cannot have justice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemn me, do appeal from you to my Lord Cardinal."

Then Dr. Smith said, that he would answer their confession. But the bishop (not suffering him to speak) willed Harpsfield to say his mind, for the stay of the people; who, taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof. Which done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton; and then, calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed said, "Ye speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and ye go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolk, did believe as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing. And further, whereas you say, that my Lord, named Cranmer, (late archbishop of Canterbury,) and others specified in the said articles, be heretics; I do wish that I were such a heretic as they were, and be." Then the bishop asked him again, Whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? To whom he said, "No; I would ye should recant: for I am in the truth, and you in error."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if ye will return, I will gladly receive you." "No," said Higbed, "I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God." Whereupon the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Causton.

When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions as in consolations. For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray, that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days (after the condemnation) once expired, they were, the twenty-third day of this month of March, fetched from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there, being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Raleigh, (both in the county of Essex,) where they did most constantly, the twenty-sixth

day of the same month, seal this their faith with shedding of their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly. At the burning of which Master Higbed, Justice Brown was also present, as is above specified, and divers gentlemen in the shire were commanded to be present, for fear, belike, lest they should be taken from them.

And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning, of these two godly and constant martyrs of God.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, with their examination and constant martyrdom.

In the story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellows, mention was made of six who were examined and condemned together, by Bishop Bonner, the ninth day of February. Of the which six condemned persons, two (which were Tomkins and William Hunter, as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the sixteenth of March, and the other upon the twenty-sixth day of March. Other three, to wit, William Pygot, and Stephen Knight, suffered upon the twenty-eighth day, and John Laurence the twenty-ninth of the said month of March.

Touching the which three martyrs, (now something to say of their examinations,) it was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else. This answer thus made, the bishop caused certain articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect, as did the articles before of Tomkins and of Master Causton; the tenor whereof here followeth.

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that it is a catholic, faithful, Christian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach, and say, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, yea, or nay?"

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, here in this present realm of England, before

your birth a great while, and also after your birth, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true Christian faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no ?

“ Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your godfathers and godmother, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true Christian faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no ?

“ Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your own self, in times past, being of the age of fourteen years and above, did think and believe concerning the said sacrament of the altar in all points, as your said parents, kinsfolks, friends, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother, did then think and believe them, or no ?

“ Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our sovereigns the king and the queen of this realm of England, and all the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith, as other Christian realms do, concerning the said sacrament of the altar, have a true Christian faith, and believe as the catholic and true church of Christ hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no ?

“ Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ and his Holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall be with his catholic church, even to the world's end, governing and ruling the same in all things, especially in the necessary points of Christian religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein ?

“ Whether is it true, that you being suspected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the sacrament of the altar, and against the very true presence of Christ's natural body, and the substance thereof in the said sacrament ; and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you ; have not been a good space in my house, having freely meat and drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our ordinary, as also by my chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were bishops, some deans, and some archdeacons, and every one of them learned in divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your soul, and that you should follow and believe the doctrine of the catholic church, as afore, concerning the said sacrament of the altar ; and whether you did not at all times since your said coming to me, utterly refuse to follow and believe the said doctrine concerning the said sacrament ?

“ Whether can you now find in your heart and

conscience to conform yourself in all points to the said faith and catholic church concerning the said sacrament of the altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein as our said sovereigns, with the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, and other Christian realms, and other persons aforesaid, and also the said catholic church, have and do believe in that behalf ?

“ In case you so cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you ? and what conference have you had therein with any ? what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and surnames, and their dwelling-places ? ”

Their answers to these articles were not much discrepant from Tomkins, and other like martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be seen.

“ To the first article, they believe, that the contents of this article are not agreeable to Scripture.

“ To the second, they answer and believe that their parents, and others expressed in the said article, and so believing as is contained in the same, were deceived.

“ To the third they answer, that they so believed ; but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

“ To the fourth they say, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the said article ; but now they do not so believe.

“ To fifth they say, that if they so believe, they are deceived.

“ To the sixth, they believe the same to be true.

“ To the seventh they answer, and believe the contents of the same to be true.

“ To the eighth they answer, that they can no whit conform themselves to the faith and doctrine contained and specified in this article, until it be proved by Scripture.

“ To the ninth they say, that they have no ground to maintain their said opinions, but the truth ; which (as they said) hath been persuaded by learned men, as Dr. Taylor of Hadley, and such others.”

These answers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, and, in the mean while, to bethink themselves what they would do.

Another appearance of Pygot, Knight, and Laurence before Bonner.

The next day in the morning, being the ninth of February, before their open appearance, the bishop sent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he persuaded with them to recant, and deny their former profession. Who answered, that they were not persuaded

in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within awhile after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter aforesaid) brought openly into the consistory, the ninth day of February aforesaid, and there had the same articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the aforesaid Thomas Tomkins, (as appeareth in the discourse of his history,) and there-to also subscribed these words, "I do so believe."

The bishop also used certain talk unto John Laurence only; whereunto he answered in this manner: that he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past; and that he was some time a Black Friar professed; that also he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar: and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err.—After this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

The third and last appearance of the aforesaid prisoners.

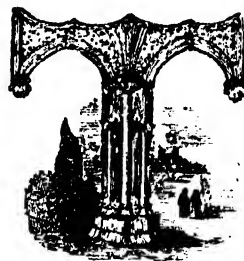
At the which hour they came thither again, and there, after the accustomed manner, were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To the which they constantly answered they would not, but would stick to that faith that they had declared and subscribed unto; for that they did believe that it was no error which they believed, but that the contrary thereof was very heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flattering, nor yet his cruel threatenings, would prevail, he gave them severally their judgments. And because John Laurence had been one of their anointed priests, he was by the bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may see in the history of Master Hooper afore passed.

His sentence of condemnation and this degradation once ended, they were committed unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they remained with joy together until they were carried down into Essex, and there, the twenty-eighth day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who, at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said this prayer which here followeth.

"O Lord Jesus Christ! for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false god, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body and the loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine element, which as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may, at thy commandment, (as an obedient servant,) be sweet and pleasant; that, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father! forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God my Saviour! spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost! through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Amen."

The death and martyrdom of John Laurence, priest.



THE next day, being the twenty-ninth of this month, the said John Laurence was brought to Colchester, and there, being not able to go, (for that as well his legs were sore

worn with heavy irons in prison, as also his body weakened by evil keeping,) was borne to the fire in a chair, and, so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

At the burning of this Laurence, he, sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could speak, saying, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise; Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise:" which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

The history of Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's in Wales, who most constantly gave his life for the testimony of the truth, March the thirtieth, A. D. 1555.



THE day after Laurence's death, which was the thirtieth of the month of March, followed the worthy and constant martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in

Wales, called Robert Ferrar, who was the next bishop in this catalogue of Christian martyrs, that suffered after Master Hooper. This aforesaid Ferrar, by the favour and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. This man I may well call twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Queen Mary, unto the shedding of his blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in King Edward's time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies, after the fall of the duke of Somerset. Of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid against him, to the number of fifty-six, and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous canons of the church of Caermarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty adversaries, and what were their names, in their articles against him, in order here followeth.

George Constantine; David Walter, his servant; Thomas Young, chanter of the cathedral church, who was afterward archbishop of York; Rowland

Meyrike, doctor of law, who was afterward bishop of Bangor; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c.

Through the procurement and instance of these his adversaries, joining and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins, priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to the said George Constantine, did exhibit to the king's most honourable council certain articles and informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the bishop's credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his bishopric, and to bring him in a *præmunire*.

After answers exhibited by the virtuous and godly bishop against the quarrelling and frivolous articles of his foresaid adversaries, to wit, Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee; then came in for witness, upon the said articles and informations, George Constantine, and the chanter of St. David's: against whom the bishop laid first exceptions, then also exhibited matter justificatory.

During all this time of the examination of the witnesses, the said bishop was stayed at London, upon the allegation of the said adversaries; which was, that if the said bishop should depart into his diocese, he would let them of their proofs.

And at the return of their commission it was signified unto the council what a great number of witnesses they had examined, viz. sixscore and seven; which sounded very heinous in the council's ears.

And about three weeks after, publication of their witnesses was granted; and after that it was a fortnight ere the bishop could get a copy written of their depositions, because the book thereof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the bishop desired time, first, to inquire of what condition the persons were, that had witnessed against him, and to make exceptions and matters to justify direct contrary, and to have a commission for the proof thereof; which was then granted. And now it is objected, that the bishop was appointed so to travail with the expedition of his matter, that he should have sued out his commission, and have made return thereof at All-Hallowtide last past; but there was no such decree put in writing. And it was not possible for the bishop to do it in so short a time, these causes considered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

First, It was the latter end of July ere he came home to St. David's where he began his visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of law constrained to answer at the bar daily, during all the time of the great sessions at Caermarthen, in defence of his just cause against the pretended matter of *præmu-*

nire, which his adversaries of mere malice have procured against him.

Thirdly, The said adversaries, to molest him further, did privily pack a quest of ignorant persons of no reputation, and indicted him upon the words of Rawlins' information, as appeareth by a copy of the indictment; intending thereby to make the matter sound more heinous; notwithstanding that the same cause dependeth before the king's high council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the commissioners, before his departure from London, to pay two hundred pounds (which was arrearages) into the court of First-fruits and Tenths, at Bartholomew-day then next following; which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding that his adversaries wrought means to have made him break his day; namely, one Edward Harbert, gentleman, who hath a parsonage of his to farm, kept back his rent to the very last day, because that money should not help to serve his turn; and so, by crafty cavillation, detaineth it still in his hand with a year's rent and an half more: for the said Edward Harbert is an adherent of the said bishop's adversaries.

Fifthly, The book of their depositions is so great, that it asketh a long time to peruse; and also the greatest part of their witnesses were utterly unknown of the bishop and all his: and also dwelling in so many sundry places of the diocese, among the mountains and elsewhere, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, Another great sessions was holden at Caermarthen in the month of October last, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforesaid. All which causes considered, being also in the time of his ordinary visitation, which he did execute himself, he could not make ready his exceptions in shorter time.

The said bishop despatched his man towards London the twenty-third day of October, who ever since hath been and is attendant in the same suit, for the obtaining the commission for proof of this matter against his adversaries.

And thus you have heard the first trouble of this blessed martyr of the Lord in King Edward's days, with the whole discourse thereof; which we thought the rather here to express, to give other good bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this process, Bishop Ferrar, partly upon the importunate suit of his adversaries, partly upon the sinister and unfortunate fall of the good duke of Somerset, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour showed, was detained in prison till the death

of King Edward, and the coming in of Queen Mary and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine: the process of which his trouble here likewise followeth.

After that the foresaid Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, had been long detained in custody under sureties, in the reign of King Edward, not for any just cause for his part deserved, but by reason that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset; and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric, at length, after the decease of King Edward, by the coming in of Queen Mary the state of religion began to be changed and altered; whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of *præmunire*, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the bishop of Winchester, with Master Hooper, Master Rogers, Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and others aforesaid, the fourth of February. On the which day he should also with them have been condemned; but, because leisure or list did not so well then serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the fourteenth day of the said month of February. What his examinations and answers were, before the said bishop of Winchester, so much as remained and came to our hands I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

At his first coming and kneeling before my Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table, and Master Rochester, Master Southwell, Master Bourne, and others, standing at the table's end, the lord chancellor said unto him on this sort:

Winchester.—"Now, sir, have you heard how the world goeth here?"

Ferrar.—"If it like your Honour, I know not."

Winchester.—"What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner?"

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord, I know not."

Winchester.—"Lo, what a froward fellow is this?"

Ferrar.—"If it please your Lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a prisoner?"

Winchester.—"Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

Ferrar.—"I know not my Lord Cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in: but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet."

Worcester.—"I pray your Lordship tell him yourself, that he may know what is done."

Winchester.—"The queen's Majesty and the

parliament have restored religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Eighth. Ye are in the queen's debt; and her Majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholic church."

Ferrar.—"In what state I am concerning my debts to the queen's Majesty, in the court of exchequer, my Lord Treasurer knoweth: and the last time that I was before your Honour, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent or agree, that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your Lordship; you know it well enough."

Bourne.—"You were once abjured for heresy in Oxford."

Ferrar.—"That was I not."

Bourne.—"You were."

Ferrar.—"I was never; it is not true."

Bourne.—"You went from St. David's to Scotland."

Ferrar.—"That I did not."

Bourne.—"You did."

Ferrar.—"That did I never; but I went from York into Scotland."

Bourne.—"Ah! so said I: you went with Barlow."

Ferrar.—"That is true; but never from St. David's."

Bourne.—"You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York, Edward Lee."

Ferrar.—"That did I not."

Bourne.—"You did."

Ferrar.—"I did not; but I carried old books from St. Oswald's to the archbishop of York."

Bourne.—"You supplanted your master."

Ferrar.—"That did I never in my life."

Bourne.—"By my faith you did."

Ferrar.—"Forsooth I did not, never in my life; but did shield and save my master from danger; and that I obtained of King Henry the Eighth, for my true service, I thank God there-for."

"My Lord," saith Master Bourne to my Lord Chancellor, "he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any."

Ferrar.—"That is not so: whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it."

Bourne.—"He hath deceived the queen in divers sums of money."

Ferrar.—"That is utterly untrue: I never deceived king or queen of one penny in my life; and you shall never be able to prove that you say."

Winchester.—"Thou art a false knave."

Then Ferrar stood up unbidden, (for all that while he kneeled,) and said, "No, my Lord, I am

a true man; I thank God for it! I was born under King Henry the Seventh; I served King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth truly; and have served the queen's Majesty that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word: more I could not do; and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God."

Winchester.—"How sayest thou; wilt thou be reformatable?"

Ferrar.—"My Lord, if it like your Honour, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry the Eighth, and also to King Edward, and in that to the queen's Majesty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it."

Durham.—"You had made another oath before."

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord; I never made another oath before."

Durham.—"You made a vow."

Ferrar.—"That did I not."

Winchester.—"You made a profession to live without a wife."

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord, if it like your Honour; that did I never. I made a profession to live chaste—not without a wife."

Worcester.—"You were sworn to him that was master of your house."

Ferrar.—"That was I never."

Winchester.—"Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this seven-night."

Ferrar.—"I am as it pleaseth your Honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath which your Lordship yourself made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can never break that oath whilst I live, to die for it."

Durham.—"Well! he standeth upon his oath: call another."

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little bell, and Master Ferrar said, "I pray God save the king and queen's Majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your Honours;" and so departed.

After these examinations thus ended, Bishop Ferrar so remained in prison uncondemned, till the fourteenth day (as is aforesaid) of February; and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive sentence of condemnation. Who then, upon the twenty-sixth of February, in the church of Caermarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyson, esquire, sheriff of the county of Caermarthen, was there personally presented before Henry, bishop of St.

David's, and Constantine, the public notary : which Henry there and then discharged the said sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones ; and thereupon declared unto the said Master Ferrar the great mercy and clemency, that the king and queen's Highness' pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said Master Ferrar ; that is to say, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he should be received and pardoned. After that, seeing the said Master Ferrar to give no answer to the premises, the said bishop ministered unto him these articles following.

"First, Whether he believeth the marriage of priests lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or no ?

"Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine ? "

Unto the which articles the said bishop required the said Master Ferrar to answer upon his allegiance. To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful commission ; and would make no further answer at that time. Whereupon the said bishop, taking no advantage upon the same answer, committed him to the said keeper, to be kept in prison until a new monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himself for his further answer to the premises.

Another examination of the bishop of St. David's, before Henry Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, George Constantine, his registrar, and others, the last of February, A. D. 1555.

This day and place, Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, sitting as judge, ministered unto Bishop Ferrar, there personally present before him, certain articles and interrogatories in writing : which being openly read and ministered unto him, the said Bishop Ferrar refused to answer, till he might see his lawful commission and authority. Whereupon the aforesaid pretended bishop of St. David's did pronounce him as *contumax*, and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing : which being done, he committed the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the fourth of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

Another appearance of the said Bishop Ferrar, before Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's.

Item, The day and place appointed, the said bishop appearing again before the pretended bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the articles and positions above-mentioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself : which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between one and three to answer precisely and fully ; so he was committed again to custody, as above.

Another appearance of the said bishop.

On Thursday, as was appointed, which was the seventh of March, the said bishop personally again appeared ; where he exhibited a certain bill in writing, containing in it his answer unto certain articles objected and ministered unto him before. Then after, Henry, the pretended bishop of St. David's, offered him again the said articles as before ; the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect :

"First, That he willed him, being a priest, to abrenounce matrimony.

"Secondly, To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

"Thirdly, That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"Fourthly, That general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

"Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by faith only : but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

"Sixthly, That the catholic church, which only hath authority to expound Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible, and like unto a city set upon a mountain for all men to understand."

To these articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented and excoigated by man, and pertain nothing to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop above-named delivered unto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

Another appearance of Bishop Ferrar.

Upon the which Monday, being the eleventh of March, he, appearing again before the bishop, and the aforesaid notary, George Constantine, exhibited

in a written paper his mind and answer to the fore-said articles, which the bishop had twice now objected against him before, to the which articles and answers he did so subscribe—adding these words, *as tenens se de æquitate et justitia esse Episcopum Menevensensem*—that the bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

The last appearance of Bishop Ferrar.

The which day and place the said bishop and true servant of God, Master Ferrar, personally there appearing, was demanded of Henry, the pretended bishop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, (as he called them,) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the catholic articles, otherwise than he had done before.

After this the said godly bishop, Master Ferrar, did exhibit a certain schedule written in English, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to Cardinal Pole, &c. All which notwithstanding, the said bishop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him, contained in writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which sentence he pronounced him as a heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power; namely, to the sheriff of the town of Caermarthen, Master Leyson.

Thus this godly bishop, being condemned and degraded, was committed to the secular power, who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Caermarthen, where he, in the market place in the south side of the market-cross, the thirtieth day of March, being Saturday next before Passion Sunday, most constantly sustained the torments and passion of the fire.

Touching the which constancy of this blessed martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Master Ferrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer: unto whom the bishop answered again to this effect, saying, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood that he never moved, but even as he stood, (holding up his stumps,) so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

Letters of Dr. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's.



S touching the letters of Master Ferrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in Queen Mary's time his imprisonment was so strait, that at no time

it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other troubles, in King Edward's time, certain letters he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and to the earl of Warwick: which letters, although they might be well referred to the first edition of this story; yet because in the said letters is contained briefly, and in few lines, the whole discourse of his unjust vexation at that time wrought by his adversaries, I thought good not to pass them over, but to communicate them unto the reader, for the better understanding both of the innocency of that blessed bishop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conspired enemies; as in the said letters here following to the indifferent reader may easily appear.

The copy of a certain letter of the bishop of St. David's, written belike to the lord chancellor, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely.

"Most humbly sheweth unto your Honour, your poor orator, Robert, bishop of St. David's, that whereas one Thomas Lee, (by the procurement of Thomas Young and Rowland Meyrike, being both canons of St. David's, and George Constantine, registrar to the said bishop,) hath exhibited unto your Honour against him certain articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and also their pretended weighty articles (as they have alleged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said Thomas Lee hath had commissions into the country: therefore it may please your Honour, of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said orator a like commission for the examination of witnesses, in defence of his truth and honesty against the afore-named Thomas Lee, George Constantine, Thomas Young, Rowland Meyrike, and all other persons, with their unjust articles, attestations, and sayings, deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said orator standeth bounden, and sureties with him, in the sum of a thousand marks, to appear before the king's justice, in the sessions at

Caermarthen, in July next coming, to answer to a forged matter of *præmunire*, by the procurement and counsel of his forenamed adversaries, maliciously surmised against him to his utter undoing : and furthermore that your orator, being in debt to the king's Majesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of the foresaid adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same : for whereas there be arrearages to a great sum, (as well of the king's money as of his own rents,) he can receive none thereof, his adversaries have made such ill report to his discredit, bearing the people in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which bruit, neither his own tenants will pay their rents and arrearages, nor the priests their arrearages due to the king's Majesty, as well for *anno secundo* and *tertio*, as for *quarto* and *quinto*. In consideration of all which things, it may please your honourable goodness to license your said orator to depart into the diocese, for these affairs and others. And he shall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesu for the perpetual conservation of your Honour, to his glory."

Another letter written by the bishop of St. David's, to the chancellor aforesaid.

"Right honourable, and my very special good Lord, with humble service and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most lovingly admonishing me to incline unto that which is very necessary, as charitable concord and unity : this is furtherly to beseech your Lordship, for the Lord's sake, not to be grieved, but benignly to hear and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to others but a light grief, to me is, in very deed, a right grievous offence to God, with no little hinderance of his holy word, and disturbance of the king's godly proceedings ; and may be a great occasion of much inobedience and disorder of good life. Wherefore I am straitly bounden, for the true zeal that I ought to bear unto God's word of life, Christian religion, the king's Majesty's honour, and the godly quiet state of his people, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redress to be sought at his Majesty's hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright council, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons, trusting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention and utterly untrue surmises, to stop the light, that their ungodly misdoing in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may have a colourable appearance of right ;

insomuch that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in Master Chanter the canon, and the dean of Worcester, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and sensibly felt, in two of the first, to my great losses, whereof I make no complaint.

"But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the strange alteration and wilful going backward of my old faithful brother George Constantine, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate enemies to the true bearers of the cross of Christ, or at least privy lurkers, under pretence of favour towards the gospel, to sting the poor followers thereof ; seeking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy sin for lucre's sake, even yet stiffly persisting in the same, namely, in things manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

"And as for their *præmunire*, both George and they, at my first coming, ungently detaining from Master Farlee his commission for the chancellorship, would have faced me down with *præmunire*, because it was written in my own name according to the statute : yet was I fain, for the zeal of unity, not to see their uncourteous deeds, departing with Master Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office, for the unity of George, unto Master Chanter his son-in-law, and to Master Meyrike, the office of Cardigan. But, seeing afterward their covetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of sin, and specially of shameless whoredom, I was compelled to remove them, sore against their wills : and whereas I desired many and sundry times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the vacation-time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

"Also desiring to have sight of the book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a key of the chapter seal, as my Lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions ; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleased them to give it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my right, they would in no wise grant it. And thereupon, considering their ungentleness, I moved the *Quo warranto*, knowing right well, that if they should show any substantial grant under the king's seal for their corporation, it must therein appear the bishop to be the head, and ever hath been under the king ; for other they never have, nor had, except they would

return to Rome again; as I trust they will not. And yet, perceiving afterward that they had no special grant to show, or else such as they would not show, I myself, for the respect of unity, wrote my letters to the king's attorney, by reason whereof the *Quo warranto* was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

"But touching the certificate, the king's subsidy being due at Michaelmas last, and forborne till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay it both to my vice-chancellor and to myself, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed to me in the king's roll a whole sum in gross, to be received of the canons residentiary for their dividend: who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the king's Majesty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

"Wherefore I most humbly beseech your fatherly goodness, for the Lord's sake, to persist and continue my good lord and friend unto such time as ye find me either desiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the judgment of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious letter, I shall now surcease; humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldness, proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jesus, who save and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory.—Written at Aber Gwili, this ninth of March.

"Your Lordship's to command during life,
ROBERT FERRAR."

The history of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiff in Wales about the month of March, for the testimony of Christ's gospel, reported by John Dane, being yet alive, who was almost continually with him during his trouble, unto his death.



ORASMUCH

as we have here passed the history of Master Ferrar, burned at the town of Caermarthen in Wales, I thought to adjoin and accompany with the same the his-

tory also of one Rawlins White, a fisherman, who, both in the like cause, and in the same country of Wales, and also about the same month of March and year aforesaid, gave his life, like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff; the process of whose story here followeth expressed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade by the space of twenty years at the least, in the town of Cardiff, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, and well accounted amongst his neighbours. As touching his religion at the first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used; I mean in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, this Rawlins began partly to mislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before, by the iniquity of the time, had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher-out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity, which was this: he had a little boy which was his own son; which child he set to school to learn to read English. Now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father, every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy to read a piece of the Holy Scripture, and now and then of some other good book; in which kind of virtuous exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that, as it seemed, he rather practised himself in the study of the Scripture, than in the trade or science which beforetime he had used: so that Rawlins, within few years, in the said time of King Edward, through the help of his little son, (a special minister appointed by God, no doubt, for that purpose,) and through much conference beside, profited and went forward in such sort, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish and instruct others: and therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doing, he became, in that country, both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times and in all such places,

not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have said) he used as an assistance to this his good purpose. And to this his great industry and endeavour in the Holy Scripture, God did also add in him a singular gift of memory; so that by the benefit thereof he would and could do that, in vouching and rehearsing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish; insomuch that he, upon the alleging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea, and the very sentence: such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

Now when he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, King Edward died, upon whose decease Queen Mary succeeded, and, with her, all kind of superstition and papistry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as before he was wont; and therefore oftentimes, in some private place or other, he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he converted a great number; which number, no doubt, had greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution been. The extremity and force whereof, at the last, so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he looked every hour to go to prison: whereupon many of those which had received comfort by his instructions, did resort unto him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children; and by that means he should escape that danger which was imminent over his head.

But Rawlins, nothing abashed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson touching the confessing and denial of Christ; advertising them, that if he, upon their persuasions, should presume to deny his Master Christ, Christ, in the last day, would deny and utterly condemn him: "and therefore," quoth he, "I will, by his favourable grace, confess and bear witness of him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life."

Notwithstanding which answer, his friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose so long, till at the last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy; upon which apprehension

he was conveyed before the bishop of Llandaff that then was, the said bishop lying then at his house beside Chepstow; by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the bishop's means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe and extreme, but that, if he had so listed, he might have escaped oftentimes.

But that notwithstanding, he continued still, insomuch that at the last he, by the aforementioned bishop, was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued by the space of one whole year; during which time, this reporter resorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother, (who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days,) and other of his friends; which he received not without great thanks and praises given to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned, as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children; yet was his heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his familiar friends, as commonly came unto him: insomuch that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets which come in sheep's clothing.

Now when he had continued in Cardiff castle by the space of one whole year, (as I have said,) the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the forenamed bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house beside Chepstow; and whilst he continued there, the bishop assayed many ways how to reduce him to some conformity. But when all means, either by their threatening words, or flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop willed him to advise, and be at a full point with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the law; and thereupon gave him a day of determination; which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, not without a great number of other by-dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doings.

When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop, after a great deliberation in addressing himself, as it seemed, and silence forewarned to the rest that were there present, used a long kind of

talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending-for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error. In the end he exhorted him to consider his own estate wherein he stood: "for," said the bishop, "Rawlins, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house, and elsewhere, been travailed withal touching your opinions; and, that notwithstanding, ye seem altogether obstinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to send for you, to see if there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this point, that if you will show yourself repentant for that which you have done against God and the prince's law, we are ready to use favour towards you; but if by no means we can persuade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the law unto you—and therefore advise yourself, what you will do."

When the bishop had made an end of his long tale, this good father Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, "My Lord, I thank God I am a Christian man; and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be." Many more words were in like sort between the bishop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

"Proceed in your law a God's name," said Rawlins; "but for a heretic you shall never condemn me while the world standeth." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of grace upon him, [meaning Rawlins,] and it may so chance that God, through our prayer, will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, "Ah, my Lord," quoth he, "now you deal well, and like a godly bishop; and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them: and there be more than two or three of you. Now, if it be so that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my Lord, go to; do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

By and by the bishop with his company fell to prayer; and Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his knees,

covering his face with his hands. And when they had prayed a while, the bishop with his company arose from prayer; and then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop, "Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no?" "Surely," said Rawlins, "my Lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them; but you honour a false god, and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am only one poor simple man, as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause."

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. Howbeit, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were there present, he thought best, first, to have a mass, thinking that indeed, by so doing, some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins; and thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place there by, until such time as the priest came to the sacrificing, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the sacrificing-bell ring (as the use was) he rose out of his place, and came to the choir-door, and, there standing a while, turned himself to the people, speaking these words: "Good people! if there be any brethren amongst you, or, at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol"—meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

The mass being ended, Rawlins afterwards was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so steadfast in his former profession, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpose: whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed; and from thence he was, by the bishop's commandment, carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, called Cockmarel; a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison. Rawlins in the mean time passed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of psalms: which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

Now, after he had thus continued a prisoner in Cockmarel prison at Cardiff, (as is aforesaid,) a good

space, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, because they would be sooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have. Whereupon one Henry Lewis, the recorder of the town that then was, seeing that they went about to burn him without any warrant by writ, came to them and told them, that if they did burn him before they had the writ, *De hæreticis comburendis*, the wife of the said Rawlins would, upon just cause, by law, call their doings into question. Immediately upon this advertisement, they sent to London for the writ above-named; upon the receipt whereof they made some speed to the execution of the said Rawlins. Now, when the day was come wherein the good father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himself.

Now when he perceived his time was no less near than it was reported unto him, he sent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which afterward he was burned in: which request, or rather commandment of his, his wife, with great sorrow and grief of heart, did perform, and early in the morning did send it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully. Now when the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which (as you heard before) he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather buskins, which he had used long afore. And thus being brought out of prison, (as I have said,) he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great company of bills and gloves; which sight when he beheld, "Alas!" quoth he, "what meaneth all this? All this needed not. By God's grace I will not start away: but I, with all my heart and mind, give unto God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this, for his holy name's sake."

So he came to a place in his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation; the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself; insomuch that in striking his breast with his hand he used these words: "Ah flesh! stayest thou me so? wouldst thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou

shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice, (I mean the place appointed for his death,) and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire; which when he beheld, he set forward himself very boldly; but, in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground: and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust: thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake; and when he had stood there awhile, he cast his eye upon this reporter, and called him unto him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swinge; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close unto the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom when he saw, he cast up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the smith cast a chain about him; and as he was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said unto him, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily; but God of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity!"

Now when the smith had made him sure to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reed: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best: for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch: which thing he did with such a cheerful countenance and familiar gesture, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus, when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting-to of the fire, directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to speak to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day. When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little straw unto him, and made two little stays, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the Church of Rome. In the mean time Rawlins gave such good ear and attention, that he seemed nothing at all moved or disquieted. At the last, the priest came to the sacra-

ment of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions: in which his invective he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a clerky interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned with his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people; and hear not a false prophet preaching:" and then said unto the preacher, "Ah, thou naughty hypocrite! dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text what followeth; did not Christ say, Do this in remembrance of me!" After which words the priest, being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire;" which being set to, the straw and reed, by and by, cast up both a great and sudden flame. In the which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away; saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At the last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be said that he suffered or felt any great pain, considering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life. Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of everlasting life.

It is recorded, furthermore, of the said good father Rawlins, by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For as before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture, now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speech and behaviour. He had—of which thing I should have spoken before—about his head a kerchief; the hairs of his head, (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchief,) and

also of his beard, were more inclining to white than to grey, which gave such a show and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical.

It is also said by this reporter, that a little before the fire flashed up to his body (as ye have heard) many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand; amongst whom the reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire rose and forced them to sunder. In the mean time the priest, of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was a heretic, and condemned by the church.—The chief cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. He was, at the time of his death, of the age of threescore years, or thereabouts.

The sum of the words spoken by Queen Mary to certain of her councillors, March the twenty-eighth. A. D. 1555, touching the restitution of the abbey lands.

Before I pass over this month of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of Queen Mary, used to certain of the council the twenty-eighth day of the said month of March, touching the restoring again of the abbey lands; who, after she had called unto her presence four of her privy council, the day and month aforesaid (the names of which councillors were these, namely, William, lord marquis of Winchester, high treasurer of England; Sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; Sir William Peter, knight, secretary: Sir Francis Englefield, knight, master of the wards); the said Queen Mary inferred these words, the principal effect and sum whereof here followeth:—

"You are here of our council; and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

"First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church; for the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them: and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do

renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And albeit you may object to me again, that, considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me a husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor, (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before,) and you four, to-morrow together do resort to the most reverend lord legate, and do signify to him the premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the foresaid possessions accordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

This intimation being given by the queen, first unto the councillors, and then coming to the cardinal's hand, he drawing out a copy thereof in Latin, sent the same to the pope; which copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus translated into English, as you have heard.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be understood, that in the month before, which was February, and on the nineteenth day of the said month, the bishop of Ely and the Lord Montacute, with sevenscore horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen unto Rome; for what cause, in story it is not expressed; but, by conjecture, it may be well supposed to be for the same cause of abbey lands, as by the sequel thereof may probably appear.

For it was not long after, but the pope did set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all manner of such persons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey lands; by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated as well all such as had any of the church or abbey lands, as also all such princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of peace and others in office, who had not, or did not forthwith, put the same bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet, to this day, was never put in practice. Wherein again is to be observed another catholic fetch, not unworthy, per-

chance, of marking. For whereas this kind of catholics, by rigour and force, may overmaster, they spare for no cost, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and still doth appear, in burning the poor patient Christians, whom because they see to be destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatsoever is put unto them, there they play the lions, and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they spy themselves to be overmatched, or fear to receive a foil in pursuing too far, there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, be they never so apostolical, till they spy their time convenient for their purpose, as in this case is evident for all the world to see. For notwithstanding that the pope's bull, coming down with full authority for restitution of abbey lands, did so thunder out most terrible excommunication, not only against them which detained any such lands, but also against all others that did not see the pope's commandment to be executed; yet neither Winchester, nor any of all the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them to match withal; and therefore were contented to let the case fall, or at least to stay for a time, while time might better serve them.

Yea, and moreover, under a crafty pretence that the nobility and men of lands, at the first coming out of the bull, should not be exasperated too much against them, they subtly abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people; affirming that the said pope's late bull, set forth in print, for restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries: whereas, in very deed, the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else, as both by this intimation of Queen Mary here mentioned, and by many other conjectures, and also by Master Feckenham's ballet of *Caveat emptor*, may appear; whereby it is easy for all men to understand what the purpose of those men was to do, if time, which they observed, might have served their devotion.

But to let this matter pass of the pope's bull, the time now serveth to entreat of Pope Julius's death, forasmuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid month of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good ears. Under this Julius flourished the archbishop of Benevento, a Florentine, named John de la Casa, dean of the pope's chamber, and chief legate to the Venetians; who, well declaring the fruit of that filthy see, so far forgot both honesty and nature, that he shamed not only to play the filthiest immorality himself, and to boast openly

of the same ; but also took upon him most impudently in Italian metre, to all men's ears, to set forth the praise and commendation of a certain nameless iniquity, saying that he himself never used other ; and this book was printed at Venice by one Trajanus Nævus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameless beastliness, even under his nose in his own chamber ; which could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in Christian books.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid pope, in his Jubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Loretto, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his physician to abstain from all swine's flesh, for that it was noisome for his gout, and yet would not follow his counsel ; the physician afterward gave warning to his steward or orderer of his diet, that he should set no more pork-flesh before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed service : "Where," said he, "is my pork ?" And when his steward had answered, that his physician had forbidden any pork to be served ; then the pope, bursting out into a great rage, saith these words ; "Bring me," said he, "my pork-flesh, in the despite of God."

At another time, he, sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacock upon his table, which he had not touched, "Keep," said he, "this cold peacock for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden ; for I shall have guests." So when supper came, and, amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacock brought to his table, the pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreme rage, &c. ; whereupon one of his cardinals, sitting by, desired him, saying, "Let not your Holiness, I pray you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight." Then this Julius the pope, answering again, "What," said he, "if God was so angry for an apple, that he cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacock, since a peacock is a greater matter than an apple." Behold here, good reader, by this pope, the holiness of that blasphemous see : and yet thou shalt see here what affliction was borne to this pope here in England, by

the diriges, hearses, and funerals, commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queen and her council, as may appear by the copy of their letters here following.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester (being lord chancellor) unto Bonner, bishop of London, touching the celebrating of the pope's funeral.

"After my hearty commendations to your good Lordship : The king and queen's Majesties having certain knowledge of the death of the pope's Holiness, thought good there should be as well solemn obsequies said for him throughout the realm, as also these prayers (which I send you herein enclosed) used at mass times in all places at this time of vacation : and therefore willed me to signify their pleasures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due execution within your own diocess, and sending word to the rest of the bishops, to do the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your Lordship will use such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessary, I bid your Lordship heartily well to fare.

"From my house at Esher, the tenth of April, 1535.

"Your assured friend and brother,

STEPHEN WINTON, Chancellor."

A woman of St. Magnus's imprisoned for not praying for the pope.

Upon this commandment, on Wednesday in Easter week there were hearses set up and diriges sung for the said Julius in divers places ; at which time it chanced a woman to come into St. Magnus's church, at the bridge-foot in London, and there, seeing a hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant : and another that stood by said, that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him. "Nay," quoth she, "that will I not, for he needeth not my prayers : and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself ; therefore I need not to pray for him." She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by, who, by and by, carried her unto the cage at London-bridge, and bade her cool herself there.



A spectacle for all Christians to behold, and to take heed of the pope's blasphemous doctrine.



Y many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished men of all nations in these our latter years, to embrace, and not violently to repugn against, the light of his gospel: as first, by preaching of his word; secondly, by the blood of the martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible examples showed from time to time upon his adversaries. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered the notable working of God's hand upon a certain priest in Kent, named Nightingal, parson of Crundal beside Canterbury; who, upon Shrove-Sunday, which was about the third day of the said month of March, and year of our Lord aforesaid, (rejoicing belike not a little at this alteration of religion,) began to make a sermon to his parishioners, taking his theme out of the words

of St. John: He that saith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him, &c. And so upon the same very impertinently declared to them all such articles as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by the commandment of the bishops of this realm; saying, moreover, unto the people in this wise: "Now, masters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry; for the prodigal son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past: I was before my Lord Cardinal Pole's Grace, and he hath made me as free from sin, as I was at the font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the same unto you, and I will tell you what it is."—And so reading the pope's bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day; adding, moreover, that he believed, that by the virtue of that bull he was as clean from sin, as that night that he was born:—and immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot, and so lay he. This was testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, who heard and saw the same, and it is witnessed also by the whole country round about.

John Awcock, martyr.

In the beginning of April, and the second day of the said month, died in prison John Awcock, who after was buried in the fields; as the manner of the papists was to deny their Christian burial to such as died out of their popish antichristian church.

Now, forasmuch as having passed the month of March, we are entered into the month of April, to set down in order, out of public records, what happened in the said month, here followeth to be noted: that the first day of April, A. D. 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching secretly, and to send them up to the council. The seventh day of the said month, another letter was sent to the said sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about, with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The fifteenth of April a letter was directed to Sir Nicholas Hare, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine Master Flower (alias Branch) what he meant, by wearing about his neck written, *Deum time, idolum fuge*: and whom else he knew to wear the like: praying them also to speak to Bonner, bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion, according to the laws, and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute; so as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the furthest by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be, the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off.

The twenty-second of April there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before his burning.

The twenty-ninth of April, Master Robert Hornebey, servant then to the Lady Elizabeth, was convicted before the council for his religion; and standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.

A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marsh, who suffered most constant martyrdom for the profession of the gospel of Christ at Chester, the twenty-fourth day of April, 1555.

The said George Marsh was born in the parish of Dean, in the county of Lancaster, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living

by his parents; who afterwards, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country, with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then, God taking his wife out of this world, he being most desirous of godly studies, (leaving his household and children in good order,) went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godly virtues, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders; as he himself reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Dean, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison by George Cotes, then bishop of Chester, in strait prison in Chester, within the precinct of the bishop's house, about the space of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names unto the bishop; as by the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder following.

"On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the twelfth day of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone, with other of Master Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strait charge to Roger Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to Master Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

"I, knowing this, by relation of divers of my friends, was diversely affected; my mother and other my friends advertising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion, (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit, I never will,) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine own self, after trouble and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

"This considered, they advised me and counselled

me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened: to whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled so away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living, professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. I, being thus with their advice and counsel, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying I would come again at evening.

"In the mean time I ceased not, by earnest prayer, to ask and seek counsel of God, (who is the giver of all good gifts,) and of other my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Dean Moor, about sun going-down: and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my friend, said, I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and counsel as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

"This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where had been divers of Master Barton's servants seeking after me: who, when they could not find me, straitly charged by brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smirhill the next day; who, being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere I know not. Thus, intending afore to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Dean Church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble.

"So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who said this: my friend's advice was, that I should in no wise fly; but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more whether was better, to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to Master Barton, who did seek for me, and

there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my mind and conscience, afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet estate.

"So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany, (as my custom was,) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go toward Smirhill: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houses of Harry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Rafe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson; desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children: for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more before the last day; and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parties, and came to Smirhill about nine of the clock, and presented myself afore Master Barton; who showed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham.

"Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh, to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit with other special friends which I had there at the same time, to Master Barton, that he would take some one of them, or them all, bound by recognisance or otherwise, for mine appearing before the said earl or his said council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of seeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home: but nothing could be obtained.

"So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes, and so, praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping; and so departed from them, and went toward Latham, and were all night a mile and a half on this side Latham. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four of the clock at afternoon.

"Then was I called by Roger Mekinson to come to my Lord and his council, and so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where was present Sir William Norris, Sir Pierce Leigh, Master Sherburn the parson of Grappenhall, Master More, with others; where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name: I answered, 'Marsh.'

"Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissension amongst the people: which thing I denied, desiring to know

mine accusers, and what could be laid against me. But that I could not know.

"Then, said he, he would with his council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, 'No.' Then he asked me what had been my living. I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then said my Lord to his council, 'This is a wonderful thing. Afore he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one.' I answered, 'By the laws now used in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none.'

"Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered, I received orders of the bishops of London and Lincoln.

"Then said they one to another, 'Those be of the new heretics:' and asked me what acquaintance I had with them. I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

"They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again. Whereat they murmured, and the parson of Grappenhall said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised.

"Then they asked me what my belief was. I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach, and according as the four symbols or creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called *Apostolorum*, the creed of Nice council, of Athanasius, and of Augustine and Ambrose, do teach. And after a few words, the parson of Grappenhall said, 'But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?' I answered, I believed that whosoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood, with all the benefits of his death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ (said I) is ever present with his sacrament.

"Then asked they me, whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced of the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the very body of Christ: whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had showed already; 'for my knowledge is unperfect,' said I: desiring them not to ask me such

hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian man.

"So, after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of Paul, Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but engender strife; my Lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before: whereat he, being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying I should not choose but do it.

"Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not: whereat he, being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

"In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvass tent-clothes; and, that done, I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes; and so continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study: for no man could be suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink."

Another examination of George Marsh before the earl of Derby.

"On Palm Sunday, after dinner, I was sent for to my Lord and his council, (saving Sir William Norris and Sir Pierce Leigh were not then present in place,) amongst whom was Sir John Biron, and the vicar of Prescott. So they examined me yet once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescott a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my Lord and his council with me, saying: that answer which I had made before, and then did make, (as it is above written,) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescott, I would be conformable in other things. So, after many fair words, he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty

to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

“And so, after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved: for hitherto I went about, as much as in me lay, to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means, without open denying of Christ and his word, that could be done.

“This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him: and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not spoiled through their philosophy and deceitful vanity after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ.

“And so, after a day or two, I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot, and the parson of Grappenhall; where our most communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offended me in the mass. I answered, the whole mass did offend me; first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul’s doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv., and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ’s priesthood and sacrifice.

“Then they asked me in what place thereof: and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

“I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them.

“They said, *sacrificium* or *oblatio* did not in the mass signify any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and showed me where, in some places of the mass, was written, *sacrificium laudis*. Whereto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people; for that did Christ, by his own passion, once offer on the cross: whereas the words of the mass were, that the priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself, and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the salvation of the living: and that the commixion of the body and blood of Christ, was health both of body and soul.

The vicar answered, that was to be understood of the commixion of Christ’s body and blood with his church or people. So, after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church, (which, as they meant, was the Romish church,) I departed, not consenting unto them.

“So within a day or twain came to me Master More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Dr. Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the days of King Henry the Eighth, and willed me to read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those articles: for then I did against mine own conscience: and so he departed.

“So within a short space after, which was on Shere-Thursday, the said parson and vicar sent for me again, saying, my Lord would be at a short point with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles afore-said, I must go to prison straightways.

“The first was, whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ’s institution, and, with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?

“The second, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

“Thirdly, whether the lay people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

“Fourthly, whether confession to the priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

“These four questions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the questions with mine answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my Lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay people, by Christ’s institution, ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confession auricular were a commodious mean to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

“They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying, I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss; and much counselled me

to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did. I answered, my faith in Christ conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature, whatsoever he were; desiring them to speak to my Lord, that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so, after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the catholic church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming forth of my chamber, saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

"Upon one of the Easter holidays Master Sherburn and Master More sent for me, persuading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and in danger of life. Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things; with many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom; for as for the Scriptures, Master Sherburn confessed himself ignorant. I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity: but they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly shame. I answered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly shame, saying, My soul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverent fear of God.

"Then Master More questioned with me of receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup. Then he told me of Luke xxiv. and Acts xx., where was but mention of breaking of bread only: whereof he gathered, that they received the sacrament but under one kind. That I denied, saying, those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name of breaking bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to his institution.

"So, after much communication of that matter, Master Sherburn said, it was great pity that I, being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions. I answered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loth to

lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the ignominy of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take myself (said I) for a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me. And so, after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

"Master More, after this, brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus, a Spanish friar, of all heresies wherewith the Church of Rome, which he called Christ's true church, had been troubled since Christ's time; willing me to read and take counsel of that book: and appointed me a place, where this author did write against them that say, the lay people ought to receive under both kinds.

"This author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pellican, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish church, condemning as detestable heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the same; using for his strongest and surest arguments, the consent, agreement, and determination of the Romish church. So, within a few days, Master More came to me again, asking me how I liked the book. I said the author of the book did in all points, being a papist, allow the rites and abuses of the Romish church: and showed him further, that this author, without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old doctors, did condemn for heresy the lay people receiving of this sacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witnesseth his own self, that Christ's church, nine hundred years after Christ, used the contrary.

"So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the catholic faith; stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit. I answered, for my learning, I knowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and such as, I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me; and that I did not say or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-wilfulness, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience, and in the fear of God: and desired him to speak to my Lord and his council, that I might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me but short answer. Then I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days

of my life ; saying, I am sure God, which is a righteous judge, would make inquisition for my blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

"I continued still in ward until Low Sunday, and after dinner my keeper, Richard Scot, came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster ; and so delivered me unto them, a great company, both of my Lord's servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Adderton's, and somewhat further ; counselling and persuading like as is aforesaid. To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me, saying, If I knew mine own opinion to be good, I did well : and so they departed, willing my bringers to entreat me honestly.

"My bringers by the way showed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to see me : and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me being loose, for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

"The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their gentleness, and on the morrow delivered me to the jailer, who brought me into the highest prison, where I do remain."

After that, the said George came to Lancaster castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the sessions, was made to hold up his hands with the malefactors. The earl of Derby had this communication with him as here followeth :

"I said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and other my friends, and to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the laws of this realm, his Lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother ; but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of mine own will came to his Lordship.

"He said to his council, he had heard tell of me above at London ; and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or above at London ; and asked me into what land I would have gone.

"I answered, I would have gone either into Almain, or else into Denmark. He said to his council—in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England ; but as for Almain, he said, the emperor had destroyed them.

"So, after suchlike words I said unto him, my trust was, that his Lordship, being of the honourable council of the late King Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith toward God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful death, as he had threatened me, for embracing the same with so good a conscience.

"He answered, that he, with the Lord Windsor and Lord Dacres, with one more, whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those acts ; and that the nay of them four would be to be seen, as long as the parliament-house stood. Then my Lord did rehearse the evil luck of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion ; and again the good hap and prosperity of the queen's Highness, because she favoured the true religion : thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil ; and said, that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly."

George Marsh to the reader.

"Forasmuch as not only when I was at Latham, but also since I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and sundry reports and opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaster, (as by credible persons I am informed,) some saying it was only because I would not do open penance ; and some, because I could not agree with my Lord and his council concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the manner of Christ's presence there ; some, because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christ's institution, the lay people to receive the said sacrament under the one kind only : I thought it good, dearly beloved in Christ, and my bounden duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf ; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the certainty of those things, as near as I could, here above expressed, not omitting any thing at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me : howbeit I perceive in some things I keep not the same order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and answered by me afore and after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this : telling the truth as near as I can, desiring you to accept in good worth this my

good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God will assist us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldness confess his holy name; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen."

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marsh sustained both at Latham, and also at Lancaster, testified and written with his own hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and saith:

"While I was (saith he) in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Others said, that it was reported amongst my Lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his council.

"Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this session, many came to me to talk with me: some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gave me such-like counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, Master, favour thyself; this thing shall not be unto thee. But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about and said unto Peter, Come after me, Satan; and, perceiving that they were a hinderance unto me, and that they savoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer; that I neither could, nor would, follow their counsel, but that by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word; but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

"Some others, yea, even strangers also, came to me far unlike to these, who, after sober communication had, consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous estate, giving me comfortable words and some money too; and resorted to me oftentimes, for the space of two, three, or four days. There came also many priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or six at once, whose mouths it was a thing easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greatest clerks, and best learned in the law of God. At their departing they either consented with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying, they

could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. There came also into the prison to me Master Westby, Master Ashton of Hill, Master Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort; unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my conscience; for God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer before, (everlasting thanks be given him there-for!) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no, not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar, amongst the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them, so long as they would suffer me.

"They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where, amongst other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion; and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's Grace, to show who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was, indeed, a false forged lie of some wicked wretches). After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my prison-fellow Warbarton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read all these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely, in the evenings, come and sit down in our sights under the windows, and hear us read; wherewith others being offended, complained."

All this while George Marsh was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Dr. Cotes, placed the same time in the bishopric of Chester. Of whose coming then into Lancaster, the said George Marsh reporteth himself as followeth:

"The bishop, being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous idolatry; as holy-water-casting, procession, gadding, mattins-mumbling, children-confirming, mass-hearing, idols-upsetting, with such heathenish rites forbidden by God; but no gospel-preaching, which Christ, God's Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for me and examine me; which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with heretics so hastily: so hasty in

judgment, and calling men heretics, are our bishops in their lordly dignities, afore they hear or see what is to be amended or condemned; contrary to the express commandment of God's word, which saith, Condemn no man, before thou hast tried out the truth of the matter; and when thou hast made inquisition, then reform righteously. Give no sentence before thou hast heard the cause, but first let men tell out their tale: and he that giveth sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a fool, and worthy to be confounded.

"And instead of his liberality towards me, poor prisoner, he sent for the jailer, and rebuked him because he suffered one to fare so well; willing to have me more strictly kept and dieted; but if his Lordship were tabled but one week with me, I do think he would judge our fare but slender enough.

"Also he, and his chaplains and chancellor, did find fault with the schoolmaster and others, for speaking to me, as to a most heinous heretic, and also with the jailer for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those religious fathers show to the friendless and comfortless in their adversities. If we may know the tree by the fruits, (as Christ saith,) no man can judge such for any other, but for very enemies to Christ and his true religion. God lay it never to their charges; but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will!

"But it is no new thing for the bishops to persecute the truth, and the prophets of the Lord for their constancy in preaching of the true faith; for so did their Pharisaical forefathers, if ye mark well the histories of the Holy Bible. Pashur was the head bishop of the temple, the ring-leader of false prophets, the chief heretic-taker; that is as much as to say, the out-thruster of true godliness. After that the dignity of priesthood was given unto him, he abused it; for he taught not, neither reprov'd by the word, but leared the godly with cruelty. He not only struck, but also imprisoned, the holy prophet Jeremy; though *he* withstood him not, but presently looked for the help of God, stedfastly preaching the truth of God.

"What mischief the ungracious Bishop Jason wrought among the Jews, destroying all godliness, and setting up abominable idolatrous laws, ye may read in 2 Mac. iv. How the execrable and blind bishops, Annas and Calaphas, which never spake the truth of God themselves, unless it were against their wills, unwittingly, to their utter destruction—how (I say) they pressed the truth in Christ and his apostles, is so well known that I need not to rehearse it."

And thus much hitherto concerning the imprisonment of George Marsh, and his examinations before the earl of Derby and his deputies above named. Now, proceeding further in the troublesome perse-

cution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed under the bishop of the same diocese, which was Dr. Cotes; the effect whereof, being drawn out of his own writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

Ye heard before, how George Marsh, being first imprisoned at Latham, and afterward translated unto Lancaster, was troubled by the earl. Again, within few days after, the said Marsh was removed from Lancaster; and coming to Chester, was sent for by Dr. Cotes, then bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but they twain; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament: who made such answers as the bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution; in which points the bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the universal Church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison again. And after, being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench, the schoolmaster, one Hensham, the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who, with all probability of words and philosophy, or worldly wisdom and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and laws of the world, but not after Christ, (as it were all singing one song,) went about to persuade him to submit himself to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that church did; with many such-like arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

To whom the said George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much evil be withal annexed) one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one; because it ever hath, doth, and shall, confess and believe one only God, and him only worship; and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation: which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, languages, legrees, states, and conditions of men; and that this church is builded only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone; and not upon the

Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

And whereas they said, the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees; neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers, neither had any supremacy over empires and kingdoms: but that it was a little poor silly flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children; and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, counsels, and word of Christ, he being the supreme Head of this church, and assisting, succouring, and defending her from all assaults, errors, troubles, and persecutions, wherewith she is ever compassed about.

He showed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israel-

ites departing out of Egypt; by the parables of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and by other plain sentences of Scripture, that this church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtlety, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most Holy Spirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak, where-against all his adversaries were not able to resist.

*Another appearance of George Marsh before
Dr. Cotes, bishop of Chester.*

Now, after that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, &c., he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel, in the cathedral church of Chester, called Our Lady Chapel, before him the said bishop, at



two o'clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpose, and Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said city, Dr. Wall, and other priests assisting him, placed not far from the said bishop, but somewhat lower; George Wensloe, chancellor, and one John Chetham, registrar, sat directly over against the said bishop.

Then they caused the said George Marsh to take an oath upon a book, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the year last preceding, directly against the pope's authority and catholic Church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles, "as," he said, "all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late King Edward the Sixth."

Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him answer directly, yea or nay, without circumstance; for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the said King Edward: whose answers were every one noted and written by the registrar, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his prison again.

The last and final appearance of George Marsh before the same.

Within three weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said chapel, and in like sort as before, the said bishop and others before named there being assembled, the said George Marsh was brought by his keeper and others with bills and divers weapons before them; where, first, the said chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present the said bishop's charge and burning charity, who, even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock, that none of his sheep have the scab or other disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed sheep; so his Lordship had sent

for the said George Marsh there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition toward the said Marsh, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do would not help; so that he was now determined, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the sentence given) too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

Then the said chancellor first asked him, whether he were not one of the bishop's diocese? To the which he answered, that he knew not how large his diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at Dean parish in Lancashire, and there abode? And he answered, "Yea." Then the chancellor read all his former answers that he made in that place at his former examination; and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same, or no? To the which he answered again, "Yea, yea."

"How say ye then to this?" quoth the chancellor.—"In your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies, you said, that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine, the doctrine of the true church: and that the Church of Rome is not the true and catholic church."

"I so said indeed," quoth Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered, "Yes, and divers others; but," said he, "they claimed no more authority in England than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not," quoth he, "with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine; which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?" To whom George Marsh answered and said, "O my Lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other

things the Church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For whereas Christ, in the institution thereof, did as well deliver the cup as the bread, saying, Drink ye all of this ; and Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it : in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the same sort also was it used in the primitive church by the space of many hundred years. Now the Church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point."

Then said the bishop, "There is no disputing with a heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same ; "being as they were," said he, "full of heresy, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholic church."

To whom he made this full answer, and said, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people present to bear him witness, (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous heresy,) that in all articles of religion he held none other opinion than was by law most godly established and publicly taught in England at the death of King Edward the Sixth ; and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die.—And here the chancellor spake to one Leach, which stood near unto Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him ; for his presence did him no good.

This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom and began to read the sentence of condemnation : but when the bishop had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, "Good my Lord, stay, stay ; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again : " and so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and many other of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant ; and, amongst others, one Pulleyn, a shoe-maker, said to him, "For shame, man, remember thyself, and recant." They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him : so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time ; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them ; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles again upon

his nose, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor with a glavering and smiling countenance called to the bishop, and said, "Yet, good my Lord, once again stay ; for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve." And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay ; and if it would be !"

"How sayest thou," quoth he, "wilt thou recant ?" Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and call to God for grace ; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, "I would as fain to live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ ; and so again he should deny me, before his Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and straight after said unto him, "Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his Lordship : and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. Then his late keeper bade him, "Farewell, good George," with weeping tears, which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the North-gate, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do for fear of accusation : and some of the citizens which loved him in God, for the gospel's sake, (whereof there were but a few,) although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening, at a hole upon the wall of the city, (that went into the said dark prison,) call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well ; and thanked God most highly, that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice ; beseeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his church : with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twice he had money cast him in at the same hole, about ten pence at one time, and two shillings at another time ; for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his necessity.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Amry and Cooper, with their officers and a great number of poor simple barbers with rusty bills and pole-axes, went to the North-gate, and

there took out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand, (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution,) to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved: but Marsh said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with money; but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death with his book in his hand,

looking upon the same; and many of the people said, "This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die."

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-Boughton, one Vawdrey, being then deputy chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept the same (and said further that he loved the queen); but, forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he could not receive it upon that condition.

After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the sheriffs said, "George Marsh, we must have no



sermoning now." To whom he said, "Master, I cry you mercy:" and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his shirt, and then

was he chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the same, over his head; and by reason the fire was unskilfully made, and that the wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without

moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him underneath could see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead; notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me!" and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this many of the people said, that he was a martyr, and died marvellous patiently and godly: which thing caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirmed, that the said Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

In recompence of this his good and charitable sermon, within short time after, the just judgment of God appeared upon the said bishop, recompensing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died. Upon what cause his death was gendered, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voice of the people is not always to be followed. Notwithstanding, such a report went in all men's mouths, that he died of a disgraceful disease. Whereupon, whether he died so or no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon public speech: albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his secret friends and certain aldermen for stopping the rumour of the people, this maidenly priest and bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance which declared but small virginity in him, and that the rumour was not raised up altogether upon nought amongst the people. But of this I will stay, and proceed no further; not because more cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in defacing these men, as they are cruel in condemning God's servants to death.

This good man, George Marsh, wrote divers and sundry letters out of prison, besides his examinations, as before ye have heard: touching the which his examinations, this letter first he sendeth to his friends, the copy whereof here followeth.

"Here have you, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of Christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught; and as yet do believe, profess, and teach; and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these articles, which whoso desireth to know, let them read over the common-places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerus, whose judgment in these matters of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and

deliver us from this present evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet faileth not our faith through Christ's aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us; and that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience; that whereas they backbite us as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ. I thought myself now of late years, for the cares of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

"Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle Master Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workman): but he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistering of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights, (as the blind papists do judge it,) but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake.

"God, at this present here in England, hath his fan in his hand; and after his great harvest, whereinto these years past he hath sent his labourers, is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his floor, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

"Take heed and beware of the leaven of the scribes and of the Sadducees: I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which with their glosses deprave the Scriptures; for, as the apostle St. Peter doth teach us, there shall be false teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects:

and saith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandise of us. And Christ earnestly warneth us to beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are all we Christians taught that we should try the preachers, and others that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us, according to the saying of St. Paul, Try all things, and choose that which is good. Also the evangelist St. John saith, Believe not every spirit; but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not: for many false prophets, saith he, are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrine by the true touchstone, which is the word of God: and as the godly Bereans did, search ye the Scriptures, whether those things which be preached unto you, be even so or not; for else, by the outward conversation of them, ye may easily be deceived."

A letter exhortatory of George Marsh, to the faithful professors of Langton.

"Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Langton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you, (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas, did the Antiochians,) that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord; and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late pastor Master Saunders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, which now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel whereof they have been preachers; but are willing and ready, for your sakes, which are Christ's mystical body, to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life (I do mean, their native countries, friends, livings, &c.); but also to fulfil their ministry to the utmost, that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Whether of these—being that good salt of the

earth, that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savoury unto God, and which themselves lose not their saltness, now when they be proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution;—or others, being that unsavoury salt which hath lost his saltness; that is to wit, those ungodly ministers, which do fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of antichrist: whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekness, that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls: and see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but doers of the word; whom Christ doth liken to a wise man, which buildeth his house on a rock; that when the great rain descended, and the floods came and beat upon the house, it fell not, because it was grounded upon a rock: that is to wit, that when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the world with all the mighty princes thereof, with their crafty counsels, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the truth; being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.

"And be ye followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did: for the true followers of Christ and the apostles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and be ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord; as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesu must do: for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for an ensample to comfort us: for they did all enter into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own selves, and take up the cross of Christ and follow him, we cannot be his disciples; for if we deny to suffer with Christ and his saints, it is an evident argument, that we shall never reign with him.

"And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer persecutions and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. It is verily, saith the

apostle, a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble us, and rest to us that be troubled : for after this life, the godly, being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest ; whereas the wicked and ungodly, contrariwise, shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ, by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach. These ought we to have before our eyes always ; that in the time of adversity and persecution (whereof all that will be the children of God shall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleased God to put some of us in use already) we may stand stedfast in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be saved. For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour ourselves to please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness, which the Lord, that is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming.

“ Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls, and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. For, as the apostle saith, other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble, every man’s work shall appear, for the day shall declare it, and it shall be showed in the fire. And the fire shall try every man’s work what it is. If any man’s work that he hath builded upon, abide, he shall receive a reward : if any man’s work burn, he shall suffer loss ; but he shall be safe himself, nevertheless yet as it were through fire.

“ By fire here doth the apostle understand persecution and trouble ; for they which do truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tried in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tried in the fire. By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understandeth them that in the midst of persecution abide stedfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant such, as in time of persecution do fall away from the truth. And when Christ doth purge his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which shall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, do in time of persecution stand steadfastly in the truth, the builder (I do mean the preacher of the word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved : but if so be that they go back

and swerve when persecution ariseth, the builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost ; but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the fire of persecution, do abide fast in the faith.

“ Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living stones be builded upon that sure rock, and he made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ. For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the gospel. We are also a holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations ; for the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual, and of three manners. The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ; which St. Paul doth call the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God. The second is mercy towards our neighbours, as the prophet Hosea saith, I will have mercy and not sacrifice : read also Matthew xxv. The third is, when we make our body a quick sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God ; that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscences and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God’s holy law. This is a sacrifice to God most acceptable, which the apostle calleth Our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure, that unless we do now at this present take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth ; unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threateneth unto the Jews, shall happen unto us ; that is to wit, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and infidelity or unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which, by the grace of God, was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than himself, shall, to our utter destruction, return again unto us ; and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again, and overcome, then is the latter end worse than the beginning ; and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given to us. For it is then happened unto us according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed, to wallowing in the mire. And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick

against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and with a despair of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. For it is not possible, saith St. Paul, that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, should be renewed again by repentance; forasmuch as they have, as concerning themselves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him. St. Paul's meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly God's word, do continue and abide stedfast in the known truth.

"If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites, for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly; as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the known verity, and made a mock of Christ: which St. Paul doth call here, to crucify Christ anew, because that they, turning to their old vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. They that are such, can in no wise be renewed by repentance, for their repentance is fleshly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas was; which, being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the elect: and, as St. John doth say, They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end. Also the apostle saith in another place, If we sin willingly, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the adversaries.

"They sin willingly, which of a set malice and purpose do withhold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that omni-sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death; yet, notwithstanding, they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man, (as we see by daily experience,) unto whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St. John would not that a man should pray.

"Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us, on whom the ends of the world are come, take diligent

heed unto ourselves, that now, in these last and perilous times, in the which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the prophets, Christ, and the apostles have so much spoken, and given us so earnest forewarning, we withhold not the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death: and as our Saviour Christ saith, If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins. For unless we hold fast the word of life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall, with the unprofitable fig tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use: and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our debts; that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone. For the earth that drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God; but that ground that beareth thorns and briers, is reprov'd and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.

"Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany salvation, and that ye, being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word, plenteously preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, which, although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh, and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they are offended; or, with the cares of this world and deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and among other things, note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us, that be ministers, or professors, and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and be saved.

"Whosoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of righteous-

ness, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God : on the contrary part, they that do not covet after righteousness and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto them fatherly correction : he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

"But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved, that ye, like very Gadarenites, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this life, will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you ; but that ye, with all diligence of mind, will receive the word of God, taught you by such ministers as now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds. And if ye refuse thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had,—so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, than others ; and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And see that ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And see that ye continually give yourselves unto all manner of good works ; amongst the which the chiefest are, to be obedient to the magistrates, (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil,) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness ; that is to say, things contrary unto true religion : for, then ought we to say with Peter, We ought more to obey God than man. But in any wise we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

"The weapon of a Christian in this matter, ought to be the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodliness. Christ also doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea, even the power of

the wicked, which God causeth oftentimes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any power, doth resist the ordinance of God, and so purchase to himself utter destruction and undoing.

"We must also, by all means, be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority ; and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity. Secondly, We must obey our parents, or them that be in their rooms ; and be careful for our households, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with spiritual food, which is the word of God. Thirdly, We must serve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them : for this is the law and the prophets. Fourthly, We must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates ; knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatsoever they be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us : and by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

"And thus I commend you, brethren, unto God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified ; beseeching you to help Master Saunders and me your late pastors, and all them that be in bonds for the gospel's sake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men ; and that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world ; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life. Amen.

"Salute from me all the faithful brethren : and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen.

"The twenty-eighth of June ; by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner,

GEORGE MARSH.

"Save yourselves from this untoward generation. Pray, pray, pray : never more need."

Another letter of the said George Marsh, to certain of his dearly beloved friends at Manchester in Lancashire.

"Grace be with you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"After salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit, and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ: these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's. And as, in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee, saith God, and will never leave thee, nor forsake thee. Be strong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?

"In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traitorously leave and forsake his Captain, either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yield himself to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand stedfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.

"Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul; a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valiant warrior St. Paul, being delivered from the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his own self doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and suc-

cour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles, so that no man that invaded him could do him any harm; and in the end he was compelled to say, I have finished my course; the time of my departing is at hand; I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is best of all, most heartily desiring death.

"These things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure obligation, that if we submit ourselves to God and his holy word, no man shall be able to hurt us; and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea, from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to die. Let us therefore run with patience unto the battle that is set before us, and look unto Jesus, the Captain and finisher of our faith; and after his example, for the reward's sake that is set out unto us, patiently bear the cross and despise the shame. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesu, shall suffer persecution.

"Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God, but Satan was, by and by, ready to tempt him; which thing *we* must look for also: yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us: whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the holy and sacred Scriptures, the word of God, (which is our heavenly armour,) and sword of the Spirit. And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the wilderness, be unto us an example of sober living; not for the space of forty days, (as the papists do fondly fancy of their own brains,) but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Satan, who, like a roaring lion, walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our utter destruction.

"Neither can the servants of God at any time come and stand before God; that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them; that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the devil always to hurt and do mischief, unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hog: but we are more of price than many hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by faith.

"Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand Captain, Christ. Let us fast

and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy; that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body and disobedient carcass may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the Spirit; and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

"This fast do the true Christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his prophet Isaiah. For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with showing mercy towards our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think, with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fast; and that we then fast when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our superstition much exceed the superstition of the Jews; for we never read that they ever took it for a fast, to abstain from flesh, and to eat either fish or white-meat, as they call it.

"To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy: and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required. First, that we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver. Secondly, that we give liberally, putting aside all niggardship, knowing that he that soweth little shall reap little, and he that soweth plentifully shall reap plentifully. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the sight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ; insomuch that he affirmed with an oath, that she, of her penury, had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. For if there be first a willing mind, as St. Paul saith, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not. Thirdly, we must give without hypocrisy and ostentation; not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewardeth

us in his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth up to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. What hast thou, saith the apostle, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?

"This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deserve, or what need we to dispute and reason of our own merits? It cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear: where is our deserving then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arm ourselves with continual prayer, a very necessary, strong, and invincible weapon, and, after the example of Christ and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our distresses and anguishes. Let us go boldly to the seat of grace, where we shall be sure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need: for now is pride and persecution increased; now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

"Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need shall so require, for the testament of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name. Remember Abraham. Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph, in time of his trouble, kept the commandment, and was made a lord of Egypt. Phineas was so fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua, for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the captain of Israel. Caleb bare record before the congregation, and received a heritage. David also, in his merciful kindness, obtained the throne of an everlasting kingdom. Elias, being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael remained stedfast in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire. In like manner Daniel, being unguilty, was saved from the mouth of the lions.

"And thus ye may consider throughout all ages, since the world began, that whosoever put their trust in God were not overcome. Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms: to-day are they set up, and to-morrow they are gone; for they are turned into earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit ourselves like men in the law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the law of the Lord our God, we shall obtain great honour therein.

"Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Esdras) is like a city builded and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things; but the entrance is narrow and sudden (full of sorrow and travail, perils and labours): like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one straight path between them both, so small, that there could but one man go there. If this city now were given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow and straight way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life, let us not stagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our Captain, Jesus Christ, in the narrow and straight way; and be afraid of nothing, no, not even of death itself: for it is he that must lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door unto everlasting life.

"Consider also the course of this world, how many there be, which, for their master's sake, or for a little promotion's sake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as, commonly, in wars; and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and ours is unspeakable, great, and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made lords on earth for a short season: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure, much less, to be made kings in heaven for evermore! Consider also the wicked of this world, which, for a little pleasure's sake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with sword and weapons, and put themselves in danger of imprisonment and hanging. So much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our spiritual battle.

"And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where, for the time, is most danger, I beseech you all, in the bowels of Christ, to help us, and all other our fellow soldiers standing in like perilous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience in the fear of God; that we and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you. Amen.

"Consider what I say; the Lord give us understanding in all things! Brethren, the time is short. It remaineth that ye use this world as though ye used it not; for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world, but set your affection on heavenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek and long-suffering; serve and edify one another with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange doctrine; lay aside the old conversation of greedy lusts, and walk in a new life. Beware of all uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false doctrine, and drunkenness: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and submit yourselves one to another. Cease from sin; spend no more time in vice; be sober and apt to pray; be patient in trouble; love each other; and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark ye shoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And, above all things, cleave ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and rule for evermore. Amen.

"Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the gospel, that the same God, which by his grace hath called us from wicked papistry unto true Christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by persecution, will, of his mercy and favour, in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory. Amen.

"At Lancaster, the thirtieth of August, 1555:
by me an unprofitable servant of Christ,
GEORGE MARSH."

A letter of George Marsh to Jenkin Crampton and others.

"To his well-beloved in Christ, Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Elice Crampton, and to every one of them, be these delivered from Lancaster, George Marsh.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

"After salutations in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens, and your other remembrances towards me, beseeching God that ye may increase in faith, fear, and love, and all good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Christ: these be earnestly to exhort you, yea, and to beseech you in the tender mercy of Christ, that with purpose of

heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worship and serve him in spirit, in the gospel of his Son. For God will not be worshipped after the commandments and traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, prescribed, and taught us, but by his holy word. And though all men, for the most part, defile themselves with the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ; yet do ye, after the example of Toby, Daniel and his three companions, Mattathias and his five sons, be at a point with yourselves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the heathen; I do mean the filthiness of idolatry, and the very heathenish ceremonies of the papists: but as the true worshippers, serve ye God in spirit and verity, according to his sacred Scriptures, which I would wish and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both St. Paul and Christ command you) to search and read, with the wholesome monitions of the same; to teach, exhort, comfort, and edify one another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miserable captivity, and great famishment of souls, for want of the food of God's word. And doubt not but that the merciful Lord (who hath promised to be with us even unto the world's end, and that whensoever two or three be gathered together in his name he will be in the midst of them) will assist you, and teach you the right meanings of the sacred Scriptures, will keep you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promised.

"And though ye think yourselves unable to teach, yet, at the commandment of Christ, now in time of famine, (the hungry people, being in the wilderness far from any towns, who if they be sent away fasting, are sure to faint and perish by the way,) employ and bestow those five loaves and two fishes that ye have, upon that hungry multitude, although ye think it nothing among so many. And he that increased the five loaves and two fishes to feed five thousand men, besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Christ, but also to an exceeding great increase of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And fear not your adversaries, for either according to his accustomed manner God shall blind their eyes that they shall not spy you, either get you favour in their sight, or else graciously deliver you out of their hands by one mean: or other.

"Obey with reverence all your superiors, unless they command idolatry or ungodliness. Make provision for your households; chiefly that they be instructed and taught in the law of God. Love your

wives even as your own selves, and as Christ loved the congregation. Love your children; but rate them not, lest they be of a desperate mind: and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Toby the younger and Susanna did teach their children, even from their infancy, to reverence God according to his law, and to abstain from sin; providing that in no wise they be brought up in idleness and wantonness, seeing that ye reckon yourselves to be the children of God, and look for the life which God shall give to them that never turn their belief from him. See that ye ever fear God, and keep his commandments: and though the plague of God chance unto you, yet remain ye stedfast in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and serve him in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before him, all the days of your life. Comfort yourselves in all your adversities, and stay yourselves in him, who hath promised not to leave you as fatherless and motherless children without any comfort, but that he will come to you like a most gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping, and succouring you at all times. I will be with you, saith he, unto the end of the world. And cleave you fast unto him which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your sins, yea, rose again from death, and ascended into heaven for your justification. Repent ye of the life that is past, and cease from sin, and from henceforward live as much time as remaineth in the flesh, not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and distribute, forget not. Fast and pray busily; and as every man hath received the gift, minister the same one to another as good ministers of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever, and while the world standeth. Amen.

"Yours,
GEORGE MARSH."

Another letter of George Marsh to certain faithful brethren in the congregation.

"The same grace and peace, dearly beloved in Christ, do I entirely desire and wish unto you, which the apostle St. Paul wisheth to all them, unto whom he did write and send his epistles; than which two things no better can be wished and desired of God. Grace is, throughout all the epistles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he saveth us freely without any deservings or works of the law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietness and tranquillity of the conscience, being thoroughly persuaded that through the only merits

of Christ's death and blood-shedding, there is an atonement and peace made between God and us, so that God will no more impute our sins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

"Dearly beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, though that you know them yourselves, and be also established in the present truth; notwithstanding, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, even as ye have received how ye ought to walk and to please God. And as Barnabas, that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpose of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And stand fast, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, whereof (God be thanked) ye have had plenteous preaching unto you these years past, by the faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, Leiver, Pilkington, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now, when persecution ariseth, because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, but are prest and ready for your sakes, which are his mystical body, to forsake the chief and principal delights of this life; and some of them, in giving place to the outrageous tyranny of the world, to forsake their livings, friends, native land, and other chief pleasures of this life, and to commit themselves to painful exile, that, if it please God, Christ may come again out of Egypt. And others are ready to fulfil their ministry unto the uttermost: that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall so require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, not only to be cast into prison, but also to die, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, neither be ye ashamed of us which are his prisoners, but suffer ye adversity with the gospel, for which word we suffer as evil-doers, even unto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we suffer all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesu with eternal glory. Wherefore stand ye fast in the faith, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, and so shall ye make us, even with joy, to suffer for your sakes, and, as the apostle saith, to fulfil that which is behind of the passion of Christ in our flesh, for his body's sake, which is the congregation. St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the passion of Christ, as touching his own per-

son, is that most perfect and omni-sufficient sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his blood; but these his words ought to be understood of the elect and chosen, in whom Christ is, and shall be persecuted, unto the world's end. The passion of Christ then, as touching his mystical body, which is the church, shall not be perfected till they have all suffered, whom God hath appointed to suffer for his Son's sake. Wherefore stablish yourselves, and be of good comfort; and be not moved in these afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For, on our parts, nothing can be greater consolation and inward joy unto us in our adversity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the apostle writeth of the Thessalonians, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord. For good shepherds do always count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christ's flock to be their own; for, while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth well with them also, in whatsoever affliction or adversity they be: but when they see the church in any peril or weakness, then be they weary of their own lives; then can they have no rest nor joy. Who is weak, saith St. Paul, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn? But this affection is not in them that seek their own lucre and glory.

"And, forasmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, let us run with joy unto the battle that is set before us, and, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers; and not, like shrinking children, faint and fall away from the truth now, in time of adversity and tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must be tried, even as gold and silver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us so much forewarning. For God is wont, for the most part, to warn his elect and chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake; not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds against the boisterous storms of persecution—as we have a notable example in the apostle St. Paul, unto whom God sent Agabus, who prophesied unto him of the imprisonment and bands that he should suffer at Jerusalem: in whom we have also a good example of constancy and stedfastness, who, regarding nothing the tears of his familiar friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on still to set forth the glory of God; and he, being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and blood-thirsty enemies, and that so many times, is in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters

of the sea, where he was a long season in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that shall hear of it) most ready to help and succour him. First, he did send him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean Aristarchus and Lucas, so ruling the heart of the under-captain Julius, that he courteously entreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refresh himself; and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with Joseph, and delivered him from all his adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, insomuch that he made him governor over all Egypt, and over all his household. In like manner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their most troubles, to relieve, succour, and help them; to their singular comfort. Also when Peter was in Herod's prison, sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the prison, the same night that Herod had intended to have brought him out unto the people the day following, and to have put him unto death to please the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed James the brother of John with the sword; God sent his angel, and the chains fell off from Peter's hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord; and so was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looseth all bands, and delivereth out of prison, and not that feigned God, St. Leonard. On that true God did St. Peter call; unto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliverance, saying, Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his angel, &c.

"These things are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. The God of patience and comfort grant that we be like-minded one towards another, after the ensample of Christ Jesus; that we, all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"A poor prisoner for Christ,

GEORGE MARSH."

Another letter of George Marsh to Robert Langley and others.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you, good brother in Christ, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly; Amen.

"After hearty commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did visit me a prisoner in Christ, and unacquainted with you, to your costs; this shall be to let you know, that ye shall receive from

me mine examination and handling at Latham, and the cause of mine imprisonment, according as I did promise you: and this ye shall receive by my brother, or some one of the Bradshaws of Boltou, within this sevensnight; willing you to show the same to such faithful men about Manchester or elsewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true religion and Christ's holy word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary unto this life, you with some others would be bearers with me in this my costly and painful affliction; I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (saving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to send for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of faith.

"Yours,

GEORGE MARSH."

A letter of George Marsh to a certain godly friend.

"Grace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

"After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person to you unknown; these shall be to certify you, that I rejoice greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of sundry and divers heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for this present life, but also comfortable letters; encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a minister: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord, in whom is all my trust, and without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ; being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will so do, forasmuch as he hath given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with

his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which, enduring to the end, shall be saved!

"And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer, that in all mine adversity and necessity nothing on your behalf is greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord. For my trust in the Lord is, that this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritish hearers, whereof some being but wayside hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, (but let prayer be made without ceasing by the congregation unto God for them,) and, no doubt, God will to your consolation gloriously deliver, by one means or other, his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leisure; be strong; let your heart be of good comfort; and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come: look for him therefore, and faint not, and he will never fail you.

"Yours,

GEORGE MARSH."

A prayer of George Marsh, which he used daily to say.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and knoures, all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldst mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed; and our heart, always bringing forth thorns and briers to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting: Amen.

"Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on

my knees use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider and look yourselves, first, in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same; that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ; for we truly are sinners, but he is just, and the justifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table, for he is a most liberal feast-maker. He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willet, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. Come, saith he, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your souls."

The life and story of William Flower, who for striking of a priest, was apprehended, first having his hand cut off, and after martyred for his constant standing to the truth.



William Flower, otherwise named Branch — first, concerning his trade of life and bringing up — he was born at Snailwell, in the county of

Cambridge, where he went to school certain years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained awhile, he was a professed monk according to the order and rule of the same house wherein he remained, using and bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the same house, until he came to twenty-one years of age, or thereabout: and before he came to that age, and being a professed monk, he was made a priest also in the same house; and there did celebrate and sing mass a good space together. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions given in the same time by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, he forsook the same house, and casting from him the said monk's habit and religion aforesaid, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and

returned to Snailwell, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and sing mass, and taught children their primer and accidence about half a year together.

Then he went from thence to Lidgate in Suffolk, and there served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; and from thence he then went to Stonyland, where he tarried and served as a secular priest also, until the coming out of the Six Articles; and then he departed from thence, and went into Gloucestershire, where, after he had made his abode in the country awhile, at length in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued: and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewkesbury about two years together, and then from thence he went unto Bursley, where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practised physic and chirurgery; and from thence he removed to Northamptonshire, where, under a gentleman, he taught children their primers and to write and read, a good space. And so, departing from those parts, he came to London; and there remained for a certain space. After that, being desirous to see his country, he returned to Snailwell where he was born: from thence to Braintree in Essex, then to Coggeshall, where he taught children a space, and so came to Lambeth beside London, where he hired a house, and placed his wife; where he and his wife did ever since dwell together till this time: howbeit, for the most part, he was always abroad; and very seldom at home, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife; where he, being at home upon Easter day about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Westminster; where he, finding and seeing a priest called John Cheltham ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith, being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same his doing, (for that he judged him not to be a catholic minister, neither his act to be catholic and laudable according to God's word,) did strike and wound him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand, with his wood-knife; the priest having the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest. In the which so doing as indeed he did not well nor evangelically, so afterward, being examined before Bishop Bonner, did he no less confess his not well doing in the same; submitting therefore himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

Whereupon the foresaid William Flower, being first apprehended and laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster (where he had given two groats the same day a little before to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly after come to them) with as many irons as he could bear; afterward was convented before Bonner his ordinary, April the nineteenth, A. D. 1555, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book, (according to his ordinary manner,) ministered articles and interrogatories to him. But before I speak of the articles, first we have here to set forth what communication passed betwixt him and Robert Smith (being then also there prisoner with him in Newgate) concerning his fact done at Westminster; the tenor and effect of which communication here followeth.

Robert Smith.—"Friend, forasmuch as I do understand that you do profess the gospel, and also have so done a long season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishing not only of me, but of divers others, that also profess the verity."

Flower.—"I praise God for his great goodness, in showing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending, by God's grace, to declare all the truth that ye shall demand lawfully of me, in all things."

Smith.—"Then I desire you to show me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltham, priest in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was."

Flower.—"I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, (so called,) and there, seeing the people falling down before a most shameful and detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and strake the priest which ministered the same unto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended. And this is most true, as the act is manifest."

Smith.—"Did ye not know the parson that ye strake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?"

Flower.—"No, verily; I never to my knowledge saw the parson before that present, neither owed him, or any man alive, evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it."

Smith.—"Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?"

Flower.—"I do confess all flesh to be subject to

the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers, to do his will and pleasure; as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing degrees, but also planting zeals to his honour, against all order and respect of flesh and blood. For, as saith St. Paul, His works are past finding out: by whose Spirit I have also given my flesh at this present unto such order as it shall please the good will of God to appoint in death, which, before the act committed, I looked for."

Smith.—"Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?"

Flower.—"No, verily; neither do I know, if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at Paul's church (so called) upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came in place I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now, being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my flesh willingly, without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like: first, because I know not what is in you; secondly, because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injuries. Yet, nevertheless, if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye shall not be letted, judged, nor condemned; for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath showed on me in this thing, which I repent not."

Smith.—"Are ye not assured to have death ministered unto you for the same act committed, and even with extremity?"

Flower.—"I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the same: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine opinion of God and the Holy Scriptures; that if it had pleased God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the said writing have seen my hope, which (I praise God) is laid up safe within my breast, notwithstanding any death that may be ministered unto my body in this world; being ascertained of everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all mine offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly, through his mercy, to cease from the same."

Smith.—"It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further; for

I perceive (God be praised) ye are in good estate, and therefore I beseech God for his mercies spread his wings over you; that as, for his love, you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this death into a better life, which I think will be shortly."

Flower.—"I hunger for the same, dear friend, being fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; entirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly."

And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his ward. And this, gentle reader, is the truth, as near as the said Smith could report it. And thus much concerning the talk between him and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning his fact in striking the priest. Now to return again to the matter of his examination, where we left: we showed before how this William Flower, after his striking the priest, first was laid in the Gatehouse; then, being examined before Bonner, had articles ministered against him, the copy whereof here followeth.

"First, that thou, being of a lawful age and discretion, at the least of seventeen years of old, was professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein, after thy profession, thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using, all the mean time, the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

"Item, that after the premises, thou wast ordered and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; and afterward thou didst execute and minister as a priest; and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

"Item, that after the premises thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury, in the diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou hadst mutual cohabitation as man and wife, and begattest of her two children.

"Item, that thou, being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

"Item, that upon Easter day last past, that is to wit, the fourteenth day of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously, out-

rageously, and violently pull out thy weapon ; that is to wit, thy wood-knife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called Sir John Cheltham, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first upon the head very sore ; and afterwards, upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly upon him : the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldst so hurt him ; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

“Item, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art, by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicate and accursed, *ipso facto* : and not to be companied withal, neither in the church, nor elsewhere, but in special cases.

“Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Christ’s natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of these twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, and one years, or any one of them, and yet art at this present, of this opinion ; that is to say, that in the said sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

“Item, that thou, for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and the virtue thereof, and against the said priest ministering the same, (as before,) didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

“Item, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art also, by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of thy said heresy and damnable opinion.

“Item, that all the premises be true and manifest, notorious and famous ; and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is, within the said parish of St. Margaret’s and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame.”

The answer of William Flower, made to the articles aforesaid.

“To the first article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof ; except that he saith and confesseth, that he never consented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

“To the second article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof : howbeit, he saith, that he never did, nor yet doth, esteem the said order of priesthood, according to the said order of the catholic church ; because he was offended therewith in his conscience.

“To the third article he answereth and confesseth, that he, intending to live in godly matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the said Alice Pulton named in this article ; wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God’s laws. Further, confessing and believing, that all the time when he was professed monk, and made priest, he did thereby utterly forget God : but when he did so marry the said Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he saith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

“To the fourth article he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

“To the fifth article he answereth and confesseth, that his conscience being greatly offended with the said Sir John Cheltham, priest, for ministering of the sacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time specified in this article, he did smite and strike the same priest with his hanger or wood-knife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was shed in the said church, as he believeth ; having, as he saith, none other cause or matter so to do, but only that his conscience was offended and grieved ; in that the same priest did so give and minister the said sacrament to the people : which people he believeth were greatly abashed and offended with his said fact and doing ; and were enforced and compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the said sacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intend to have killed the said priest, or not ; he said he would not answer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in striking the said priest ; he would make no answer thereunto, as he said.

“To the sixth he answereth and saith, that whether he be so excommunicate or accursed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himself herein to the ecclesiastical laws.

"To the seventh he answereth and saith, that by the space of six and twenty years now past, he hath always been, and yet is, of this opinion touching the said sacrament of the altar, as followeth: videlicet, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained under the form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"To the eighth he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the ninth he answereth, and herein he referreth himself to the said laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article; that is to say, the canonical laws.

"To the last he answereth and believeth, that those things before by him confessed, be true, and those which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the said common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

"By me WILLIAM FLOWER, alias BRANCH."

After this examination done, the bishop began after the best sort of his fine divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would so do, besides the remitting of what was past. To this William Flower, answering again, thanked him for his offer; and whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he stood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or spill. As concerning his opinion of the sacrament, he said he would never go from what he had spoken, do he with him what he would.

Then the bishop assigned him again to appear in the same place at afternoon, betwixt three and four; in the mean time, to advise himself of his former answers, whether he would stand to the same his opinions or no: which if he so did, he would further proceed against him, &c.

At afternoon the said William Flower appeared again before the said bishop, the hour and place appointed; to whom the bishop, sitting in his consistory, spake these words: "Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles; and thereupon I respited you till now, to the intent you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which ye have conceived, touching the

verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar:" to whom the said Branch answered again, and said as followeth: "That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I require that the law may proceed against me." Whereupon the bishop commanded his notary (Hayward by name) to read to him again his articles, as before: which being read, the said William Flower, persisting in his godly sentence, answered to all parts of the articles, as in the forenoon before; save only that he requested the bishop, concerning the fifth article, he might alter something his answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words; to wit,—

"And moreover confesseth and saith—that whereas he strake the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he hath since that time and yet doth mislike himself in that doing; and doth now judge and believe that the same his act was evil and naughty. Howbeit he saith and believeth, that as for the matter and cause wherefore he so struck the said priest, (which was for ministering of the sacrament of the altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable,) he did not nor doth mislike himself at all therein. Moreover, he desireth of the said bishop licence to be granted him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ninth article; and in place thereof, these words to be placed; to wit, 'Herein he referreth himself to the laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article,' &c."

At this request, Bonner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he desired, and so put in the acts.

After this, the bishop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to persuade him to submit himself to the catholic church, and to the faith thereof. All which his persuasions notwithstanding, William still remained in the constancy of his sentence; saying that he would not be removed from that he had spoken, to die there-for. Whereupon the bishop assigned him the next day (being the twentieth day of April) to appear in the same day and place, between the hours of eight and nine before noon; there and then to hear the sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, &c.

The last appearance of William Flower before Bishop Bonner.

In the which day, hour, and place, the said William Flower, as he was appointed, was brought by his keeper belonging to the warden of the Fleet, before Bonner, who, after his wonted manner of persuasion going about to reduce him to his catholic church and the unity thereof; that is, from Christ to antichrist; sometimes with fair promises alluring,

sometimes with menaces and terrors fearing him, &c. ; to this William answering, said on this wise : " Do what ye will, I am at a point ; for the heavens shall as soon fall, as I will forsake mine opinion," &c. Whereupon the bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witnesses were these : William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the parish priest of St. Margaret's at Westminster. The sum and effect of whose depositions here ensueth.

" Robert Graunt of Westminster, examined upon the said answers of William Flower, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand ; and also was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, when the said William Flower did smite and wound the priest, when (as he saith) he was ministering the sacrament ; and how this examine among others pressed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin ; and after he was taken, this examine help to conduct him to the Gatehouse at Westminster.

" Richard Dod of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand ; and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past, drew his wood-knife, and strake the priest upon the head, hand, and arm ; who, being wounded therewith, and having a chalice with consecrated hosts therein, in his hand, sprinkled with the said priest's blood, was holpen and rescued by this examine, and the said Flower carried to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and his wood-knife taken away by this examine.

" William Pampion, one of the churchwardens of the said parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, examined upon the said answers of the said Flower, saith and deposeth, that the same answers be true, and in his sight were subscribed with the hand of the said Flower. And that upon Easter day last past, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, in the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, among a great number of the people ready to be houseled, the priest's back being turned toward the said Flower, he (the said Flower) suddenly drew forth his wood-knife, and strake Sir John Cheltham the priest both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly ; and the chalice with consecrated hosts be-

ing in his hand, were sprinkled with his blood, and the people in great fear cried out lamentably, and thought they should presently have been killed.

" Robert Smalwood of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand ; and saith further, touching the striking and wounding the priest in St. Margaret's church in Westminster upon Easter day last, this examine saith, he was not there when the fact was done, but, immediately after, he came to church, and found Sir John hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arm, by the said Flower, and the people in great heaviness by reason thereof. Also the people did report (as this examine saith) that Flower did the deed as the priest had the chalice in his hand, ministering the sacrament to the people.

" William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the answers of the said William Flower, saith and deposeth, by virtue of his oath, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand in the consistory place : and further deposeth, that he (upon Easter day last past) was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, where Flower strake the said Sir John Cheltham, priest, first upon the head, and afterward upon his arm, two sore strokes, whereby the said priest is like to lose his hand. Also this jurate depose, that the said Sir John Cheltham had a chalice with certain consecrated hosts therein, (in his hand,) which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest ; and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examine and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

" John Bray, one of the churchwardens of the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, sworn and examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and also subscribe unto the same. And further deposeth of Flower's striking the priest, in effect, as the rest of the examines do, and that this said jurate was present there at the deed-doing."

After the depositions of these foresaid witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the said bishop, speaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he to be pronounced as a heretic. Whereunto the martyr of God answered again as followeth : " I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to

say; and that I have said, I will not go from; and therefore do what you will," &c. Which when he had spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for a heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded; and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the twenty-fourth day of the aforesaid month of April, which was St. Mark's even, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed: and there, coming to the stake where he should be burned, first he maketh his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his Christian faith, in manner as followeth:

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who hast sent down thy Son upon the earth, to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world.—This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

Then he said the Lord's prayer, and so made an end.



Then Master Cholmley came to him, willing him to recant his heresy, whereby he might do good to the people; or else he would be damned. Flower answered as followeth: "Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake, be contented; for that I have said, I have said: and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit, to continue to the end." Then he desired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world. This done, first his right hand, being held up against the stake, was stricken off, his left hand being stayed

behind him. At the which striking off his hand, certain that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely observing the same, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his body did once shrink at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud voice, "O the Son of God, have mercy upon me! O the Son of God, receive my soul!" three times; and so his speech being taken from him, he spake no more, lifting up, notwithstanding, his stump with his other arm, as

long as he could. And thus endured this constant witness and faithful servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought; so that for lack of faggots, there being not sufficient to burn him, they were fain to strike him down into the fire; where he lying along (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his nether part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was clean without the fire, his tongue in all men's sight still moving in his mouth.

May.—The third of May a letter was sent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make search for and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot that was burned, to show them to the people, persuading them to be constant in his religion: and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days, until further examination.

The twelfth day, Master Thomas Ross, preacher, was by the councils' letters delivered from the Tower to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the bishop of Norwich; and he, either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the law.

The sixteenth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, signifying what the Lord L. had done for Ross; and that order should be given, according to his Lordship's request, for letters to the bishops: and for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his Lordship, perceiving the same to be true, should commit him to Bethlem, there to remain until their further order.

The twenty-sixth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to confer with the bishop of London, and the justices of the peace of that county, wherein they were to be executed, that were already condemned for religion; and, upon agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The twenty-eighth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause speedy preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyful tidings of Queen Mary's good delivery of child, to divers princes, so as they be not compelled to stay when time shall come. The ambassadors were, to the emperor, the lord admiral; to the French king, the Lord Fitzwaters; to the king of Romans, Sir Henry Sidney; to the king of Portugal, Richard Shelley; whose free passage through France Master Doctor Wotton

was willed to procure by letters, the twenty-fourth of June.

The twenty-ninth, was a letter directed to Sir Francis Englefield, to make search for one John D., at London, and to apprehend him, and send him to the council; and to make search for such papers and books as he thinketh may touch the same D., or one Benger.

The burning and martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne, upholsterer, who suffered both together in Smithfield, A. D. 1555.

On the thirtieth day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Walbrook: of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning first with Master Cardmaker, who, first, was an Observant Friar before the dissolution of the abbey; then, after, was a married minister; and, in King Edward's time, appointed to be a reader in Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker, being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with Master Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, King Edward's laws yet being in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, *ex officio*, to exercise their tyranny, these two were both brought before Winchester, chancellor, and others appointed by commission, (as before is mentioned,) to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners: and, as unto others before, so now unto them, the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners allowed them for catholic. Whether they of weakness so answered, or he of subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to lay in the dish of the rest, which were to be examined, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their answer was, yet, notwithstanding, Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterward, being delivered, did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the

Compter in Bread Street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him); where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that whatsoever the breath of the bishops blustered, and the tickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ: as of Laurence Saunders it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remained there prisoner, to be baited of the papists, who would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference divers of them had with him, with reasonings, persuadings, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Dr. Martin, who bare also a part in those pagents, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whose long unsavoury letters and simple reasons for transubstantiation, and such popistical trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially; confuting the same, opening the falsehood of his arguments, and delivering the sentences of the fathers (which Martin abused for his purpose) to their true understanding; which his answers I would had come into our hands. Thus constantly abode this man of God all the enemies' doings, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London; whereof ye shall hear more anon. But first we will survey the matter and manner of his articles objected against him by Bishop Bonner, with his answers annexed to the same; as consequently hereunder followeth.

"First, I Edmund, bishop of London, object against thee, Sir John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Item, that thou, in times past, didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

"Item, that thou, in times past, didst receive all the orders of the church then used; to wit, *tam majores quam minores*.

"Item, that thou, after thy said entry into religion and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to wife a widow, and with her hast lived in wedlock, and didst get of her a woman child; breaking thereby

thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church.

"Item, that thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar under the visible signs there; that is to say, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Item, that the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said sacrament; and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

"Item, that it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the catholic church; that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.

"Item, that Christ, at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there; willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament—no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof."

Answers of Cardmaker to the articles aforesaid.

"To the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the second article he answereth and confesseth, that he, being under age, did profess the said order and religion; and afterward, by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, he was dispensed with for the same religion.

"To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the fourth he answereth and confesseth, the first part thereof to be true: and to the second part of the same article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the church of the same.

"To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

"To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

"To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

"To the eighth he answereth and doth believe,

videlicet, that it is true ; that is to say, that Christ, taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, videlicet—willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof—he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true.

“By me, JOHN CARDMAKER.”

Master Cardmaker, calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully, and according to his true meaning, answered the latter part of the last eighth article, did, the next day after the foresaid answers, exhibit unto the bishop in a schedule, this hereafter following.

“Whereas in my answers to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess ; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution : so I say that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament, so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental, nor spiritual presence.—This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

“By me, JOHN CARDMAKER.”

Next to these articles of Master Cardmaker, I thought best to infer the articles and answers likewise of John Warne, his martyr-fellow, in manner as followeth.

“First, that thou, John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine years, and of the parish of St. John of Walbrook in London, hast believed, and dost believe, firmly and stedfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

“Item, that thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the Church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material

bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration ; and that the said bread is in no wise altered or changed.

“Item, that thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass, now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly ; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, and against God's truth and the Scripture.

“Item, that thou hast said, that whereas about a twelvemonth ago and more, a great rough water-spaniel of thine was shorn in the head, and had a crown like a priest's made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

“Item, that thou, neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's Majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar ; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad ; because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst have done.

“Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the said Bonner in presence of divers witnesses, the twenty-third of May, A. D. 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

“By me, JOHN WARNE.”

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the bishop aforesaid, as followeth :

“Item, That thou, John Warne, wast in time past here, in the city of London, convented in the Guild-hall for heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and when Alderman Barnes was sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield ; and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund, bishop of London, did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all : and because thou wouldst not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but persist and abide obstinately and wilfully therein,

thou wert, according to the said laws, condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of King Henry the Eighth, and so thereby didst save thy life.

"Nevertheless, in thy heart, conscience, and mind, thou didst both then, and also afore, believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor any other substance but the substance of material bread and wine; and to receive the said material bread and wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise: so that thy faith and belief is, that in the said sacrament there is no substance of Christ's material body and blood; but all the thing that is there, is material bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

"By me, JOHN WARNE."

John Warne, being examined upon the foresaid articles by the bishop before certain witnesses, whose names were John Boswell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the twenty-third of May, did answer to the same, confessing and granting the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part; subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son. Whereupon the bishop, exhorting him with many words to leave his heresies, (as he called them,) and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the twenty-fourth of the same month: who, so doing and answering as he did before, was willing to come thither again at afternoon, and so he did: where and at what time, he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto thoroughly persuaded by the Holy Scriptures.

Upon which answer he was willing to come again the next day, being the twenty-fifth of the same month, at one o'clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the bishop examined him again upon

all his former articles before objected, to the which he most constantly did stick, with this further answer thereunto added: "I am persuaded," quoth he, "that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all filthiness and idolatry is in the Church of Rome."

The bishop then, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings, (whereof he used store,) he could not any thing prevail; finished this examination with the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and so charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, until the thirtieth day of the same month of May. Upon the which day, being the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker, with the said John Warne, were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer: who, being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reed set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

The people, which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, on beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself: yet the people confirmed themselves in their fantasy of his recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily; and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater,) saying, "God be praised; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker; the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit!" And thus continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

The confession of the faith of John Warne, citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the thirtieth day of May, A. D. 1555.

“‘I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of heaven and earth.’

“A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom—and therefore he is our Father: an Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

“‘And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.’

“The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made also perfect man; and so, being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

“‘Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.’

“According to the Father’s most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father’s wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

“‘Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell.’

“He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry; and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but, contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do wit-

ness; thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of hell; yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

“‘The third day he rose again from death to life.’

“To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the first-fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

“‘He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.’

“After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell; leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father’s right hand; that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal.

“‘From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.’

“He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet; changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they which, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

“‘I believe in the Holy Ghost.’

“I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through

Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving-kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption; by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

“ ‘The holy catholic church.’

“This is a holy number of Adam’s posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world; and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

“ ‘The communion of saints.’

“Which most holy congregation, (being, as Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone,) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship: which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jesus Christ, with all these his holy members, (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe that I am one,) shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

“ ‘The forgiveness of sins.’

“I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the Holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption; which, St. Paul saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the blood of his cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven.

“ ‘The resurrection of the body.’

“I do believe, that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as St. Paul saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the resur-

rection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever: the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

“ ‘And the life everlasting.’

“Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven: For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him, might have everlasting life. The which I am sure to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle; and in the last day shall both body and soul possess the same for ever, to the which God grant all men to come.

“I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord’s supper, are seals of God’s most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am, by Christ’s blood, washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In the partaking of the Lord’s supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine, (the nature of which is to strengthen the body,) so do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Christ’s body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection; and in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper, according to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

“This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God’s grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

“By me, JOHN WARNE.”

A letter of John Cardmaker to a certain friend of his.

“The peace of God be with you:—You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but as ready to give my life, as any of my brethren that are gone before me; although by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance; as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend,

and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but sophists and shadows."

A note concerning Master Cardmaker, and one Beard, a promoter.

Master Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard, a promoter, came to him two or three days before he was burned, and said thus unto him :

Beard.—"Sir, I am sent unto you by the council, to know whether ye will recant or no?"

Cardmaker.—"From which council are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent, from the queen's council, but rather from the commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to those who ye said sent you. I know *you* are a tailor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourself to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living: so *I* have been a preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God, by his great mercy, hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal truth, I have, by his grace, endeavoured myself to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy word; and I thank him for his great mercy. I hope I have discharged my conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little talent that I have received."

Beard.—"Yea, sir; but what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Cardmaker.—"I say, (and mark it well,) that Christ, the night before his bitter passion, ordained the holy and blessed communion, and hath given commandment, that his death should be preached before the receiving thereof; in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood shed, for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him."

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the sacrament he spake of, had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the same to be, then Master Cardmaker again thus inferred thereupon :

"If the sacrament," said he, "as you confess, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God hath no beginning nor ending:" and so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

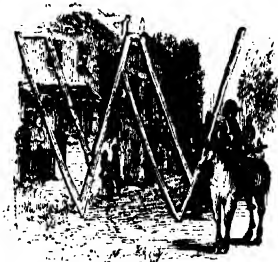
The fifth day of June, [there were letters sent to] Master Secretary Bourne, the master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Read, and Dr. Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to examination of Benger, Cary, D***, and Field, upon such further points as they shall gather out of their former confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices of calculating or conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said letters.

The seventh day of June there was another letter to Sir John Tregonwell; willing him to join in commission with the said Lord North, and others above named, about the examination of the said parties and others for conjuring and witchcraft. And the twenty-ninth of August, Cary and D*** were set at liberty upon bonds for their good appearing until Christmas after.

The twelfth day of June a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause writs to be made to the sheriff of Sussex, for the burning and executing of Derike, a brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stenning, the other at Chichester.

The twenty-third of June a letter was sent to Bonner, to examine a report given to the council of four parishes within the soke of Essex, that should still use the English service; and to punish the offenders, if any such be.

The story of John Ardeley and John Simson, martyrs, of the parish of Wigborough the Great, in Essex.



ITH Master Cardmaker and John Warne, upon the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, were also condemn-

ed John Ardeley and John Simson; which was the twenty-fifth day of May. But before we come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter, directed from the court the same day, and sent by a post early in the morning to the bishop, in tenor and form as followeth.

"To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas of late we addressed our letters to the justices of peace

within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to show themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travailed withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if they be received, are neither so travailed with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth more quietly governed.

"Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the twenty-fourth of May, the first and second years of our reigns."

This letter thus coming from the court to the bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we have presently to entreat, of John Simson, I mean, and John Ardeley; which being both of one country, and of one town together, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also almost both of one age, save that Simson was of the age of thirty-four, the other of thirty, were brought up both together by the under-sheriff of Essex, to Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation (as in that time it was called) of heresy.

As touching the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop; as the articles ministered against them were much like, so their answers again unto the same were not much discrepant in manner and form; as out of the bishop's own registers here followeth expressed.

"I. First, That thou John Simson, [or John Ardeley,] husbandman, of the age of thirty-four years or thereabout, wast and art of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London; and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

"II. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

"III. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but, contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said Church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any Christian man.

"IV. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said Church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but, contrariwise, thou hast and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body

and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

"V. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people; remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

"VI. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mass now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the Epistle and the Gospel; and that therefore thou hast not, nor wilt not, come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid.

"VII. Item, That thou hast in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so dost now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made unto the priest, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught."

The answers of John Simson, and also of John Ardeley, to the foresaid articles.

"To the first, they believe, that here in earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article; and that this church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

"To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article.

"To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they say, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the said Church of England be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of England hath the faith and religion

of the catholic church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the Church of England were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this heresy.

"To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered or changed in substance in any wise; and that he that receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ; but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

"To the fifth they say, they have answered, answering to the said fourth article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but only the substance of the natural bread and wine.

"To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the mass is of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, and the Pater-noster; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will not, come and hear mass.

"To the seventh, John Ardeley answereth and saith, that he believeth the contents of the same to be true; but John Simson doth answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily service said and used in the church, he saith, that he never said, that service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, nor yet he never said, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

"JOHN ARDELEY and JOHN SIMSON."

Thus these articles being to them objected, and their answers made unto the same, as before, the bishop, according to the old trade of his consistory court, respited them to the afternoon, bidding them to make their appearance the said day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the said bishop, repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did urge and solicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

To whom John Ardeley again, constantly standing to his professed religion, gave answer in words as followeth: "My Lord," quoth he, "neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church; for you be of a false faith: and I doubt

not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will shed the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more," &c.

And added further, saying, "If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." These with many other words he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions, (as he called them,) and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered as followeth, "No! God foreshield that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul."

After this, the said bishop, asking John Ardeley (after his formal manner) if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him, so read the condemnation; as he also did against John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley: which was done the twenty-fifth day of May. And so were they both committed to the secular power, (that is, to the hands of the sheriffs,) to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be passed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which happened in the closing up the examination of these two innocent martyrs of God, which is this:

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley aforesaid, there was assembled such a great multitude of people, that because the consistory was not able to hold them, they were fain to stand in the church, near about the said consistory, waiting to see the prisoners when they should depart. It happened in the mean time, that the bishop, being set in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the said two prisoners, (especially of John Simson,) burst out in his loud and angry voice, and said, "Have him away! have him away!"

Now the people in the church, hearing these words, and thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they, being desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, severed themselves, one running one way, another another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that they in the consistory were all amazed, and marvelled what it should mean: wherefore the bishop also, being somewhat afraid of this sudden stir, asked what there was to do. The standers-by answering said, that there was like to be some tumult; for they were together by the ears.

When the bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his seat, he with the rest of the court betook them to their legs, hasten-

ing with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house: but the rest, being somewhat lighter of foot than my Lord, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the bishop still out, and cried, "Save my Lord! save my Lord!" but meaning yet first to save themselves, if any danger should come; whereby they gave the standers-by good matter to laugh at; resembling in some part a spectacle not much unlike to the old stagers at Oxford, worse feared than hurt, when the church there was noised to be set on fire, whereof ye may read before. But of this matter enough.

Now John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered (as is aforesaid) to the sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where both they in one day (which was about the tenth of June) were put to death, albeit in several places; for John Simson suffered at Rochford; John Ardeley the same day was had to Rayleigh, where he finished his martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of Christ's gospel.

A note of John Ardeley.

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelty of these catholic days, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company, how that they, being brought before the commissioners, were by them greatly charged of stubbornness and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and papistical religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart-blood; so greedy and so thirsty be these persecutors of Christian blood. The Lord give them repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the just reward of such cruel dealing! Amen.

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Bonner and his mates against John Tooley, first suspected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his grave, and given to the secular power, and so burned for a heretic.

About the same time of the burning of these two aforesaid, in the beginning of the said month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spirituality against John Tooley, in a case of heresy. The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began

first to keep a stir in England, one John Tooley, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with certain other of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and although the deed were heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, this Tooley was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed than thieves executed.

The foresaid Tooley being led to the gallows, (which stood fast by Charing Cross,) a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then, having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome: and as the same Tooley, and two other his fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other paltry, for covetousness; and there being in a great anger (as appeared) against the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voice these words following: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord, deliver us!"

And then adding further to the same, he spake unto the people,—“All you that be true Christian men, say with me, Amen.” And immediately thereupon three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, “Amen,” three times together at the least.

After this it happened, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be a prentice) stooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the book aforesaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one Haukes, saying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley, sergeant, who de-

sired to have it of him. Upon the top of which bill was written a line, containing these words, “Beware of Antichrist;” and subscribed underneath, “Per me Thomam Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to antichrist.” For the bill aforesaid, Robert Bromley was brought afterward *coram nobis*: and was fain to ask pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the words of Tooley, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooley had made his prayers, as is abovesaid, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayers he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the bruit of this fact came unto the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooley's talk at his death was debated among themselves.

At last, after much pro and contra, they all consented to those men's judgments, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's Holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. And I do easily believe that Cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence; for as Winchester and Bonner did always thirst after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except peradventure, being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought nevertheless by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal's like lightning and fiery fist the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooley's carcass was here at London. And besides this, because he would show some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the churchyard, and to be buried on the dung-hill. Of these two prodigious acts ye shall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooley, who, having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the bishops; and because he was so bold to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as a heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

A letter sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, from the council, concerning Tooley.

“After our very hearty commendations to your

Lordship, understanding that of late amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one lewd person that was condemned for felony died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so have we thought good to pray your Lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of such process as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare.

"From Hampton Court, the 28th of April, 1555.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,	
Step. Winton, chancellor.	R. Rochester.
F. Shrewsbury.	William Peter.
John Gage.	Rich. Southwell."
Thomas Cheney.	

Anon after, a citation was set up upon Paul's church door under the bishop of London's great seal.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooley being cited did not appear, next in order of law came the suspension (whereas one suspension had been enough for him); and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church. These things being prepared in such manner, as in such cases full wisely they use to do, at length one stood out for the nonce, that made answer to certain articles, rehearsed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor did (as they said) sufficiently answer them by the other—to avoid the name of a heretic—first witnesses were provided against him, whose names were Henry Clark, esquire, Thomas May, keeper of the Marshalsea, Philip Andrew, under-marshal, William Holingworth, fishmonger, William Gellard, William Walton, chandler, Richard Longman, merchant-tailor, Philip Britten, John Burton, brewer, Thomas Smith, sergeant. Then he was for a heretic condemned, and so committed to the secular power, namely, to the sheriffs of London, who, with the like diligence, went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man, (being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as a heretic, and besides that, dead,) they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

The history and martyrdom of the worthy servant of Christ, Thomas Haukes, gentleman: with his examinations and answers had with Bishop Bonner, recorded and penned with his own hand.

Immediately after the story of Doctor Taylor, mention before was made of six men brought and convented before Bishop Bonner upon the eighth day of February; the names of which martyrs were, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, Thomas Tomkins, John Laurence, William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewise with them the ninth day of the foresaid month of February. But because his execution did not so shortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this present tenth day of the month of June, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now consequently to enter tractation thereof; first, beginning briefly with his godly conversation and institution of life, then showing of his troubles, also of his examinations and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries, according as the order of his story doth require.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, first, he was of the country of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comeliness and stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and godliness, did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to nobilitate the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright star to make the church of God and his truth, of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously to shine by his example.

For if the conquests of martyrs are the triumphs of Christ, (as St. Ambrose doth notably and truly write,) undoubtedly Christ in few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriously, than in this young man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his life, and so constantly in his death.

But to the declaration of the matter: first, this Haukes, following the guise of the court, as he grew in years, entered service with the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being there right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward the Sixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay,

godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houses of great men. Haukes, misliking the state of things, and especially in such men's houses, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness which he had tasted, thought to change the place; and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

But what paradise in this world shall a man find so secret for himself, whither that old wicked serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean season (as it happened) Haukes, keeping his house at home, had born unto him a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner; which thing the adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to contemn the sacraments of the church.



HE earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such cases of religion, sent him up to London with a mes-

senger, and letters; and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London; the contents of which his letter sent to Bonner, be these.

"Most reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized as it is now used in the church; whereupon I have sent him to your good Lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion."

When the bishop had perused this letter, and afterward read it to Master Haukes, he, hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the queen's proceedings. Then began the bishop to enter communication with Master Haukes, first asking, what should move him

to leave his child unchristened so long? To whom Master Haukes answered thus again as followeth:

Private talk or conference between Haukes and Bonner.

Haukes.—"Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

Bonner.—"Why! baptism is commanded by the word of God."

Haukes.—"His institution therein I do not deny."

Bonner.—"What deny ye then?"

Haukes.—"I deny all things invented and devised by man."

Bonner.—"What things be those that be devised by man, that ye be so offended withal?"

Haukes.—"Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water, &c."

Bonner.—"Will ye deny that, which all the whole world, and your father, hath been contented withal?"

Haukes.—"What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I."

Bonner.—"The catholic church hath taught it."

Haukes.—"What is the catholic church?"

Bonner.—"It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole world."

Haukes.—"Who is the head thereof?"

Bonner.—"Christ is the head thereof."

Haukes.—"Are we taught in Christ, or in the church now?"

Bonner.—"Have ye not read in John viii. where he said, he would send his Comforter, which should teach you all things?"

Haukes.—"I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter—but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth and verity; and that is not to teach a new doctrine."

Bonner.—"Ah, sir? ye are a right Scripture man; for ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?"

Haukes.—"Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know."

Bonner.—"I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth so by your judgment. What preachers do ye know in Essex?"

Haukes.—"I know none."

Bonner.—"Do ye not know one Baget there?"

Haukes.—"Yes forsooth, I know him."

Bonner.—"What manner of man is he?"

Haukes.—"An honest man so far as I know."

Bonner.—"Do you know him if ye see him?"

Haukes.—"Yea, that I do."

Then said he to one of his servants, "Go call me Baget hither." And then he said to me, "Ye seem to be a very proud man, and a stubborn."—He that brought me up stood all this while by.

Haukes.—"What should move your Lordship so to say?"

Bonner.—"Because I see in a man that came with you, much humility and lowliness."

Haukes.—"It seemeth your Lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no courtesy to you:"—and with that came Baget. Then the bishop said to Baget: "How say ye, sir? know ye this man?"

Baget.—"Yea forsooth, my Lord:"—with that Baget and I shook hands. Then said the bishop to Baget, "Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchristened (as I have letters to show); who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church:—how say *you* thereto?"

Baget.—"Forsooth, my Lord, I say nothing thereto," [with low courtesy to the hard ground.]

Bonner.—"Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the church or not."

Baget.—"I beseech your Lordship to pardon me: he is old enough; let him answer for himself."

Bonner.—"Ah, sir knave! are ye at that point with me?" "Go call me the porter," said he, to one of his men: "Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point?"

Then came the bishop's man, and said, "The porter is gone to London:" then said the bishop to Baget, "Come with me;" and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me, (who was one of his own teaching,) who desired, amongst other things, to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were, that were my teachers.

Haukes.—"When I see your commission I will make you answer."—And then immediately came the bishop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again; and called me also, and said to Baget: "How say ye now, sir, unto baptism? Say whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no?"

Baget.—"Forsooth, my Lord, I say it is good."

Bonner.—"I befool your heart; could ye not have said so before? Ye have wounded this man's

conscience." Then the bishop turned to me and said, "How say ye now, sir? This man is turned and converted."

Haukes.—"I build my faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus: who (as Paul saith) is the founder and author of all men's faith."

Bonner.—"I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you."

Haukes.—"Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it."

Bonner.—"Well, ye are so; come on your ways; ye shall go in, and I will use you Christian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise talk not."

Haukes.—"I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth."

Bonner.—"I will have no heresy talked on in my house."

Haukes.—"Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth."

Bonner.—"If ye will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel."

Haukes.—"Then I trust you will grant me my request."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

Haukes.—"That your doctors and servants give me none occasion: for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience."

Then commanded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner; and I dined at the steward's table. After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But amongst all others, there was one Darbishire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said to me, that I was too curious; "for ye will have," said he, "nothing but your little pretty God's book."

Haukes.—"And is it not sufficient for my salvation?" "Yes," said Darbishire, "it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction."

Haukes.—"God send me the salvation, and you the instruction."

And as we thus reasoned, came the bishop, who said unto me, "I gave you a commandment, that you should not talk."

Haukes.—"And I desired you, that your doctors and servants should give me none occasion."—Then went we into his orchard again, he and his doctors and I.

Bonner.—"Would not ye be contented to have,

that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by King Edward?"

Haukes.—"Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I desire."

Bonner.—"I thought so: ye would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and, in necessity, it may serve."

Haukes.—"Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

Haukes.—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c."

Bonner.—"Thou speakest that, because I am no preacher."

Haukes.—"I speak the text: I do not mean you." Then spake all the doctors and his men that were with him: "He speaketh it of you, my Lord" [with a great noise that they made].

Bonner.—"Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?"

Haukes.—"If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the same counsel given before."

Bonner.—"You seem to be a lusty young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done, in spite of your teeth?"

Haukes.—"What the queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner."

Bonner.—"Well, you are a stubborn young man: I perceive I must work another way with you."

Haukes.—"Ye are in the hands of God: and so am I."

Bonner.—"Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me."—And so we departed until evensong time; and ere evensong was begun, my Lord called for me to come to him into the chapel, and said; "Haukes! thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul."

Haukes.—"That I have said, I will stand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it."

Bonner.—"Nay, nay, Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard: the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went."

Haukes.—"The last went."

Bonner.—"Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee; how sayest thou? It is in the sixth of St. John, I am the bread of life; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world: and whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very meat indeed, and my blood is very drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye believe this?"

Haukes.—"Yea, I must needs believe the Scriptures."

Bonner.—"Why! then I trust that you be sound in the blessed sacrament."

Haukes.—"I beseech your Lordship to feel my conscience no further than in that that I was accused in unto you."

Bonner.—"Well, well! let us go unto evensong."—With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

Bonner.—"Why, will you not tarry evensong?"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth."

Bonner.—"And why?"

Haukes.—"For I will not."

Bonner.—"And why will ye not?"

Haukes.—"For because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin."

Bonner.—"Why? you may pray by yourself. What books have ye?"

Haukes.—"I have the New Testament, the books of Solomon, and the Psalter."

Bonner.—"Why, I pray you, tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter."

Haukes.—"I will not pray in this place, nor in any such."

Then said one of his chaplains, "Let him go, my Lord; and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers."

Haukes.—"I think myself best at ease when I am furthest from you."—And so the bishop went to evensong, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till evensong was done. And within an hour after that evensong was done, the bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself; and when I came, there was he, and three of his chaplains.

Bonner.—"Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any further, than in that ye were accused of."

Haukes.—"I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge."

Bonner.—"Well, ye shall answer me to the sa-

crament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony."

Haukes.—"There are none of these, but I dare speak my conscience in them."

Bonner.—"The sacrament of the altar ye seem to be sound in."

Haukes.—"In the sacrament of the altar?—why, sir, I do not know it."

Bonner.—"Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you."

Haukes.—"No, that shall ye never do."

Bonner.—"Yes, a faggot will make you do it."

Haukes.—"No, no, a point for your faggot! What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do; and more ye shall not do."

Bonner.—"Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ?"—and at that word he put off his cap.

Haukes.—"I do believe as Christ hath taught me."

Bonner.—"Why, did not Christ say, Take, eat, this is my body?"

Haukes.—"Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach; neither did Christ ever teach it so to be."

Bonner.—"Why? the catholic church taught it so; and they were of Christ's church."

Haukes.—"How prove you it? The apostles never taught it so. Read Acts ii. and xx. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so."

Bonner.—"Ah, sir! ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare."

Haukes.—"He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him."

Bonner.—"Why? then ye must eat a lamb, if ye will have but Christ's institution only."

Haukes.—"Nay, that is not so; before that Christ did institute the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament."

Bonner.—"Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the institution thereof."

Haukes.—"Then I would be glad to learn."

Bonner.—"Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn."

Haukes.—"Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you:"—and thus we concluded. Then the bishop and his chaplains laughed and said, "Jesu, Jesu! what a stubbornness and arrogancy is this!" And this was in his chamber where he lay. Then said the bishop to me, "Go ye down, and drink; for it is

fasting day: it is Midsummer Even, but I think ye love neither fasting nor praying."

Haukes.—"I will never deny fasting, neither praying; so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocrisy or vain-glory."

Bonner.—"I like you the better for that:" and so we left for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London: for Fecknam was made dean that day, and I tarried still at Fulham. Then did the bishop's men desire me to come to mass, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their master. That night the bishop came home to Fulham again.

Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then upon the Monday morning, very early, the bishop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, "This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies."

Harpsfield.—"Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?"

Haukes.—"I wot well that; but Christ did never use it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto."

Harpsfield.—"Admit your child die unchristened: what a heavy case stand you in!"

Haukes.—"I admit that, if it do: what then?"

Harpsfield.—"Marry, then are ye damned, and your child both."

Haukes.—"Judge you no further than ye may by the Scriptures."

Harpsfield.—"Do ye not know that your child is born in original sin?"

Haukes.—"Yes, that I do."

Harpsfield.—"How is original sin washed away?"

Haukes.—"By true faith and belief of Christ Jesus."

Harpsfield.—"How can your child, being an infant, believe?"

Haukes.—"The deliverance of it from sin, standeth in the faith of his parents."

Harpsfield.—"How prove you that?"

Haukes.—"By St. Paul, in 1 Cor. vii.: The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman; and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man; or else were your children unclean."

Harpsfield.—"I will prove that they whom thou putteth thy trust in, will be against thee in this opinion."

Haukes.—"Who be those?"

Harpsfield.—"Your great learned men in Oxford."

Haukes.—"If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them."

Bonner.—"Recant, recant. Do you not know that Christ said, Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved?"

Haukes.—"Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonies, or no?"

Bonner.—"Partly it doth: what say you to that?"

Haukes.—"I say as St. Peter saith, Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God."

Harpfield.—"Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride!"

Haukes.—"It is written, Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men."

Bonner.—"Let us make an end here.—How say you to the mass, sirrah?"

Haukes.—"I say, it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing."

Bonner.—"What! nothing profitable in it? What say you to the Epistle and Gospel?"

Haukes.—"It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used."

Bonner.—"Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant: recant all, recant all."

Haukes.—"I have recanted nothing; nor will do."

Bonner.—"How say you to *Confiteor*?"

Haukes.—"I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus."

Bonner.—"To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know, when ye come into the court, ye cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy-chamber that are next to the king and queen?"

Haukes.—"They that list, receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them: and St. Paul saith, How should I call upon him, on whom I believe not?"

Bonner.—"Will you have nobody to pray for you, when you be dead?"

Haukes.—"No, surely; except you can prove it by the Scriptures."

Then the bishop pointed unto Harpfield, and said unto me, "Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?"

Haukes.—"Yes, surely; so long as we live, prayer is available of the righteous man: but this man's prayer, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all."

Bonner.—"Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?"

Haukes.—"I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead."

Bonner.—"Not for the dead!"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for David saith, No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make agreement unto God for him: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that ye must let that alone for ever. Also Ezekiel saith, Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves."

Then the bishop said to Harpfield, "Sir, ye see this man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the blessed saints. Well! I will trouble you no longer. I did call you, hoping that you should do some good on him; but it will not be."—And he said to me, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less."

Harpfield.—"What books have you?"

Haukes.—"The New Testament, Solomon's books, and the Psalter."

Harpfield.—"Will you read any other books?"

Haukes.—"Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require."

Harpfield.—"What books will you require?"

Haukes.—"Latimer's books, my Lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, Ridley's books."

Bonner.—"Away, away! He will have no books but such as maintain his heresies:"—and so they departed, for Harpfield was booted to ride unto Oxford; and I went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day's talk.

The next day came thither an old bishop, who had a pearl in his eye; and he brought with him to my Lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop: "This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened."

Haukes.—"I deny not baptism."

Bonner.—"Thou art a fool; thou canst not tell what thou wouldest have;"—and that he spake with much anger.

Haukes.—"A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger."

Bonner.—"Thou judgest me to be angry: no, by my faith, am I not:"—and stroke himself upon the breast.

Then said the old bishop, "Alas, good young man! you must be taught by the church, and by

your ancients; and do as your forefathers have done before you."

Bonner.—"No, no! he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot, he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one. What say you to holy water?"

Haukes.—"I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them."

Bonner.—"Why, the Scriptures do allow it."

Haukes.—"Where prove you that?"

Bonner.—"In the Book of Kings, where Elizeus threw salt into the water."

Haukes.—"Ye say truth; that is written 2 Kings ii. 'The children of the prophets came to Elizeus, saying, The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted. This was the cause that Elizeus threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.'"

Bonner.—"How say you to holy bread?"

Haukes.—"Even as I said to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?"

Bonner.—"Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?"

Haukes.—"Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread."

Bonner.—"Look, I pray you, how captious this man is!"

Haukes.—"Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle; but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby."

Bonner.—"Ye believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles."

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for Christ saith, These tokens shall follow them that believe in me: they shall speak with new tongues, they shall cast out devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them."

Bonner.—"With what new tongues do ye speak?"

Haukes.—"Forsooth, whereas, before that I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?"

Bonner.—"How do you cast out devils?"

Haukes.—"Christ did cast them out by his word; and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out devils."

Bonner.—"Did you ever drink any deadly poison?"

Haukes.—"Yes, forsooth, that I have; for I

have drunken of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the bishop of Rome."

Bonner.—"Now you show yourself to be a right heretic."

Haukes.—"I pray you, what is heresy?"

Bonner.—"All things that are contrary to God's word."

Haukes.—"If I stand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy to be so called."

Bonner.—"Thou art one; and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you."

Haukes.—"Where prove you that Christ or any of his apostles did kill any man for his faith?"

Bonner.—"Did not Paul excommunicate?"

Haukes.—"Yes, my Lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning."

Bonner.—"Have ye not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?"

Haukes.—"Yes, forsooth; I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which serveth nothing to your purpose."

Bonner.—"Well, you will grant one yet."

Haukes.—"Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then show mercy; for that God requireth."

Bonner.—"We will show such mercy unto you, as ye showed unto us: for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon."

Haukes.—"I pray ye, my Lord, what do you give him now that was in the bishopric or benefice before that ye came again to it?"—Whereunto he answered me never a word; for he turned his back unto me, and talked with other men, saying, that he was very sorry for me, but he trusted that I would turn with St. Paul, because I was so earnest: and so he departed, and went to dinner, and I to the porter's lodge again. After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber: "for I would be glad," said he, "if ye could convert him." So he took me into his chamber, and sat him down in a chair, and said to me, "I would to God I could do you some good. Ye are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat."

Haukes.—"I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the word of God." And I looked that the old bishop should have made me an answer, and he was fast asleep.—Then I departed out of the chamber

alone, and went to the porter's lodge again, and there saw I the old bishop last : I suppose he is not yet awake.

Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and said, "Are ye he, that will have no ceremonies?"

Haukes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"Ye will not have your child christened but in English; and you will have no ceremonies."

Haukes.—"Whatsoever the Scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not."

Fecknam.—"Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures."

Haukes.—"Which be those?"

Fecknam.—"How say you by Paul's breeches?"

Haukes.—"I have read no such thing."

Fecknam.—"Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles how things went from Paul's body, and they received health thereby?"

Haukes.—"I have read in Acts xix., how there went partlets and napkins from Paul's body: is it that you mean?"

Fecknam.—"Yea, the same is it: what say you to those ceremonies?"

Haukes.—"I say nothing to the ceremonies; for the text saith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, &c. So that it seemed by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies."

Fecknam.—"How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture?—Did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, Who is it that toucheth me? And Peter said, Thou seest the people thrust thee, and askest thou, Who touched me? Somebody hath touched me, saith Christ; for virtue hath gone out of me.—I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?"

Fecknam.—"Both."

Haukes.—"Then is not Christ true; for he said, Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

Bonner.—"Away, away to the sacrament; for these are but mere trifles to that."

Fecknam.—"How say ye, sirrah? Christ took bread, and brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body."

Haukes.—"I grant Christ said so."

Fecknam.—"And is it not so?"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; I do not understand it so."

Fecknam.—"Why, then is Christ a liar?"

Haukes.—"I think ye will so prove him."

Fecknam.—"Will I?—why I have spoken the words that Christ spake."

Haukes.—"Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine; I am a king, a way, &c."

Fecknam.—"Christ spake these words in parables."

Haukes.—"And why speaketh he this in parables, when he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c., more than this, when he said, This is my body?—for after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, This is my body; so saith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way; he saith not, I am *like* a door, *like* a vine, &c."

Then Fecknam stood up, and said, "I had such a one before me this other day. Alas! these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford."

Haukes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley."

Haukes.—"I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned."

Fecknam.—"Wilt thou trust to such dolts? One of them hath written a book, wherein he affirmeth a real presence in the sacrament."

Haukes.—"What he hath done, I know not; but what he doth, I know."

Fecknam.—"Ridley hath preached at Paul's Cross openly, that the devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Christ is able of stones to make bread; and ye will not believe Christ's body in the sacrament: and yet thou buildest thy faith upon them."

Haukes.—"I build my faith upon no man, and that shall ye well know: for if those men, and as many more as they be, should recant, and deny that they have said or done, yet will I stand to it; and by this shall ye know that I build my faith upon no man."

Bonner.—"If any of those recant, what will ye say to it?"

Haukes.—"When they recant, I will make you an answer."

Bonner.—"Then thou wilt say as thou dost now, for all that."

Haukes.—"Yea, indeed, will I, and that, trust to it, by God's grace."

Bonner.—"I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living." And so the bishop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

Talk between Haukes and Chedsey.

The next day came Dr. Chedsey to the bishop; and then was I called into the garden to the bishop and him. The bishop declared unto him, that I had stood stubbornly in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chedsey, "Then he denieth the order of the catholic church."

Bonner.—"Yea, he thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany."

Haukes.—"And ye think that there is no church but the church of Rome."

Chedsey.—"What say ye to the church of Rome?"

Haukes.—"I say it is a church of a sort of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey.—"How say ye to the bishop of Rome?"

Haukes.—"From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

Chedsey.—"Marry, so may we say, from King Henry the Eighth, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

Haukes.—"Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not say so?"

Chedsey.—"I was not far."

Haukes.—"Where were ye in his son's days?"

Chedsey.—"In prison."

Haukes.—"It was not for your well doing."

Bonner.—"He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, neither the sacrament of the altar, can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English."

Chedsey.—"Christ never spake in English."

Haukes.—"Neither spake he ever any Latin; but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paul saith, That tongues profit us nothing. He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle: so if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than *he* hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth."

Chedsey.—"If he understand Paul's saying, he speaketh it under a prophecy, If one prophesy to you in tongues, &c."

Haukes.—"Forsooth Paul speaketh plainly of tongues; for tongues serve not for them that believe."

Chedsey.—"I tell you Paul speaketh altogether upon prophecy."

Haukes.—"Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, That if any man speak with tongues, let it be by two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course; and let the other judge. And if any revelation be made to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: so that it seemeth that Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying."

Bonner.—"The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world, because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue; and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world."

Haukes.—"This did your councils of Rome conclude."

Bonner.—"Understand ye what the general councils of Rome meant?"

Haukes.—"Indeed all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them."

Chedsey.—"Ye are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the whole world."

Haukes.—"I reprove them not, but Paul rebuketh them, saying, If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accursed."

Chedsey.—"Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?"

Haukes.—"Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."

Chedsey.—"What gospel have ye been taught?"

Haukes.—"Praying to saints and to our Lady, and trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."

Chedsey.—"He that teaches you so, teacheth not amiss."

Haukes.—"Cursed be he that teacheth me so; for I will not trust him nor believe him!"

Bonner.—"You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean."

Haukes.—"God hath taught us what they be: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?"

Chedsey.—"What be those that ye are so offended withal?"

Haukes.—"The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, &c."

Bonner.—"What say ye to that?"

Haukes.—"I say it is an idol. What say you to it?"

Bonner.—"I say every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol."

Haukes.—"I say, what difference is there between an idol and image?"

Bonner.—"If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God."

Haukes.—"Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and ye shall see the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not?—and even so have your idols."

Chedsey.—"God forbid, saith St. Paul, that I should rejoice in any thing else, but the cross of Christ Jesus."

Haukes.—"Do ye understand Paul so? Do ye understand Paul?"—unto the which he answered me never a word.

Bonner.—"Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"

Haukes.—"If the cross were such a profit unto us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up, and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with *Salve, festa dies?*"

Chedsey.—"It was taken up."

Haukes.—"Who took it up? Helene, as ye say; for she sent a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for; and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a lath, covered over with copper, double gilded as it had been clean gold!"

Bonner.—"Fie, fie! I dare say thou slanderest it."

Haukes.—"I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary."—And thus did the bishop and the doctor depart in a great fume; and Chedsey said unto me, as he was about to depart, "It is pity that thou shouldst live, or any such as thou art." I answered, "In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die."

Chedsey.—"Ye die boldly, because ye would glory in your death, as Joan Butcher did."

Haukes.—"What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to-morrow."—"God make you in a better mind," said they both; and so they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The next day Dr. Chedsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until all the service was done: and then came the porter for me, and said, "My Lord would have you come to the sermon."—And so I went to the chapel-door, and stood without the door.

Bonner.—"Is not this fellow come?"

Haukes.—"Yes, I am here."

Bonner.—"Come in, man."

Haukes.—"No, that I will not." He called again, and I answered, "I will come no nearer;" and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, "Go to your sermon."

Then Dr. Chedsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy water-sprinkle unto the bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy water, and so he went to his sermon.

The text that he treated on was in Matthew xvi.: Whom do men say that I the Son of man am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some say that thou art John Baptist, some say thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of the ever-living God. Then left he the text there, and said, Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound: "which authority," said he, "is left to the heads of the church, as my Lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at sith the beginning; yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics never so much, the church doth stand and flourish."—And then he went straightway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above the heaven (as the most of them do); and so returned to his place again, saying, Whose sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the bishops and the priests to forgive sins, and said, "All that be of the church will come and receive the same." And this he proved by St. John, (chap. xi.,) saying, that Christ came to raise Lazarus, who, when he was risen, was bound in bands: then said Christ to them that were in authority, (who were his disciples,) Go ye and loose him; loose him you. And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles: and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner.

Another communication between Thomas Haukes and the bishop.

And, after dinner, I was called into the chapel, where were certain of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom I did not know.

Bonner.—"Haukes! how like you the sermon?"

Haukes.—"As I like all the rest of his doctrine."

Bonner.—"What! are ye not edified thereby?"

Haukes.—"No, surely."

Bonner.—"It was made only because of you."

Haukes.—"Why? then am I sorry that ye had no more heretics here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded."

Bonner.—"Well, I will leave you here, for I have business: I pray you talk with him, for if ye could do him good," said he, "I would be glad."

This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said unto me, "Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?"

Haukes.—"Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority: and unless I see you have a further commission, I will answer you nothing at all." Then said the bishop's men, (which were many), "My Lord hath commanded you to talk with them."

Haukes.—"If my Lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him." They cried, "Faggots! burn him, hang him, to prison with him: it is pity that he liveth! Lay irons upon him!" and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day's talk.

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber and said, "Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate."

Haukes.—"My Lord, you can do me no better pleasure."

Bonner.—"Why, would you so fain go to prison?"

Haukes.—"Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands."

Bonner.—"Come on your ways; ye shall see what I have written."—Then did he show me certain articles, and these are the contents of them:

"Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these: Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless, the partaking of the blood of Christ? which if it were not so, Paul would never have said it."

Haukes.—"What your church doth, I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy catholic church doth neither so take it, nor believe it."

Bonner.—"Whether doth the catholic church

teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?"

Haukes.—"I answered to it, as I did to the other question before." Then did the bishop with much flattery counsel me to be persuaded, and to keep me out of prison, which I utterly refused, and so we departed. And I supposed that the next day I should have gone to prison; and so I had, save for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the bishop had desired to talk with me, and [who] began to persuade me concerning the sacrament, and the ceremonies: and after much talk he said, "that the sacrament of the altar was the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the cross."

Haukes.—"He was upon the cross both alive and dead: which of them was the sacrament?" The archdeacon answered, "Alive."

Haukes.—"How prove you that?"

Harpsfield.—"You must believe. Doth not St. John say, He is already condemned that believeth not?"

Haukes.—"St. John saith, He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned, but he saith not, He that believeth not in the sacrament is already condemned."

Harpsfield.—"There is no talk with you; for ye are both without faith and learning; and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture."

Then two that stood by bade me [Haukes] enter further in talk with him; and then said I unto him, "Why is the rood-loft set betwixt the body of the church and the chancel?"

Harpsfield.—"I cannot tell; for ye have asked a question which you cannot assolve yourself."

Haukes.—"Yes, that I can: for this saith one of your own doctors: 'that the body of the church doth represent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant: and so, because we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but that we must bear the cross of Christ; this is the cause of the rood-loft being between the body of the church and the chancel.'"

Harpsfield.—"This is well and clerkly concluded."

Haukes.—"As all the rest of your doctrine is:—and so, with many persuasions on his part, we ended, and so departed: and I, to the porter's lodge again.

Another day's talk.

The next day in the morning, which was the first day of July, the bishop did call me himself from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to prison, and to take such things with

me, as I had of mine own. And I said, "I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing." Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who, with his own man and one of the bishop's men, brought me to prison, and delivered the warrant and me both to the keeper: and this was contained in the warrant:

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a justice: for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism; a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days."

And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the bishop sent two of his men unto me, saying, "My Lord would be glad to know how ye do." I answered them, "I do like a poor prisoner." They said, "My Lord would know, whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed." I said, "I am no changeling." They said, "My Lord would be glad that ye should do well." I said, "If my Lord will me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me." So they said they would speak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the first examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors, at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to prison to Westminster: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third day of September.

Here followeth the second time of mine examination, the which was the third day of September: for the bishop did send his men for me to come to his palace of London; and so my keeper and his men brought me to his palace the same day.

The bishop of Winchester, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Cross, and the bishop of London said to my keeper, "I think your man will not go to the sermon to-day."

Haukes.—"Yes, my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me;" and so I went. And when the sermon was done, I and my keeper came to the bishop's house, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the bishop called for me, and asked me, if I were the same man that I was before.

Haukes.—"I am no changeling, nor none will be."

Bonner.—"Ye shall find me no changeling neither."—And so he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the side of a sheet of paper, and all that while I stood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well stand in the chamber. And as I stood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in print,) saying, that he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then said they that stood by, "He is Dr. Smith." Then said I, "Are you he that did recant?" And he said, "it was no recantation, but a declaration."

Haukes.—"You were best to term it well, for your own honesty."

Dr. Smith.—"Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?"

Haukes.—"To be short with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you:"—and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber. Then said the bishop's men and his chaplains, that my Lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that stood by cried with a great noise, "Hang him, burn him! it is pity that he liveth, that disobeyeth my Lord's commandment."

Then said one Miles Huggard, "Where prove you that infants were baptized?"

Haukes.—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Sir, here is none excepted."

Master Huggard.—"What, shall we go to teach children?"

Haukes.—"That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?"

Huggard.—"So am I called."

Haukes.—"Be you not a hosier, and dwell in Pudding Lane?"

Huggard.—"Yes, that I am, and there I do dwell."

Haukes.—"It would seem so, for ye can better skill to eat a pudding, and make a hose, than in Scripture either to answer or oppose." With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I desired that some man would take the pain to walk the gentleman, he did fret so for anger. Then one that stood by me (who was parson of Hornchurch and Romford in Essex) said, "Alas, what do you mean: a young man to be so stubborn? There seemeth too much pride in you."

Haukes.—"Are not ye the parson of Hornchurch?"

Parson.—"Yes, that I am."

Haukes.—"Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?"

Parson.—"Yes, for a shift."

Haukes.—"Like will to like; such master, such man; for I know that priest to be a very vile man, as any could be."

I asked the parson, what kin he was to the weathercock of Paul's? and he fell in a great laughter with the rest of his companions. He said, that I did rail. Then said another that stood by unto me, "What book have you here?" I answered, "The New Testament." "May I look in it?" said he. "Yea, that ye may," said I. And so he looked in my book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, "If the things contained in it be true, then are ye all false prophets." He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, "Here is a generation of Christ:" and Esay saith, "No man can tell his generation."

Haukes.—"What meaneth Esay by that?"

"I would learn of you," said he.

Haukes.—"Ye would be angry, if the scholar should teach the master: but if ye *will* have me to teach you, I will tell you Esay's meaning."

Then said he, "No man can tell the generation between the father and the son: but you (I dare say) did know it before."

Haukes.—"Why then Esay denieth not the generation."

Then said he, "Why is Christ called Christ?"

Haukes.—"Because he is a Messias."

Then said he, "Why is he called a Messias?"

Haukes.—"Because he was so prophesied by the prophets."

Then said he, "Why is your book called a book?"

Haukes.—"These words do breed more strife than godly edifying."

"Beware," said he, "that ye do not decline from the church; for if you do, you will prove yourself a heretic."

Haukes.—"Even as ye do call us heretics, that do incline to Christ's church from your church; so are ye all false prophets that do decline from Christ's church to your own church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets, if ye say, 'This saith the church:' and will not say, 'This saith our Lord.'"—And so he went his way, as though he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another and said unto me, he would talk with me; for he perceived (as he said) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes.—"I will see your commission, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more."—For I wist not how to be rid of them, they came so thick

about me; for I said, that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, the which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner. "I, Thomas Haukes, do here confess and declare before my said ordinary Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition; and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, (commonly called the sacrament of the altar,) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe," &c.

Haukes.—"Stop there, my Lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will."—Then he took his pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, "I, Thomas Haukes, have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion."

Haukes.—"Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men. and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men."

Bonner.—"Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleasure." Then said all his doctors, "If your Lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together." And then he read more to me: "Here unto this bill have I set my hand; and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

Haukes.—"Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or devising."

Bonner.—"Wilt not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it."

And then he called all his doctors, and said, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and so he had all their hands to it and said, "He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged;" and so said all his chaplains and doctors with a great noise.

Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

Haukes.—"Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave."

Bonner.—"This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it."

Haukes.—"As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool."

Bonner.—"I will be even with you when time shall come."

Haukes.—"You may in your malice destroy a man: but, when ye have done, ye cannot do so much as make a finger; and ye be meetly even with some of us already."

Bonner.—"If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me."

Haukes.—"Solomon saith, Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his own honour."

Bonner.—"Solomon saith, Give not a fool an answer."

Haukes.—"What! do you count me a fool?"

Bonner.—"Yea, by my troth do I; and so dost thou me too: but God forgive thee, and so do I."

Haukes.—"Thought is free, my Lord." Then took Bonner the bill, and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes.—"What needeth that ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind." Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horse and went to horse-back; for the same day he rode in visitation into Essex. And so went I to prison, from whence I came with my keeper. And this was the second time of my examination.

Written by me Thomas Haukes, who desire all faithful men and brethren to pray unto God, to strengthen me in his truth unto the end.—Pray, pray, gentle brethren, pray!

The public examination of Thomas Haukes, at the bishop's consistory.

After all these private conferences, persuasions, and long debates, had with Thomas Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop, seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Thomas Haukes, shortly after, was cited with the rest of his other fellows above specified, to wit, Thomas Tomkins, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Laurence, and William Hunter, to appear in the bishop's consistory, the eighth day of February, this present year, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid against him in like order as to the other, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, to the which bill ye heard before how this blessed servant of God denied to subscribe.

After which bill of confession being read, and he constantly standing to the said confession, the bishop then assigned him with the other five the

next day following, which was the ninth of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these foresaid six prisoners being severally called before the bishop, at the coming of Thomas Haukes, the bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now, while he had time and space, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well," quoth Master Haukes again, "I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other interrogatories or articles commenced against him by the said bishop (in like manner as to the other) to the number of four, with another bill also, which Bonner brought out of his bosom, containing private matters against the said Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called heresies and errors, but *we* may better call them Christian verities. To the which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly again, saying that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was; with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the ninth day of February. In the afternoon again the said Haukes appearing and hearing the foresaid bill of his confession, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like constancy in answering again to the bishop, "My Lord," said he, "as you, being my great friend, have caused these my sayings to be written; so do you cause them to be read: and yet I will never go from them." And then, being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church: "No, my Lord," said he, "that will I not: for if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant." And so continuing still in the same song, notwithstanding that the doctors and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off with this answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he believed. Whereupon Bonner, at the last, read the sentence of death upon him; and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the ninth of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the tenth day of June. Then was he committed to the hands and the charge of the Lord Riche, who, being assisted with power sufficient of the worshipful of the shire, had the foresaid Thomas Haukes down into Essex, with six other fellow prisoners whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coggeshall, the others severally in other several places.

Thomas Haukes by the way used much exhort-

ation to his friends; and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

A little before his death, certain there were of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk; yet notwithstanding, the same again, being feared with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to, privily desired that in the midst of the flame he would show them some token, if he could, whereby they might be the more certain, whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do; and so, secretly between them, it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost. Not long after, when the hour was come, Thomas Haukes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the Lord Riche and his assistants, who, being now come unto the stake, there mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with no small multitude of people on every side compassing him about: unto whom after he had spoken many things, especially unto the Lord Riche, reasoning with him of the innocent blood of the saints; at length, after his fervent prayers first made and poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him. In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight whereof there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of them which understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard. And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, A. D. 1555, June 10. And thus have you plainly and expressly described unto you the whole story, as well of the life as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a most constant and faithful witness of Christ's holy gospel.

LETTERS.

An epistle to the congregation, by Thomas Haukes.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be alway with you all, (my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ for ever,) and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you all, in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he shall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may, as obedient children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and, when the Bridegroom shall show himself, ye need not to be ashamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like unto a vapour that for a season appeareth and vanisheth away: so soon passeth away all our terrestrial honour, glory, and felicity. For all flesh, saith the prophet, is grass, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a season showeth her beauty, and as soon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth. For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are as pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind; subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labours, banishment; in danger of that dreadful dragon, and his sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaseth not behind every bush to lay a bait, when we walk awry to have his pleasure upon us; casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life; promising the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a mess of pottage sell and set at nought the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood; and, in especial, Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches, as saith the prophet.

"Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity) to warn you, and most heartily desire you, to watch and pray; for our estate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high mountains doth not grow most plenty of grass, neither are the highest trees farthest from danger, but seldom sure, and always shaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (saith our Saviour) is honour and riches, that without grace it choketh up the good seed sown on his creatures, and blindeth so their

seeing, that they go groping at noonday in darkness: it maketh a man think himself somewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, yet when we shall stand before the living God, there shall be no respect of persons: for riches help not in the day of vengeance; neither can we make the Lord partial, for money. But as ye have ministered unto the saints, so shall ye receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured shall be plenteously poured upon you all, for the great goodness showed unto the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto such a perfection as may be to God's honour, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rage, and blasphemeth the elect of God, ye know that it did so unto Christ, his apostles, and to all that were in the primitive church, and shall be, unto the world's end.

"Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, lest it be taken away from you; if you shall seem to neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, (and your hearts consented unto it,) that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father: therefore I say, in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and conversation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock as we have one Shepherd, may rise to the life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

"Yours in him that liveth for ever,

THOMAS HAUKES."

Here followeth another letter of Thomas Haukes, sent to his wife after his condemnation, being prisoner in Newgate; the copy whereof is this:

"Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from this present evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

"My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath also fulfilled his good work in me, (I trust to his glory, and to the comfort of all those that look for his coming,) I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you some lessons out of God's book; and if you will direct yourself

thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will assist you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for his mercy sake. Amen.

"First, I exhort you to fear God; to serve and honour his holy name; to love him with all your heart, soul, and mind; to believe faithfully all his promises; to lay sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles, whatsoever they are, ye may run straight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them. Keep you within his wings; then shall ye be sure that neither devil, flesh, nor hell, shall be able to hurt you.

"But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that never shall be quenched. Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth most of all stink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men most detested from the beginning of the world. For the which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms, God hath punished with most terrible plagues, with fire, brimstone, hunger, sword, and pestilence, &c., to the utter subversion of them, it is manifestly to be seen through the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him and went and served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell. Again, how he hath preserved those that abhor superstition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve him, and to love him, to fear him, &c.:—it is most manifestly to be seen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea, when all hope of deliverance was past as touching their expectation, even then, in the sight of all his enemies, would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all those that were his manifest enemies.

"Further, I exhort you, in the bowels of Christ, that you will exercise and be stedfast in prayer; for prayer is the only mean to pierce the heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatsoever we desire; so that it be asked in faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succour, in neces-

sities and troubles, and he hath promised to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help, (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the Lamb Christ which was killed for our sins,) I say, who that will refuse his help, must even by the terrible judgments of God come utterly to confusion: as it hath, and is daily manifest to be seen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for Jesus Christ's sake, for whom and in whom God hath promised to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not by and by at the first and second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will at the length open his treasures of mercy, so that ye shall be sure to obtain: for he hath so promised, if we continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, with all such instructions as I have told you by mouth, I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God, who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

"Further, whereas it hath pleased God to send us children, my desire is that they may be brought up in the fear of God and in his laws. And this is to certify you, that ye deliver in any wise my eldest son unto Master Throgmorton, who, upon his good will, hath promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and, I trust, as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wise without delay; and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burdened with him, (which I think nature will not suffer,) my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavour, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God who hath given them us, beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world. Amen.

"Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God, even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, will be a husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succour you in all your necessities, so that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, if you shall profess and go forward in his truth.

"Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple yourself. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the same to the uttermost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicier, nor carder: in fine, no filthy person, but choose you such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again, on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness, as long as God shall give you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have end, where I trust to abide your coming. Amen.

"By your husband,

THOMAS HAUKEs."

Ye heard before, in the letter of Thomas Haukes written to his wife, mention made concerning his eldest son to be sent to Master Throgmorton. Now what he writeth himself to the said Master Throgmorton touching the same matter, by this his letter to the said party, hereunder ensuing, may appear.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, and assist you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that he in all things, as most worthy, may be glorified, and that the blessing of Abraham may be poured plenteously on you and all your posterity.

"Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my son to be brought up before your eyes, and the selfsame love hath also moved me in like case to leave him in your hands, as unto a father in mine absence, I shall require you in God's behalf, according to your promise, that ye will see him brought up in the fear of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and always be pricked forward with fatherly instructions, to follow my footsteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy, through his special grace, to work his will in obedience, he may learn to follow me his father in the like, to God's honour and praise: and this I require you in God's behalf to fulfil, or cause to be fulfilled, as ye, before the living God, will make answer for the same. I have left for the child certain books which shall be delivered unto you, wherein his instruction and salvation lieth, if he learn and practise the same. And thus most humbly beseeching you, once again, to be as good to him as your promise was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord

Jesus, and desire him to bless both him and you according to his good promise: and all that good which ye shall do unto him, I shall most heartily desire the everlasting God to recompense unto you in his kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect. To which God be all praise, honour, and glory. Amen.

"Yours and all men's in Christ Jesus,
THOMAS HAUKES."

The history of Thomas Wats, examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the gospel.

Thomas Wats of Billericay, within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen draper; who, before he was apprehended, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things, being set in order, to his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by God's adversaries and his, as shortly after came indeed to pass; so that, upon the twenty-sixth day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the Lord Riche and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there, being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the Lord Riche, Henry Tyrrel, Sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, Justice Gaudy, &c.: the sum and principal effect of which examination hereunder followeth briefly expressed.

When this Thomas Wats came before the Lord Riche and other the justices, whose names are specified in the letter following, (which they sent unto the bishop of London against him,) at the sessions at Chelmsford, the Lord Riche said these words or the like in effect unto him. "Wats, ye be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and the queen's laws. Ye will not come to the church, ye will not hear mass, &c., but have your conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings." Unto which his words Wats answered and said: "My Lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said unto him, "Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy schoolmaster to teach thee this gear, or where didst thou first learn this religion?" "Forsooth," quoth Wats, "even of you, sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King Edward's days in open sessions you spake against this religion now used; no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said

then, whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered."

Then said Brown to my Lord Riche, "He belies me, my Lord. What a knave is this! he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face:"—and my Lord Riche said again, "I dare say he doth so."

After these words, Wats took occasion to speak somewhat of King Philip and of his coming in; but what it was I could not justly learn. But thus much was heard, that after those words spoken, the bench among themselves stood up, and said one to another, "Treason!" saving one good man, called Justice Gaudy, who a little before was about to speak: but, when he heard them cry "treason," he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such high matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be seen.

A letter sent by certain justices in Essex to Bonner, bishop of London.

"After our most hearty commendations to your good Lordship, these shall be to advertise you, that at our sessions of Oyer and Terminer holden at Chelmsford the twenty-sixth day of April last past, here came before us in open court one Thomas Wats of Billericay within your diocese, by ordinary process: and then and there being examined why he refused to come to his parish church, and there to receive the sacrament of the altar, and hear divine service, according to the institution of holy church, he openly there answered generally, that like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, was said by us now to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he said, that all that is now used and done in that church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught, with divers other erroneous and arrogant words: and therefore we have thought good to send him to your Lordship, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your pastoral office shall seem convenient; certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant heretics that hath been heard speak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any gaol, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and sundry other special causes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to molest your good Lordship, we commit you to the

Holy Ghost.—Given at Chelmsford the twenty-seventh of April, Anno 1555.

"Your good Lordship's most assured,	
R. Riche.	Thomas Mildmay.
Henry Tyrrel.	John Wiseman.
Anthony Brown.	Roger Appleton.
Edmund Tyrrel.	Richard Weston."

Now when the bishop had received him, how he used him it is easy (by his common practices with others) to judge. What his private conferences were I know not, but what was publicly done in the consistory at Paul's (the common stage for these tragedies) you shall here see.

The first appearance of Thomas Wats in the bishop's consistory.

First upon Thursday, being the second day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the bishop of London; and there, being examined upon his words had before the Lord Riche and others, (as is contained in their letters,) he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles following, to the which he answered, as under may appear.

"I. First, that the said Thomas Wats was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"II. Item, that he believed not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic Church of Rome, and all other churches, members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people; nor hath allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but hath despised the same.

"III. Item, that he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration: and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed: and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

"IV. Item, that he believeth, and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

"V. Item, that he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the mass now used in the Church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness; and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet

allow it as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

"VI. Item, that he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confession to be made unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

"VII. Item, that he believeth that Luther, Wickliff, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire, or otherwise, for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

"VIII. Item, that he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable: for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

"IX. That the said Wats of late coming into open court at the sessions before the Lord Riche, Sir Henry Tyrrel, knight, Anthony Brown, esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: because that like as the service of the church, set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he (the said Thomas Wats) then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught: and that he did also then utter before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

"X. Item, that he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reported, and judged as a manifest and open heretic; and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic.

"XI. Item, that he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass; that is to wit, that he had believed and deliberately spoken that the Church of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooley, of late

hanged at Charing Cross, who, at the time of his executing, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

“XII. Item, that the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that of all and singular the same within Billericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocess of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.”

The answer of the said Thomas Wats to the aforesaid articles.

“To the 1st he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

“To the IInd article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church: and further said, that he doth not believe now, as he had done in times past—for in time past he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not so believe; for the Church of Rome hath deceived us—and therefore, he said, he did not believe as the Church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him. And further said, that he was so taught to believe by preaching of one Master Alvey, and others whose names he remembered not; which Alvey, he said, did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

“To the IIIrd he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and no where else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

“To the IVth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

“To the Vth, that he did believe that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

“To the VIth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe that the priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit he denieth not but it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

“To the VIIth he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the body and blood of Christ were really, and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

“To the VIIIth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article; but said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds, be works of a lively faith.

“To the IXth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained; and, further, desireth God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

“To the Xth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

“To the XIth he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooley he said, he did never see nor know him; but in case the said Tooley did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

“To the XIIth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

“By me, THOMAS WATS.”

Three other appearances of Thomas Wats in the consistory.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the clock in the afternoon, upon the same day; at which hour, being brought thither by his keeper, the bishop began with him in this wise; “Wats! you know what I said unto you to-day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come: weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and albeit that ye will wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not so away your soul; but while ye have time, return and confess the truth.” Whereunto Thomas Wats answered and said, “I am weary to live in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in;” upon which answer the bishop caused his articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and further, subscribed the same with his own hand.

The bishop, after many persuasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning; where, the bishop being absent, Mr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he answered: “Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call

it: and further I do affirm, and will stand to mine answers that I have made."

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield willed him to appear there again upon Friday, being the tenth day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop privately sent the said Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there, with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he then termed them. But Wats answered him in this sort: "I will not believe your church, neither the Romish church; and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me." He was hereupon again dismissed for that time until Friday the seventeenth day of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former articles ministered unto him, made then such answers as before.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the eighteenth day of the month of May, brought into the consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former process: and there the said Wats, being, by the

bishop and others, willed to deny his profession, made this final answer: "God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that that I have done; for I will stand to mine answers."

The bishop, perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail, and having no great store of other reasons to persuade with, put forth his last and strongest argument of condemnation; which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the ninth day of June, or (as some record) to the twenty-second of May: at which time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scot's house, keeping then an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Wats went and prayed privately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six children being there, and said these words in effect:



"Wife, and my good children! I must now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I

you no more; but, as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom, I charge you, see you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, against the which I shall, anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's

saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you." All these and such-like words spake he unto them, and they unto him; of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord Riche these or the like words: "My Lord," saith he, "beware, beware! for you do against your own conscience herein; and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: for you are the cause of this my death."

Concerning the childbed of Queen Mary, as it was rumoured among the people.

Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and others nigh about the court; so that divers were punished for saying the contrary: and commandment was given, that in all churches, supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery; the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the council sent to Bonner, and also the same, moreover, may appear by provision made before in act of parliament for the child.

And now, forasmuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared, and in a readiness; suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain rumour was blown in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child; insomuch that the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners thereof rewarded with a hundred pistolets, or Italian crowns, by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Such great rejoicing and triumph was for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely, one the parson of St. Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and *Te Deum* sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon information) dwelling within four miles of Berwick, that never had been

before half way to London, which said concerning the bonfires made for Queen Mary's child, "Here is a joyful triumph; but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage:" as indeed it came to pass; for in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

At this time many talked diversely. Some said this rumour of the queen's conception was spread for a policy; some others affirmed that she was deceived by a tympany, or some other like disease, to think herself with child, and was not; some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret.

One thing of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwitnessed: There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate Street in Ilorn Alley, not far from the house where this present book was printed, who before witness made this declaration unto us: that she, being delivered of a man-child upon Whit Sunday in the morning, which was the eleventh day of June, anno 1555, there came to her the Lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish Street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such child; which if she would, her son (they said) should be well provided for, she should take no care for it; with many fair offers, if she would part with the child. After that, came other women also, of whom one they said should have been the rocker; but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward.

Thus much, I say, I heard of the woman herself. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the readers to believe it they that list: to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latin and English.

*"Quam Maris sobolem, Deus optime, summe, dedisti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege."*

*"The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might! hast send,
To England's joy, in health preserve.—keep, and defend!"*

About this time there came over into England a certain English book, giving warning to English-

men of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of abbey-lands, which book was called, *A Warning for England*; whereof ye shall understand more, God willing, when we come to the Spanish inquisition: so that by the occasion of this book, upon the thirteenth day of this month came out a certain proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the impairing of the pope's dignity; whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people. The copy of which proclamation here followeth.

"Whereas by the statute made in the second year of King Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their fautors and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet nevertheless, in most parts of the realm, the same is neglected, and little regarded: the king and queen our sovereign lord and lady, therefore, &c., straitly charge and command: that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth, by or in the name of Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth, by or in the name of *Æcolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *John Calvin*, *Pomerane*, *John Alasco*, *Bullinger*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Bernardine*, *Ochin*, *Erasmus*, *Sarcerius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Hugh Latimer*, *Robert Barnes*, otherwise called *Friar Barnes*, *John Bale*, otherwise called *Friar Bale*, *Justus Jonas*, *John Hooper*, *Miles Coverdale*, *William Tyn-dale*, *Thomas Cranmer*, late archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Turner*, *Theodore Basil*, otherwise called *Thomas Beacon*, *John Frith*, *Roy*, and the book commonly called *Hall's Chronicle*, or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other

like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church. And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books, written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm in the time of King Edward the Sixth, commonly called "*The Communion Book*, or *Book of Common Service and Ordering of Ministers*, otherwise called, *The Book set forth by authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments*," or to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England; but shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their custodies and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese, where such books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour, or deceit, at the said ordinary's will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their Majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

"And their Majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly command and will the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works; and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation: and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every of them within their said limits and jurisdictions, finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or

mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf.

"Given under our signs manual, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns."

"Imprinted by John Cawood, anno 1555."

Articles to be inquired upon by the wardens of every company, touching seditious books, especially touching the book called, A Warning for England.

"I. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books?"

"II. Whether they have heard of any of the said books?"

"III. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them?"

"IV. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea; especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wezel, Emden, and Delsburg?"

"V. Whom they know, or vehemently suspect, to be common carriers of letters, or money, thither from hence?"

"VI. That they bring to my Lord Mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter."

In this proclamation thou hast heard, Christian reader! the profound and learned censure of the catholic Church of England, what books they mislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which catholic censure of these learned fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth my leisure now serve to write apologies in defence of these authors here condemned. Only so much leave it may please the reader to grant me to set before him here a pair of balances, wherein to weigh the books on the one side condemned, with the books on the other side allowed, to the end that we, weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation upon these books above recited; so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their books, by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is.

And first to begin with the Primer in English for children, after the use of Salisbury, imprinted with privilege according to letters-patent of the king and queen's Majesties in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us repeat and survey some part of the

said Primer, (for to express all, it were too long,) beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary, mother most pure of virgins all,
Mother and daughter of the King Celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation,
That by thy prayer and special mediation,
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," &c.

Confer this with the Scriptures, good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not. It followeth more in the Second Lesson:

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;
That he our prayers accept may in good wise,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," &c.

In the Third Lesson.

"Thy Son beseech, with humble intercession,
To purge us clean of our transgression;
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

The Versicle.

"Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial," &c.

Another Versicle.

"Holy Mother of God, make thy petition,
That we may deserve Christ's promission," &c.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth:—

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the collect after it followeth:

"And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

It followeth moreover in the said Primer thus, concerning the material cross.

"O God, which hast ascended thy most holy cross, and hast given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies," &c.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prayeth:—

"O Lord, defend us alway through the continual succours of St. John Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," &c.

In which words note, good reader, not only the

absurdity of doctrine, but also the stolidity of the reason. For whereas their doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul :—

“Hear us mercifully; and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting,” &c.

Of St. Andrew.

“So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee,” &c.

Of St. Lawrence thus :—

“St. Lawrence the deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the holy cross, he gave sight to the blind,” &c.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen which first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

Of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

“By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,
Make us, Christ, to climb, whither Thomas did ascend.”

Of St. Nicholas.

“O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell.”

Of Mary Magdalene.

“Grant, we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting,” &c.

Another prayer of our Lady.

“The dolorous compassion of God’s sweet Mother
Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father,” &c.

Another prayer in the said Primer to our Lady.

“Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
And change the name of sinful Eva :
Loose thy prisoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give sight again :
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may some grace attain :
Show thyself to be a Mother,
So that he accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin.”

Item.

“Holy Mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind,” &c.

Another blasphemous prayer.

“O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore
On wretches, for whom thou haddest these paines all,
Seeing thy Son that vine-cluster pressed sore :
And from the pestilence of death eternal,
Keep us by voiding the fiend infernal,
And join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal life, seeing the Deity.”

Another blasphemy in the said Primer.

“Hail Queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off, therefore, our patroness; cast upon us thy pitiful eyes; and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O Gate of glory! be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean,” &c.

Item, to our Lady.

“The fruit of thy womb everlasting
We may behold through thy deserving,” &c.

Item.

“Grant, we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy, where she, being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever.”

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, called our Lady’s Matins; whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also adjoin our Lady’s Psalter, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have seen what books these catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so the same also may see and judge, what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And forasmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men, what our Lady’s Psalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and some peradventure will deny any such book of our Lady’s Psalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, anno 1482, for a saint in the calendar, who, in his book thus entitled in Latin, Incipit Psalterium beate Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episcopum Albanensem, necnon sancte Romane Ecclesie Presbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis, &c., (fol. 84, in the second part of his whole works, which were imprinted at Strasburgh, anno 1495,) to show himself a devout servant to his Lady, hath taken every psalm of David’s Psalter, (which be peculiarly

made and referred to Almighty God,) and hath in divers of the said psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste whereof, for example's sake, (for, to show all, it were too long,) we thought here to exhibit unto the reader in order, as followeth:—

"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Albano, and cardinal of the holy Church of Rome."

1. "Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where," &c.—"Glory be to the Father," &c.

2. "Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father," &c.

3. "Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father," &c.

4. "When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her, all nations of the earth," &c.

5. "Hear my words, O Lady," &c. "Turn our

mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces."

6. "O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure," &c. "From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because neither the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting."

7. "O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy name's sake, to show thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not."

9. "I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will show forth among the nations thy praise and glory," &c. "They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and salvation. The humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart," &c.

10. "In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust," &c. "Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you," &c. "Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits," &c.

12. "Save me, O Mother of love, and fountain of mercy," &c. "Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee."

13. "How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him," &c. "We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired," &c.

16. "Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust," &c. "Blessed be thy breasts, [from] which, with thy deifying milk, didst [thou] nourish the Saviour," &c.

18. "I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies," &c. "All ye cloisterers, honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion."

20. "Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble," &c. "Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies," &c. "In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God."
25. "To thee, O Lady, do I lift up my soul," &c. "Let not the snares of death prevail against me," &c. "Be thou my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me."
26. "Judge thou me, O Lady, for I am fallen from mine innocency: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall," &c.
27. "O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my light, and let the clearness of thy grace shine unto my mind," &c.
28. "To thee, O Lady," &c. "Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me," &c.
31. "In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever: in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection," &c. "Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c.
34. "I will always praise our Lady," &c. "In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because therefore, O Lady, thou wast humble and lowly, thou didst compel the Word incarnate to take flesh of thee."
36. "The wicked man said," &c. "Let him depart from his evil purpose. O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God toward us: compel him to be merciful unto sinners. Blessed be thy empery and dominion in heaven, and blessed be thy magnificence upon the earth."
45. "My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady," &c. "By thy holiness let my sins be purged; by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption," &c.
47. "Clap your hands, all ye people," &c. "For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady; have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee."
51. "Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the Mother of mercy; and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine iniquities."
54. "O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me," &c.
70. "Make haste, O Lady, to help me," &c. "Have mercy on thy servants, upon whom thy name is invoked," &c.
71. "In thee, Lady, have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever; in thy mercy deliver me," &c.
79. "O Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits," &c.
89. "Thou that rulest Israel," &c. "The favour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart," &c.
91. "Whoso dwelleth in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection," &c. "Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open unto him."
95. "Come let us rejoice to our Lady," &c. "Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest," &c.
105. "Praise our Lady, and call upon her name," &c. "Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady," &c.
110. "The Lord said unto our Lady, Sit here, my Mother, on my right hand," &c.
114. "In the passing of my soul out of this world, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it," &c. "Be to it a ladder to the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradise of God," &c.
119. "The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy justifications," &c. "I will covet for ever to praise thee, O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications," &c.
125. "They that put their trust in thee, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy," &c.
127. "Except our Lady shall build the house of our heart, the building thereof shall not continue."
128. "Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will," &c.
130. "Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady, O Lady, hear my voice," &c.
132. "O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name," &c.
134. "Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name."
136. "At the floods of Babylon," &c. "There is no propitiation to be found without her," &c.
140. "Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy defend me," &c.
145. "Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient," &c. "My

tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever."

148. "Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Sion; for she buildeth up thy walls, and blesseth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts," &c.

I could recite also other things more of like blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the seraphical doctor aforesaid, as these:

"Behold, my Lady, my saviour; I will be bold in thee, and will not fear," &c. "Because thou art my strength, and art become my salvation," &c.

"Rejoice, O all mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a mediatrix," &c.

"I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little ones."

"O thou wicked and peevish generation, acknowledge our Lady thy saviour. Is not she the mother that hath possessed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee?"

"O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our salvation," &c.

"In thy name let every knee bend, in heaven and earth, and in hell."

"Like as an infant cannot live without the nurse, so neither canst thou have salvation without our Lady."

"Whoso will be saved, before all things he must needs hold his belief of our Lady: which belief, unless every one shall hold perfect and sound, he shall perish, without doubt, for ever."

Moreover, after these so horrible things and intolerable to be heard, consequently in the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the said St. Bonaventure; wherein these words are to be read as followeth:

"O mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only shouldst conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy," &c.

And moreover, within few lines it followeth in these words:

"Therefore, O our empress and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a mother command, command (I say) thy well-beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly desires," &c.

Item, "O the advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy servants be directed to thee," &c.

To these premises I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said book, fol. 100, p. 2, col. 1, which

I beseech thee to read and note, "What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?"

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Jeremy, saying:

"Behold, I am in your hands; do with me as you see good," &c. "Where note," saith he, "that when any duke or prince is taken prisoner for his subjects, he is not let go, before he pay some great sum of money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands, being our prisoner and captive, except he grant unto us remission of our sins and his heavenly kingdom. The priest therefore lifteth up the body of Christ upon the altar, as though he said thus, Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend; he is holden here our captive; wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests," &c.

Notes: The Church of Rome examined.

Is not here good catholic stuff, Christian reader, trow you? Confer, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer me to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times past of the doctrine and proceedings of the Church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable, or not, here now may he be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Matins and Psalter of our Lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no God, what do we here but make an idol of our Lady, (as we call her,) to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet she is the Queen of heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so the title of the Mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is willed to show herself to be his mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet is she our patroness. The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do ascribe unto her? or what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from

the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we creep, we sigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we trust; and if we believe not also in our Lady, we be heretics *ipso facto*.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation, which professeth his name, of whom we are called Christians; so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities, and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like sort, are called our Lady's Brethren, or White Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself, yet all these together be included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady also jointly with him hath the like? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and compline, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter; her holy-days likewise, yea, five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her Ave Marias, yea, ten Aves to one Pater-noster; yea, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and ye shall see her also to have her *Te Deum*, her *Benedictus*, her *Magnificat*: and also her *Quicumque vult*.

If the Lord our God had not expressed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy; then, peradventure, this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some rhyme or reason; but now God's word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit us precisely, in every point touching salvation, what to believe, and what to do, showing us plainly that we cannot be saved, but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ his Son: wherefore, not to believe that which he hath promised, is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is plain idolatry. The which two special errors most commonly do follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this Primer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings besides, may well appear. For whereas the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us

to be justified through our faith in Christ, and will-eth us to seek our salvation no where else, but only in the merits of Jesus: the institution of the Church of Rome neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein standeth infidelity,) neither yet will seek the same there where they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury; and by the worthiness of the material cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the catholics to be current, as good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true Christianity, in no wise can be sufferable. But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the course of our history.

The story of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, Thomas Osborne, and others, martyrs.



mention was made before, in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex, the same time as

he went to execution; of which six prisoners, three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next in the story now to entreat. The names of which six were these, Thomas Osmond, fuller; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; Thomas Osborne, fuller; Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; being all of the town of Coggeshall. All which six Coggeshall men, next after the examination of Thomas Haukes, and Thomas Wats, were sent up to Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris, knight, with a letter also with them sent, the copy whereof here followeth.

"After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, this shall be to advertise the same, that the constables of Coggeshall within your diocese, have brought before us this day six persons dwelling in the town of Coggeshall aforesaid, whose names hereafter do follow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; John Wallet, fuller; Thomas Brodehill,

weaver; Richard Web, weaver; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; and Thomas Osborne, fuller; for that they, at the feast of Easter now last, have not obeyed to the order of the holy catholic church in receiving of the sacraments, but obstinately refusing the same, besides the holding of divers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the said church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same persons unto your good Lordship further to be ordered, as in such case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordship to the keeping of Almighty God.—From Hedingham the first of May, Anno 1555.

“Your Lordship’s assuredly, OXFORD,
PHILIP PARIS.”

Thus the said prisoners being sent up the first day of May, were brought before the said bishop the seventeenth of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles ministered and objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same.

These articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the same answers also thereunto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note, reader, the crafty and subtle handling of these lawyers and registrars, who so deceitfully frame their articles and positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their church with such a visage of universal, whole, holy, catholic—as who should say, he that denieth Rome, denieth the holy church of Christ here in earth. Likewise in examining them, and specially the simple sort in the matter of the sacrament, to the material bread in the sacrament they put this word “only” very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy sacrament to be no better than only common bread: when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour, and name thereof.

Again, when the examiners hold but only against the erroneous points of Romish religion, these bishops in their interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examiners in general spake against all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin service, in such crafty form of words they propound their article, that it might appear to the people, these men do deny any service to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English.

And as these articles are craftily, captiously, and

deceitfully in form of words devised by these bishops and their notaries: so the answers again to the same, be no less subtly framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the examiners; which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were constrained, upon a sudden, to subscribe the same with their hands. Whereby, if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerably subscribed, there the papists take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

These articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the afternoon dismissed; at what time they did again appear, and there were examined, and travailed with by fair and flattering speeches, as well of the bishop as of others his assistants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of their ecclesiastical laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, and the eighteenth day of May. Then in the forenoon the bishop, using his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before as well with them as with others, did likewise dismiss them; and at last, in the afternoon, condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed; Chamberlain at Colchester, the fourteenth of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, the fifteenth of June; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the same fifteenth day in the month of June.

The history of the worthy martyr and servant of God, Master John Bradford, with his life, acts, and sundry conflicts with his adversaries, and martyrdom at length most constantly suffered for the testimony of Christ and his truth.

As touching the first country and education of John Bradford, he was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents did bring him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to Sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king’s camps and buildings, at divers times, in Boulogne, had such experience of Bradford’s activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also of his faithful trustiness, that not only in those affairs, but in many other of his private business he

trusted Bradford in such sort, that above all others he used his faithful service.

Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, like to come forward, (as they say,) if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many other be. But the Lord, who had elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace which, in his secret counsel, he had appointed, called this his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel of life : in which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith this effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and, after the just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him ; and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the university of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the university did give him the degree of a master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship in their college with them : yea, that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, " If thou have not fine manchets bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the Church of England, called him to take the degree of a deacon, which order, because it was not without some such abuse, as to the which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet, perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a licence to preach, and did give him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reprov'd sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed young King Edward the Sixth, when Queen Mary had gotten the crown, still continued Bradford diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council. To the doing whereof (because they had no just cause) they took occasion to do this injury, for such an act as among Turks and infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no less deserve. The fact was this : the thirteenth of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourn, then bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross in London, as partly is declared before, to set popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, who then was his master, nor yet the commandment of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage ; but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourn, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn dagger at him, as he stood in the pulpit,) and that he was put from ending his sermon, fearing lest (against his will) he should there end his wretched life, desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford, at his request, was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience : whom as soon as the people saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great shout,—“ Bradford, Bradford ; God save thy life, Bradford ! ”—well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entered a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, aftsoons all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season (for it was a long time before that so a great multitude could all depart) Bourn thought (and truly) himself not yet full sure of his life till he were safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till

he were in safety : which Bradford, according to his promise, performed. For while the mayor and sheriffs did lead Bourn to the schoolmaster's house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Let the reader now consider the peril of Bourn, the clarity of Bradford, and the headiness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain, which yet still there remained behind ; grieved not a little in their minds, to see that so good a man should save the life of such a popish priest, so impudently and openly railing against King Edward ; among whom one gentleman said these words : " Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. I give thee his life. If it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) run him through with my sword." Thus Bourn for that time, through Bradford's means, escaped bodily death : but God hath his judgment to be showed in the time appointed.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Bradford preached at the Bow Church in Cheapside, and reprov'd the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanour. After this he did abide still in London, with an innocent conscience, to try what should become of his just doing. Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear there before the council. There was he charged with this act of saving of Bourn, which act they there called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching, and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him.

From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark : and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London : in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him : where also the sacrament was often ministered, and through his means (the keepers so well did bear with him) such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day ; which was but very little when he took it ; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over

his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark) he had licence, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper to visit one that was sick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity : so constant was he in word and in deed.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night ; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board ; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison, where he lay on the other side, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles ; and, after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the King's Bench, and Master Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, on the backside of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would : so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles ; and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty in the backside, that there was no day but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would ; but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer time, while he was in the said King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him ; but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him while he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go ? Unto whom he made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no : but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England

secretly, teaching the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him but by his company he greatly profited; as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented; as among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this:

Bishop Ferrar, being in the King's Bench prisoner, as before you have heard, was travailed withal of the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who, after much persuading, yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by God's providence) the Easter-even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King's Bench, prisoner: where the Lord making him his instrument, Bradford only was the mean that the said Bishop Ferrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of his. Such an instrument was he in God's church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel and God's true messenger.

The night before Bradford was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was sore troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter gate, and how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield; as indeed it came to pass accordingly, which hereafter shall be showed. Now he, being vexed so oftentimes in this sort with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, Master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before; and at dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

In the afternoon they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much trou-

bled, being almost windless, said, "O Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she, "tomorrow you must be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that Master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!" And so, thanking her for her gentleness, he departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, who when he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed: which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things what he would have done, and after they had spent the afternoon till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom all the evening he spent the time in prayer, and other good exercise, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning, (by one Master Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend,) he made such a prayer of the wedding-garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Then being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with weeping tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad: and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapside and other places, (between the Compter and Newgate,) a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him

farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were merely devised of the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was over-night about the city by divers, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumour, many heads had divers minds; some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof: others thought

nay, that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected: for the next day, at the said hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great number, in so short a time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.



Well, this took not effect as the people thought; for that morning it was nine o'clock of the day, before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going through Newgate thitherward, spied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side of the way to the keeper's housewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. And after a little secret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his,

called Roger Beswick, who, as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, called Woodrofe, came with his staff, and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders; which sight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon betimes: so they, departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burn-

ing : for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the stake. Bradford then, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf : touching the order and manner of whose burning, more shall be said (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time we will now show forth the sundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his adversaries, during the time of his imprisonment, which was in all two years lacking one month and a half; which examinations here follow to be declared.

It was before a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the sermon of Master Bourn, was by the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, A. D. 1553, to the twenty-second day of January, A. D. 1555; upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen Winchester and other of the commissioners. The effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

After the lord chancellor, and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with Master Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who, being come into the presence of the council sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee; but immediately, by the lord chancellor, was bidden to stand up: and so he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him, to have, belike, over-faced him: but he gave no place; that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to heaven-ward, sighed for God's grace, and so over-faced him.

Then the lord chancellor, as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect: that of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the thirteenth of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. "But now," quoth he, "the time of mercy is come: and therefore the queen's Highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I

warrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake. To these words John Bradford spake (after reverent obeisance made) in this manner:—

"My Lord and Lords all; I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the now bishop of Bath, then Master Bourn, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly."

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said lord chancellor something snuffed, and speaking with an admiration, said:—

L. Chan.—"There was a loud lie: for," quoth he, "the fact was seditious; as you my Lord of London can bear witness."

Bonner.—"You say true, my Lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition."

Bradford.—"My Lords, notwithstanding my Lord Bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me."

L. Chan.—"I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shows thou makest: but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, where-through worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of."

Brad.—"My Lord, as I said I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God; and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of Bath, Master Bourn, will witness with me, that I sought his safe-guard with the peril of mine own life; I thank God there-for.

Bonner.—"That is not true: for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much."

Brad.—"No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Master Bourn himself, as, if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people,

and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your Honours, if I did or said anything that did not beseech me, if your Lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer."

L. Chan.—"Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon."

Brad.—"My Lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy; but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from! although (I thank God there-for) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did make much to quietness."

L. Chan.—"Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art."

Brad.—"The Lord, before whom I stand as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon: therefore his good will be done. Life, in his displeasure, is worse than death; and death, with his true favour, is true life."

L. Chan.—"I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive."

Brad.—"I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine than, by God's grace, I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it."

Durham.—"Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?"

Brad.—"My Lord, here I must desire of your Lordship and of all your Honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now begin. I have been

six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid."

Sec. Bourne.—"Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou borne?"

Brad.—"Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke hall; and when I was there, the visitors came thither, and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry; when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death."

L. Chan.—"Tush, Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at."

Brad.—"But, my Lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, *De Vera Obedientia*."

"My Lords," quoth another of the council that stood by the table, (Master Rochester, I ween,) "I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad. What the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be kept in prison."

Bourne.—"Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine, (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught,) and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such-like as he is." All which words divers of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said Master Bourne added, saying, "How say you, sir? have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?"

Brad.—"I have not written nor spoken any thing seditiously, neither (I thank God there-for) have I admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall do."

Bourne.—"Yea, but thou hast written letters."

L. Chan.—"Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?"

Brad.—"That I have written, I have written.

Southwell.—"Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the queen's council!"—Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful countenances.

Brad.—"My Lords and Masters, the Lord God, which is and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty; so, with reverence in his sight, I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope."

L. Chan.—"These be gay glorious words of reverence; but, as in all other things, so herein also, thou doest nothing but lie."

Brad.—"Well, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and show a terrible judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me."

L. Chan.—"Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters as here we objected against thee?"

Brad.—"As I said, my Lord, that I have written, I have written. I stand now before you, which either can lay my letters to my charge or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar."

L. Chan.—"We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short. Wilt thou have mercy?"

Brad.—"I pray God give me his mercy; and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it: but, otherwise, I will none."

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, of his arrogancy, in refusing the queen's pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him: whereto Bradford answered thus:

Brad.—"My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law. In the mean season I ask no more but the benefit of a subject, till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done."

Upon these words my Lord Chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of King Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying, "How sayest thou?"

Brad.—"My Lord, the doctrine taught in King

Edward's days was God's pure religion: the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison."

Durham.—"What religion mean you in King Edward's days? What year of his reign?"

Brad.—"Forsooth even the same year, my Lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher." Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wot not what.

Now after a little pausing, my lord chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was heresy; using for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor reason, but this: that it ended with treason and rebellion, "so that," quoth he, "the very end were enough to improve that doctrine to be naughty."

Brad.—"Ah, my Lord! that you could enter in God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify."

L. Chan.—"What meanest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now."

Brad.—"My Lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself."

Here now did my Lord Chancellor offer again mercy; and Bradford answered, as before, mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the lord chancellor did ring a little bell, belike to call in somebody: for there were present none in manner, but only those before named, and the bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in; "It is best," quoth Master Secretary Bourne, "that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow." So was the under-marshal called in.

L. Chan.—"Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not to write any letters," &c., "for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before."

And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

The effect of the second examination of John Bradford.

After the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and standing before the

lord chancellor and other bishops set with him, the said lord chancellor spake thus in effect :

“Whereas before the twenty-second of January, the said Bradford was called before them, (the said lord chancellor, &c.,) and they offered unto him the queen’s pardon, although he had contemned the same, and further said, that he would stiffly and stoutly maintain and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of King Edward the Sixth, yet, in consideration that the queen’s Highness was wonderfully merciful, they thought good afterwards to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late : “therefore advise you well,” said he, “there is yet space and grace before we so proceed that you be committed to the secular power, as we must do and will do, if you will not follow the example of Master Barlow, and Master Cardmaker;” whom he there commended, adding oratoriously amplifications to move the said Bradford to yield to the religion presently set forth.

After the lord chancellor’s long talk, Bradford began on this sort to speak :

Brad.—“My Lord, and my Lords all ! as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your Honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who, as David doth witness, is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging ; and as you would your place to be now of us taken as God’s place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting ; that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless : if guilty, then proceed and give sentence accordingly : if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have.”

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence, *Deus stetit in synagoga*, &c. “But,” quoth he, “this and all thy gesture declare but hypocrisy and vain-glory.” And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless blood ; and so began a long process how that Bradford’s fact at Paul’s Cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, “in that thou,” speaking to Bradford, “wast so refract and stout in religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to no little hurt to the queen’s people, as by report of the earl of Derby, in the parliament house, was credibly declared.” And to this he added, “that the said Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them : and there-

fore not for any other thing now I demand of thee,” quoth he, “but of and for thy doctrine and religion.”

Brad.—“My Lord, whereas you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord’s declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth and hearty meanings ; in the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also ; and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at Paul’s Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing, which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one ; and yet, for it, I have been and am kept of long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer, as I did the last time I was before you.”

L. Chan.—“There didst thou say stubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldst manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward’s days.”

Brad.—“My Lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome’s behalf ; and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded so, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving mine oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of King Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison : and so I thought I should be, and think yet still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same.”

L. Chan.—“I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done : for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy.”

Brad.—“My conscience is known to the Lord : and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then, my Lord, so I say again now, that for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England.”

L. Chan.—“Why didst thou begin to tell that we are *düi*, and sit in God’s place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer ?”

Brad.—“My Lord, I said, you would have your place taken of us now as God’s place ; and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye

might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath or no."

L. Chan.—"No, all men may well see thine hypocrisy: for if for thine oath's sake thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men well perceive, that this is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou darest not answer, and so wouldest escape; blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do."

Brad.—"That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answer to that you spake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did: but, when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience' sake answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as any ever did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands of long time; but I am afraid, when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do."

L. Chan.—"These be gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory, and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?"

Brad.—"My Lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here, before God, all this audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and your Honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did."

Here the lord chancellor was wonderfully offended, and spake much how the bishop of Rome's

authority needed no confirmation of Bradford's answering, nor of any such as he was; and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, who because they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so oft deceived them. "Even so thou," quoth he to Bradford, "dost at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with a heresy, (which is greater, and more hurtful to the commonwealth, than the other is,) pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conscience where they should not. Why speakest thou not?"

Brad.—"My Lord, as I said, I say again: I dare not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me: or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome: some be against faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath, my help to my brother in his need."

Here my Lord Chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further made much ado to prove, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity. But Bradford answered, that howsoever his Honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer.

"For, as for death, my Lord," quoth Bradford, "as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence: but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do—his good will be done! And saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is, against charity."

L. Chan.—"How prove you that?"

Brad.—"Forsooth I prove it thus:

Argument.

"Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it.

"The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England is with God's word, and is not against it.

"Ergo, The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity."

L. Chan.—"Is it not against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in his realm?"

Brad.—"No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power the sovereignty in all his dominion."

L. Chan.—"I pray you where find you that?"

Brad.—"I find it in many places, but specially in Romans xiii., where St. Paul writeth, Every soul to be subject to the superior power: but what power? The power verily which beareth the sword; which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power: as Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He (Chrysostom I mean) there plainly sheweth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates."

Here yet more the lord chancellor was stirred, and said, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath: "and so," quoth he, "this man would make God's word a warrant of disobedience: for he will answer the queen on this sort, that when she saith, 'Now swear to the bishop of Rome, or obey his authority,' 'No,' will he say, 'for I should be forsworn;' and so he makes the queen no queen."

Brad.—"No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's Highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to King Edward, not simply, (that is, not only concerning his own person,) but also concerning his successors, and therefore in denying to do the queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient."

L. Chan.—"Yes, that thou doest;" and so he began to tell a long tale, how, if a man should make an oath to pay to me a hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, "No, you cannot do it: for I am forsworn then."

Here Bradford desired my Lord Chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his Honour would make solemn oaths made to God, trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the bishop for marriage of priests. At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said, he did not trifle: "but," quoth he, "thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requireth obedience to the bishop of Rome."

Brad.—"No, my Lord; I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between genus and species. Because I may not obey in this, ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet, this notwithstanding, all his in-

heritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch."

L. Chan.—"I will none of these similitudes."

Brad.—"I would not use them, if that you went not about to persuade the people, that I mean that which I never meant: for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give ensample of all most humble obedience to the queen's Highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God."

L. Chan.—"No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French king and to the emperor."

Brad.—"It is true, my Lord, but the cases be not like. For here is an exception: 'Thou shalt not swear to the bishop of Rome at any time.' If, in like manner, we were sworn, 'Thou shalt not serve the emperor,' &c., you see there were some alteration and more doubt. But I beseech your Honour remember what you yourself have written, answering the objections here against in your book, *De Vera Obedientia*: 'Let God's word, and the reason thereof, bear the bell away.'"

Here the lord chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford hath written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's time, against all men; "and now," quoth he, "he saith he dare not answer."

Brad.—"I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And whereas your Lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord! into thy hands I commit it, come what come will; only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace: Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer."

L. Chan.—"Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?"

Brad.—"My Lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word 'corporally' I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith."

L. Chan.—"Unto faith? we must have many more words to make it plain."

Brad.—"You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words."

L. Chan.—"Speak on."

Brad.—"I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now have you a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite: and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my Lord! Christ used not this way to bring men to faith: no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugene the pope: 'I read that the apostles stood to be judged; but I read not, that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was,' &c."

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. "It was not my doing," quoth he, "although some there be that think this to be the best way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes." Which thing the bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too mild and too gentle. At which words Bradford spake thus:—

Brad.—"My Lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it: for hitherto I never felt it."

As soon as ever he had spoken thus, the lord chancellor (belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon) said, that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's Highness, would stretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

Brad.—"Return, my Lord! God save me from that going back: I mean it not so, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink; and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And, I thank God, that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; God's good will be done."

Here now were divers telling my Lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon they would speak more with him. And so was he had into the vestry, and was there all that day till dark night, and so was conveyed again to prison.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the same afternoon, a gentleman, called Master Thomas Hussey of Lincolnshire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's house, did come into the vestry to inquire for one Stoning: and when it was answered him by the under-marshal's officers of the King's

Bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning, for old acquaintance.

The next morning, about seven of the clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lie, and, being with him, he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him, to speak that which he would further utter.

"You did," said the gentleman, "so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you: and therefore I advise you [speaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him, as he said] this day—for anon you shall be called before them again—to desire a time, and men to confer withal: so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you: and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you be aware of."

To this John Bradford answered:

Brad.—"I neither can nor will make any such request: for then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess; the which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence."

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, who, when he saw Master Hussey, "What, sir," quoth he, "are you come before me?" "O Lord!" said Bradford in his heart to God, "goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord! give me grace to remember thy lesson, Beware of those men, &c. Cast not your pearls before dogs: for I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other."

Dr. Seton, after some by-talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a gay and long sermon of my Lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, and Master Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others: all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my Lord of Canterbury. To this John Bradford briefly answered as he did before to Master Hussey. With this answer neither the doctor nor gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, Master Doctor said thus:

Dr. Seton.—"I have heard much good talk of

you, and even yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I, (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday,) yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my Lord Chancellor hath a fantasy towards you: wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer withal," &c.

But John Bradford kept still one answer: "I cannot, nor I will not so offend the people. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the doctrine I have taught."

Here Master Doctor Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and "spake like a prelate."

But Bradford answered, "Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself." But still Master Doctor Seton urged him, showing him how merciful my Lord Chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

"I never saw any justice, much less love; I speak for my part," quoth Bradford, "in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably: and now my Lord hath no just matter against me."

This talk served not the doctor's purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not; for he perceived that they both did come but to fish for some things which might make a show that my Lord Chancellor had justly kept him in prison.

When all their talk took no such effect as they would or looked for, Master Hussey asked Bradford:

Hussey.—"Will ye not admit conference, if my Lord Chancellor should offer it publicly?"

Brad.—"Conference! if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever he shall appoint."

Master Doctor, hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever pleased him. Then Bradford, perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave

to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him; "for," quoth he, "otherwise I am helpless;" and so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God, and made his prayers, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need; praised therefore be his holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and there tarried, uncalled for, till eleven of the clock, that is, till Master Saunders was excommunicated.

The effect and sum of the last examination of John Bradford, in the church of St. Mary Overy's.

After the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and, being brought in before the lord chancellor and other the bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor began to speak thus in effect: that if Bradford, being now eftsoons come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loth to use extremity.—Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Bradford began to speak thus:

"As yesterday I besought your Honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God to follow him, which seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein; but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth so much as he should do.—For our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England; so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And, last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your Honours should know that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

At these words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which yesterday," quoth he, "before us you uttered."

Brad.—"My Lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament, which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner."

L. Chan.—"What! I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Brad.—"No indeed, my Lord: you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do."

L. Chan.—"O Lord God! what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads, that we—all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm—be perjured. O what a heresy is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my neighbour, desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?"

Brad.—"O my Lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good and which were evil; he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction; whereat the chancellor was much offended. But Bradford still kept him at the bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor's own book, *De Vera Obedientia*, for confirmation.

At the length they came to this issue, Who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath? and Bradford said the word of God, according to Christ's word, John xii., My word shall judge; and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, that God's word, coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. "By this word," quoth Bradford, "my Lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath."

So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and, as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her Highness, so did he now. But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's Highness,

if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; "no more," quoth he, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a *piece* of a man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the *whole* inheritance."

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and using many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like; which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, that it was a wonder his Honour weighed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God and to princes. *Summa*, this was the end. The lord chancellor said, the queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm. But Bradford said, that the queen's Highness could do no more but remit her right: as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God. At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the realm of perjury; "and therefore," quoth he to the people, "you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England; and yet he hath no conscience at all."

Brad.—"Well, my Lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience. I have been a year and a half in prison: now, before all this people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my Lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you, I mean my Lord of Bath, which desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people: upon whose words I, coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger, (which was hurled at him, I think,) for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him; and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day; and so went out of the pulpit and entreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into a house. Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there, going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, prison for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where conscience is."

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

Brad.—"No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good; 'but,' quoth you, 'thy mind was evil.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then, my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn the mind. Forasmuch as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing, God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is.'"

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. "I," quoth he, "had not so little wit I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing:" and so brought forth, little to the purpose, many examples to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

Brad.—"Why, my Lord? your Honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in religion; but said, a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your Lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conscience punish me or cast me in prison there-for? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conscience wanteth."

Here came forth Master Chamberlain of Woodstock, and spake to my Lord Chancellor, how that Bradford had been a serving man, and was with Master Harrington.

L. Chan.—"True, and did deceive his master of sevenscore pounds: and because of this he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people; and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience."

Brad.—"My Lord, I set my foot by his, who-soever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justicer by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it."

Here my Lord Chancellor and Master Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. "But," quoth my Lord Chancellor, "we have another manner of matter than this against you: for you are a heretic." "Yea," quoth the bishop of London, "he did write letters to Master Pendle-

ton, which knoweth his hand as well his own: your Honour did see the letters."

Brad.—"That is not true; I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of."

Bonner.—"Yea, but you indited it."

Brad.—"I did not, nor know what you mean, and this I offer to prove."

Here came in another, I trow they call him Master Allen, one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

L. Chan.—"You say true: for we have his hand to show."

Brad.—"I deny that you have my hand to show of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful."

Here was all answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter.

L. Chan.—"Sir," quoth he, "in my house the other day, you did most contemptuously condemn the queen's mercy; and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days against all men; and this you did most stoutly."

Brad.—"Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously condemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it, (though, if justice might take place, I need it not,) so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in King Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God so would, I trusted I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaineth to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not."

L. Chan.—"Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament; and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate."

Brad.—"My Lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed; and therefore you reproved it not, nor gave me any time to deliberate."

L. Chan.—"Why! didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?"

Brad.—"No, I never denied nor taught, but

that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver."

L. Chan.—"Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?"

Brad.—"My Lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not."

Here was Bradford called *diabolus*, a slanderer: "for we ask no question," quoth my Lord Chancellor, "of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence."

Brad.—"I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver; but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiated."

Worcester.—"If he be not included, how is he then present?"

Brad.—"Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you, otherwise than by faith, hear it, or understand it."

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking thus, and others speaking that, and the lord chancellor, talking much of Luther, Zuñglius, Ecclapadius: but still Bradford kept him at this point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread: but all this would not serve them. Therefore another bishop asked this question: whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or no? And Bradford answered plainly, "No." Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that present offered to his Lordship, although he received it not: "So that," quoth he, "the receiving maketh not the presence, as your Lordship would infer: but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive." And here Bradford prayed my Lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. "He hath coupled all these together: Take, eat, this is my body. He saith not, See, peep, this is my body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a promise depending upon condition, if we take and eat."

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the condition; and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout. But Bradford said thus, "My Lord, are not these words, Take, eat, a commandment? And are not these words, This is my body, a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do

not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?" Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

Brad.—"Why, my Lord, I pray you tell the people what mood *accipite, manducate*, is; is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, commandeth?"

At these words the lord chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the imperative mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he should teach a child; and so concluded that it was no commandment, but such a phrase as this, "I pray you give me drink, which," quoth he, "is no commandment, I trow." But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and said thus:

Brad.—"My Lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year, for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament."

Here the lord chancellor called him again *diabolus* or calumniator, and began out of these words, Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread ["yea, bread," quoth Bradford] and drink of the cup, to prove that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament: "for then," quoth he, "if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and at all times."

Brad.—"O my Lord, discern between commandments: some be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons; some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac, &c."

Here my Lord Chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Christ: "for then," quoth he, "we should have eleven commandments."

Brad.—"Indeed I think you think as you speak: for else would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, Drink ye all of it. But how say you, my Lords? Christ saith to you bishops especially, Go and preach the gospel. Feed Christ's flock, &c. Is this a commandment, or no?"

Here was my Lord Chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him. Another, the bishop of Durham I ween, asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament—whether before the receiver received it, or no?

Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the new testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet

so, that the bread is bread. "For," quoth he, "in all the Scripture ye shall not find this proposition, 'There is no bread.'" And so he brought forth Chrysostom, *Si in corpore essemus. In summa*, much ado was hereabouts; they calling Bradford heretic, and he, desiring them to proceed on in God's name, looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

L. Chan.—"This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together that of mere necessity all must come to pass."

But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense.

"Your Lordship," quoth Bradford, "doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not, by fortune, to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles said; Lord, quoth they, see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do."

Here began the lord chancellor to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, *laicus*, (layman,) "Why," quoth he, "art thou no priest?"

Brad.—"No, nor ever was, either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, afore public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion; and yet I am thus handled at your hands; but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curse."

And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. And so, praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the same city of London; this being then purposed of his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London.

After the condemnation of Master Bradford, which was the last day of January, Master Bradford, being sent into prison, did there remain until the first day of July, during all which time, divers other conferences and conflicts he sustained with sundry adversaries, which repaired unto him in the prison: of whom first Bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, the fourth day of February,

entered talk with the said Master Bradford, the effect whereof here ensueth.

Private talk had with John Bradford, by such as the prelates sent unto him, after the time of condemnation, by his own writing.

Upon the fourth of February, that is, the same day Master Rogers was burned, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the Compter in the Poultry, to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one of the clock at afternoon. But before he spake to Master Taylor, he called for John Bradford which was prisoner there, whom when he saw, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying:

Bonner.—"Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought Master Archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wise man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but short."

Brad.—"My Lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready."

Bonner.—"What," quoth the bishop in a fume to the keeper, "did you not tell me that this man desired conference?"

Keeper.—"No, my Lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it is his desire."

Bonner.—"Well, Master Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered."

Brad.—"Indeed, my Lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity; but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not."

Bonner.—"Well, well." And so he called for Master Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Another private matter of talk between Master Bradford and Willerton, Creswell, Harding, Harpsfield, and others.

On another day of February, one Master Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, did come to confer with Bradford; but when he perceived that Bradford desired not his coming, and therefore wished rather his departing than abiding, "Well, Master Bradford," quoth he; "yet I pray you let us confer a little: perchance you may do me good,

if I can do you none." Upon which words Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the doctors, the fathers, of the bread in John vi., &c., labouring to prove transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

But Bradford, on the contrary part, improved his authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the Scriptures and doctors his reasons, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should Bradford draw out his reasons out of the Scriptures and doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of paper written on both sides, containing no reasons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare sentences; The bread which I will give is my flesh: and the places in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. x. and xi., with some sentences of the doctors, all which made as much against him as with him.

In the afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the church, saying, that "Bradford swerved from the church."

Brad.—"No, that I do not, but ye do. For the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue."

Willerton.—"Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English; for it is written, The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge."

Brad.—"Should not the people, then, have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, Search the Scriptures?"

Will.—"This was not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men."

Brad.—"Then the people must not have the Scriptures?"

Will.—"No, for it is written, They shall be all taught of God."

Brad.—"And must we learn all at the priests?"

Will.—"Yea."

Brad.—"Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go; as the priests did then persuade the people."

At which words Master Willerton was so offended, that he had no lust to talk any more. In the end Bradford gave him the reasons which he had gathered against transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of reasons, "and then," quoth Bradford, "I will answer them."

"Well, I will do so," said Willerton, "but first I will answer yours." The which thing until this day he hath not done.

On the twelfth of February, there came one of the earl of Derby's servants to Bradford, saying, "My Lord hath sent me to you: he willeth you to tender yourself, and he will be a good lord to you."

Brad.—"I thank his Lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender myself more than God's honour."

Servant.—"Ah, Master Bradford! consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort will it be unto them to see you die as a heretic!"

Brad.—"I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self; for else I cannot be Christ's disciple."

Serv.—"If my Lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen's appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea?"

Brad.—"No, I had rather be burned in England than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she should send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me."

Talk between Master Bradford and one Percival Creswell; and after that with Dr. Harding.

Upon the fourteenth of February, Percival Creswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a kinsman of Master Fecknam's, who, after many words, said,

Creswell.—"I pray you let me make labour for you."

Bradford.—"You may do what ye will."

Cres.—"But tell me what suit I should make for you."

Brad.—"Forsooth, that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her."

Hereupon Creswell went away, and about eleven of the clock he and the other man came again, and brought a book of More's making, desiring Bradford to read it over. Bradford taking the book, said:

Brad.—"Good Percival, I am settled for being moved in this article."

Cres.—"Oh! if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me."

Brad.—"What is it?"

Cres.—"Desire and name what learned man or men ye will have to come unto you; my Lord of York, my Lord of Lincoln, my Lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you."

Brad.—"No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them."

So they went their way. About three of the clock in the afternoon, Master Doctor Harding, who was the bishop of Lincoln's chaplain, came to Bradford, and after a great and solemn protestation, showing how that he had prayed to God, before he came, to turn his talk to Bradford's good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford; and spent the time in such tattling, so that their talk was to little purpose, save that Bradford prayed him to consider from whence he was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to love it; for the love of God is not where the world is. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable estate, as one being out of the church; and therefore willed him to take heed of his soul, and not to die in such an opinion.

"What, Master Harding!" quoth Bradford, "I have heard you, with these ears, maintain this that I stand in."

Harding.—"I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a subtle doctrine; but otherwise I never taught it."

And so he, inveighing against marriages of priests, and namely against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, which for breaking their vows were justly given up into heresies, (as he said,) Bradford seeing him altogether given up to popery, after admonishment thereof, bade him farewell.

Talk between Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon, and Master Bradford.

On the twenty-fifth of February, Percival Creswell came with Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a servant waiting upon him. After formal salutations, he made a long oration, of which this is a short sum; that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptists, and Libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Harpsfield.—"But the way thither is not all alike: for the infidels by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul."

Brad.—"You speak truly."

Harps.—"Well, then, here is the matter; to know the way to this heaven."

Brad.—"We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness: I am the way."

Harps.—"It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ."

Brad.—"I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved."

Harps.—"No, not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils? &c. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, Depart from me, I know you not."

Brad.—"You must make difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe: as for example, if one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his saying, ye will not believe him when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you that he can."

Harps.—"Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?"

Brad.—"Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word."

Harps.—"Very good: but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism?"

Brad.—"Baptism is the sacrament, by the which outwardly we are ingrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it."

Harps.—"To those we may think perchance that God will show mercy."

Brad.—"Yea, the children whose parents do condemn baptism will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence."

Harps.—"Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and, as a man would say, begotten to Christ: for Christ is our Father, and the church his spouse is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their Father, and the church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the church taken out of Christ's side; whereout flowed blood, for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins."

Brad.—"All this is truly spoken."

Harps.—"Now then, tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?"

Brad.—"Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever."

Harps.—"Very good. But yet tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no?"

Brad.—"It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or show that setteth her forth commonly; and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; as Paul saith, Ephes. v. Look, therefore, how Christ was visibly known to be Christ, when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God, so is the church known."

Harps.—"I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude?"

Brad.—"Yes, that it is. Howbeit, *Latet anguis in herba*, as the proverb is: for in your question is a subtlety. What visible multitude was there in Elias's time, or when Moses was on the mount. Aaron and all Israel worshipping the calf?"

Harps.—"Ye divert from the matter."

Brad.—"No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where about you go. And therefore fewer words might well serve, if that you so would."

Harps.—"Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of God's word?"

Brad.—"Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for confessing of the gospel, I will go with you: for else, if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching."

Harps.—"Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath it not the sacraments administered?"

Brad.—"It hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpose, because I see where about you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterate."

This Bradford d'd speak, that the standers-by might see, that though the papist's church have baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true church, neither need we to be baptized again.

Harps.—"You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one."

Brad.—"So you say; but that is not enough till you prove them."

Harps.—"Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the gospel, and the ministrations of the sacraments? And, yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?"

Brad.—"What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?"

Harps.—"I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth."

Brad.—"Well, go to; what then?"

Harps.—"It hath also succession of bishops."

And here Harpsfield made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

Brad.—"You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church that you go about to set up, will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old church, afore Christ's coming, so will it be in the new church, since Christ's coming: that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bear rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be (saith he) false teachers, even of such as are bishops, and bear rule amongst the people."

Harps.—"You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the succession of bishops."

Brad.—"Do so."

Harps.—"Tell me, were not the apostles bishops?"

Brad.—"No, except you will make a new definition of a bishop: that is, give him no certain place."

Harps.—"Indeed, the apostles' office was not the bishops' office, for it was universal; but yet Christ instituted bishops in his church, as Paul saith, he hath given pastors, prophets, &c., so that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the succession of bishops to be an essential point."

Brad.—"The ministry of God's word and ministers be an essential point. But to translate this to the bishops and their succession, is a plain subtlety: and therefore, that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which ye called priests?"

Harps.—"No."

Brad.—"Well, then, go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the succession of bishops; that is, of ministers, which cannot be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it."

Harps.—"I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your doctrine you can never show in your church, a multitude which ministereth God's word and his sacraments, which hath jurisdiction and

succession of bishops, which hath from time to time believed as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine; and therefore are ye out of the church, and so cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a show to blear people's eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial."

Brad.—"Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures, and examples of good men."

Harps.—"Yea."

Brad.—"Well, then, Stephen was accused and condemned, as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the fathers of the church then, as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improveth their accusation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? No, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still till Esaias's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was (I think) upon four hundred years, and called them by their right names, hell-hounds, rather than heaven-hounds. On this sort will I prove my faith, and that can you never do yours."

Harps.—"Yea, sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you."

Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did: but, as he was in speaking, Master Harpsfield rose up; and the keeper and others that stood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to what Master Archdeacon spake, who still said, that Bradford was out of the church.

Brad.—"Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christ's church, and I can show a demonstration of my religion from time to time continually.—God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false teachers and blind guides, through whom, alas, I fear me, much hurt will come to this realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever. Amen!"

Then the archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next morning.

The next day's talk between Dr. Harpsfield and Master Bradford.

Upon the sixteenth of February in the morning, the archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few by-words spoken, they sat down.

Master Archdeacon Harpsfield began a very long

oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone over-night; and therewith did begin to prove upwards succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years: in France at Lyons for twelve hundred years: in Spain at Seville for eight hundred years: in Italy at Milan for twelve hundred years, labouring by this to prove his church. He used also succession of bishops in the East church for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an exhortation, and an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could show any such succession for the demonstration of his church (for so he called it) which followed. Unto this long oration, Bradford made this short answer:

Brad.—"My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer particularly your oration. Therefore I will generally do it, thinking because your oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small answer will serve. If Christ or his apostles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then, to have made a demonstration of that church by succession of such high priests as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alleged that which upholdeth the church, even the verity, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good simple men which perchance were counted for heretics of the church: which church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God. And this to think St. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith, that as it went in the church before Christ's coming, so shall it go in the church after his coming: but then the pillars of the church were persecutors of the church; therefore the like we must look for now."

Harps.—"I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem of the high priests from Aaron's time."

Brad.—"I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth."

Harps.—"Why! did they not allow Moses's law?"

Brad.—"Yes, and keep it, as touching the books thereof; as you do the Bible, and Holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do; and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it: for they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea, hourly, and I think my time be but very short. Therefore I had need to

spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, for his help and comfort; and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly, and in more words, answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly: but because I dare not, nor I will not, leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, because I do as I do; and heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to myself."

And so Bradford began to rise up. But then began Master Archdeacon to tell him that he was in very perilous case; and that he was sorry to see him so settled. "As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well."

Brad.—"I doubt not in this case but that I shall die well: for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully, to the comfort of his children."

Harps.—"But what if you be deceived?"

Brad.—"What if you should say the sun did not shine now?"—and the sun did shine through the window where they sat.

Harps.—"Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless."

Brad.—"Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth."

Harps.—"That are ye not; for you are out of the catholic church."

Brad.—"No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet am I in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God's grace shall be, a child, and an obedient child, of it for ever: I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated of the synagogue. And further, I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the Creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy church, so that even your church hath taken something too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which, by the testimony of my Lord of Durham in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many a hundred years after Christ, for us to believe or not believe."

Harps.—"What is that?"

Brad.—"Transubstantiation."

Harps.—"Why: ye are not condemned therefore only."

Brad.—"For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body."

Harps.—"You agree not with us in the presence, nor in any thing else."

Brad.—"How you believe you know: for my part I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver."

Harps.—"Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament."

Brad.—"In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie him to it otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament, or tie him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will, by God's grace, believe."

Harps.—"More pity: but a man may easily perceive, you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us."

Brad.—"I confess a presence, and a true presence, but to the faith of the receiver."

"What," quoth one that stood by, "of Christ's very body which died for us?"

Brad.—"Yea, even of whole Christ, God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it."

Harps.—"Why? this is nothing else but to exclude the omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the sacrament."

Brad.—"I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather; for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the sacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread: but we come to feed our souls with Christ by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *panem Domini*, as Judas did, and not *panem Dominum*, as the other apostles did."

Harps.—"The wicked do receive the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body."

Brad.—"They receive not the body, for Christ's body is no dead carcass: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without grace, I trow."

Harps.—"Well, you have many errors. You count the mass for abomination, and yet St. Ambrose said mass;" and so he read, out of a book written, a sentence of St. Ambrose to prove it.

Brad.—"Why, sir? the mass, as it is now, was nothing so in St. Ambrose's time. Was not the most part of the canon made since by Gregory and Scholasticus?"

Harps.—"Indeed a great piece of it was made

(as ye say) by Gregory : but Scholasticus was before St. Ambrose's time."

Brad.—"I ween not : howbeit I will not contend. St. Gregory saith, that the apostles said mass without the canon, only with the Lord's Prayer."

Harps.—"You say true : for the canon is not the greatest part of the mass, the greatest part is the sacrifice, elevation, transubstantiation, and adoration."

Brad.—"I can away with none of those."

Harps.—"No, I think the same : but yet *hoc facite*, telleth plainly the sacrifice of the church."

Brad.—"You confound sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the church, and for the church. The sacrifice of the church is no propitiatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice ; and as for *hoc facite*, is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating," &c.

Harps.—"You speak not learnedly now : for Christ made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother or any of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles do signify the priests."

Brad.—"I think that you speak as you would men should understand it : for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread : for I perceive you order the matter so as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church."

Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Basil.

Brad.—"I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation : but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in prison long without books and all necessities for study, and now death draweth nigh, and I, by your leave, must now leave off, to prepare for him."

Harps.—"If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case both ways."

Brad.—"Sir, I thank you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me ; for death to me shall be life."

Creswell.—"It were best for you to desire Master Archdeacon that he would make suit for you, that you might have a time to confer."

Harps.—"I will do the best I can : for I pity his case."

Brad.—"Sir, I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an error, I

think the same should move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, so do I of you, that you are far out of the way ; and I do not only think it, but also am thereof most assured."

And in this and such-like gentle talk they departed.

The talk of Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, and Day, bishop of Chichester, with Master Bradford.

The twenty-third of the same month, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the bishop of York, used him very gently : they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs he should put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper cap also, saying unto him, that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my Lord of York began to tell Bradford how that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him : and he, for that acquaintance also which he had with Bradford, more than the bishop of Chichester had. Then, after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, how he was certain of salvation, and of his religion ? After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, "By the word of God—even by the Scriptures—I am certain of salvation and religion."

York.—"Very well said : but how do ye know the word of God and the Scriptures, but by the church ?"

Brad.—"Indeed, my Lord, the church was and is a mean to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a mean that the Samaritans knew Christ : but as when they had heard him speak, they said, Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him ; so after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures showed unto us, and discerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep—not because the church saith, they are the Scriptures, but because they be so ; being thereof assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them."

York.—"You know, in the apostles' time, at the first, the word was not written."

Brad.—"True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament : but else for the Old Testament Peter telleth us, We have a more sure word of prophecy : not that it is simply so, but in re-

spect of the apostles, who, being alive and compassed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more firmity, as wherewith no fault could be found; whereas for the infirmity of their persons men perchance might have found some fault at their preaching: albeit in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one Spirit of truth."

York.—"That place of Peter is not so to be understood of the word written."

Brad.—"Yea, sir, that it is, and of none other."

Chichester.—"Yea, indeed Master Bradford doth tell you truly in that point."

York.—"Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and allege the church against the heretics, and not the Scripture."

Brad.—"True, for they had to do with such heretics as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles; so that they were enforced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and which had still retained the same doctrine."

Chich.—"You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all Scriptures, except it were a piece of Luke's Gospel."

Brad.—"Then the alleging of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only judge."

York.—"A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church: I pray you where hath your church been hitherto? for the church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto."

Brad.—"My Lord, I do not judge the church: when I discern it from that congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at sometimes it is more visible than at some."

Chich.—"I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine was, these four hundred years?"

Brad.—"I will tell you, my Lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where the church was in Elias's time, when Elias said, that he was left alone?"

Chich.—"That is no answer."

Brad.—"I am sorry that you say so: but this will I tell your Lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen of you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it."

Chich.—"You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the church then and now."

York.—"Very well spoken, my Lord; for Christ said, *Edificabo ecclesiam*, I will build my church; and not I do, or have built it; but, I will build it."

Brad.—"My Lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, saying, as in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation afore Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming; and very many shall follow them. And as for your future tense, I hope your Grace will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but by Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers."

Chich.—"In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church."

York.—"He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the church. A man shall never come to certainty that doth as they do."

Brad.—"My Lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules. If that you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it should something move your Honours. You know it well enough, (for you heard it,) no matter was laid against me, but what was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I did deny transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not of the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be taken) did it."

Chich.—"No; I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in the one hand, and the mattock in the other."

Brad.—"My Lord, I never meant any such thing, nor spake any thing in that sort."

York.—"Yea, and you behaved yourself before the council so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you prisoned."

Brad.—"Your Grace did hear me answer my Lord Chancellor to that point. But put case I had been so stout as they and your Grace make it, were not the laws of the realm on my side then? Wherefore unjustly was I prisoned: only that which my Lord Chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said."

York.—"You deny the presence."

Brad.—"I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers."

York.—"Why! what is that to say other than that Christ lieth not on the altar?"

Brad.—"My Lord, I believe in no such presence."

Chich.—"It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostom, for he proveth it."

Brad.—"Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books: howbeit this I do remember of Chrysostom, that he saith, that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphim with their tongues touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is a hyperbolical locution, of which you know Chrysostom is full."

York.—"It is evident that you are too far gone: but let us come then to the church, out of the which ye are excommunicate."

Brad.—"I am not excommunicate out of Christ's church, my Lord, although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was (John ix.); I am sure Christ receiveth me."

York.—"You do deceive yourself."

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Bradford said:

"Assuredly as I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think ye have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove it, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church."

Chich.—"Ah, Master Bradford! you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world: but, I tell you, it was always against my conscience."

Brad.—"I was but a child then, howbeit, as I told you, I think you have done evil: for ye are come, and have brought others, to that wicked man which sitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the church; for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church."

York.—"See how you build your faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself, as though ye were in the church, where you are not."

Brad.—"Well, my Lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, as my Lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation."

York.—"This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing

as the church doth, (that is, transubstantiation,) were of the church."

Chich.—"He is a heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church; as a man to hold against transubstantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them which were baptized of heretics, because he held it before the church had defined it; whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been a heretic."

Brad.—"Oh, my Lord! will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist,) although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved."

"Yea," said both the bishops, (York and Chichester,) "this is your divinity."

Brad.—"No, it is Paul's; who saith, that if they hold the foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved."

York.—"Lord God! how you delight to lean to so hard and dark places of the Scriptures."

Chich.—"I will show you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter: and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose."

Brad.—"My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Ecclampadius, in this point: and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are, God's children, and saints with him."

York.—"Well, you are out of the communion of the church."

Brad.—"I am not; for it consisteth and is in faith."

York.—"Lo, how you make your church invisible; for you would have the communion of it to consist in faith."

Brad.—"For to have communion with the church needeth no visibleness of it; for communion consisteth, as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter; saying that disagreeing or fasting should not break the agreeing of faith."

Chich.—"The same place hath often even wounded my conscience, because we dis severed ourselves from the see of Rome."

Brad.—"Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring England thither again."

Here my Lord of York took a book of paper of common-places, and read a piece of St. Augustine *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, how that there were many things that did hold St. Augustine in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity: "besides this, there holdeth me in the church," said Augustine, "the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of catholic doth hold me," &c. "Lo," quoth he, "how say you to this of St. Augustine? Paint me out your church thus."

Brad.—"My Lord, these words of St. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles: for there was the law and the ceremonies consented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time until that present."

Chich.—"In good faith, Master Bradford, you make too much of the state of the church before Christ's coming."

Brad.—"Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. ii., and Paul very often. You would gladly have your church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant lady. But as Christ saith, *Beatus est quicumque non fuerit offensus per me*: so may his church say, Blessed are they that are not offended at me."

York.—"Yea, you think that none is of the church, but such as suffer persecution."

Brad.—"What I think, God knoweth: I pray your Grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark what Paul saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. Sometimes Christ's church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more unseemly."

York.—"But what say you to St. Augustine? where is your church that hath the consent of people and nations?"

Brad.—"Even all people and nations that be God's people have consented with me, and I with them, in the doctrine of faith."

York.—"Lo, you go about to shift off all things."

Brad.—"No, my Lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth."

York.—"St. Augustine doth here talk of succession, even from Peter's seat."

Brad.—"Yea, that seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now."

York.—"Well, you always judge the church."

Brad.—"No, my Lord; Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the church, but judge her not."

York.—"Yes, that they do."

Brad.—"No, and it like your Grace; and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish church; for she obeyeth not Christ's voice, as Christ's true church doth."

York.—"Wherein?"

Brad.—"In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament; and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege."

Chich.—"Why, Latin service was in England when the pope was gone."

Brad.—"True; the time was in England when the pope was away, but not all popery—as in King Henry's days."

York.—"Latin service was appointed to be sung and had in the choir, where only were *clerici*, that is, such as understood Latin; the people sitting in the body of the church, praying their own private prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the chancel and choir so as the people could not come in, or hear them."

Brad.—"Yea, but both in Chrysostom's time, and also in the Latin church in St. Jerome's time, 'all the church,' saith he, 'answereth again mightily, Amen:' whereby we may see that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them and understood them."

Chich.—"Ye are to blame, to say that the church robbeth the people of the cup."

Brad.—"Well, my Lord, term it as it please you; all men know that the laity hath none of it."

Chich.—"Indeed I would wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part."

Brad.—"If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?"

York.—"Well, Master Bradford, we leese our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your church no man can know."

Brad.—"Yes, that ye may well."

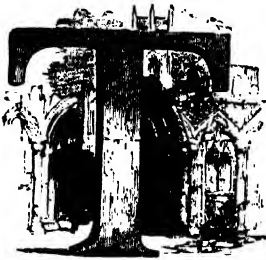
York.—"I pray you whereby?"

Brad.—"Forsooth Chrysostom saith, 'alonely by the Scriptures:' and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know."

York.—"Indeed that is of Chrysostom in *Opere imperfecto*, which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the church may be known best, is succession of bishops."

Brad.—"No, my Lord, Lyra full well writeth

upon Matthew, that 'The church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power; but in men endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity.' And in Hilary's time, you know he writeth to Auxentius, that the church was hidden rather in caves and holes, than did glister and shine in thrones of pre-eminence."



HEN came one of their servants and told them, that my Lord of Durham tarried for them at Master York's house; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with

Bradford. And after that their man was come, they put up their written books of common-places, and said that they lamented his case: they willed him to read over a book which did Dr. Crome good. And so, wishing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his prison.

After this communication with the bishops ended, within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friars to talk with Master Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of Derby; of whom the one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish book against heresies, the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth.

On the twenty-fifth day of February, about eight of the clock in the morning, two Spanish friars came to the Compter where Bradford was prisoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then the one friar, which was the king's confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus, that had written against heresies?

Brad.—"I do not know him."

Confessor.—"Well, this man [pointing to Alphonsus] is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the earl of Derby, because you desired to confer with us."

Brad.—"I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other: but, seeing you are come of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you; and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will."

Alph.—"It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addict to your own self-will or wit."

Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children for ever.

Alph.—"Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace."

Brad.—"Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words: now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."

Alph.—"You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt. Pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain labourerth our tongue to speak else."

Brad.—"Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be most certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it; for it is his truth. And because it is so certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it."

Alph.—"What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not."

Brad.—"Sir, I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws wherefor I might justly be prisoned; and now am I condemned, only because I frankly confessed (whereof I repent not) my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no transubstantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body."

Alph.—"Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?"

Brad.—"No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man: as for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe."

Alph.—"I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscribable."

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place; demanding such questions as no wise man would have spent any time about. At length, because the friar had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded: How that because Christ's body was circumscribable, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was so in the bread.

Brad.—"How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say, because you are here, ergo, it must needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reason,—Because Christ's body is in heaven, ergo, it is in the sacrament under the form of bread: which no wise man will grant."

Alph.—"Why! will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?"

Brad.—"Yes, sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall by demonstration out of the Scriptures declare unto me."

"He is obstinate," quoth Alphonsus to his fellow: and then turning to Bradford, said, "Is not God able to do it?"

Brad.—"Yes, but here the question is of God's will, and not of his power."

Alph.—"Why! doth he not say plainly, This is my body?"

Brad.—"Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver."

Alph.—"To the faith!—how is that?"

Brad.—"Forsooth, sir, as I have no tongue to express it; so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter."

Alph.—"But I can tell all that I believe."

Brad.—"You believe not much then; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than tongue can express."

Alph.—"Christ saith it is his body."

Brad.—"And so say I, after a certain manner."

Alph.—"After a certain manner? that is, after another manner than it is in heaven."

Brad.—"St. Augustine telleth it more plainly, that it is Christ's body after the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith; or, to make it more plain, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration."

Alph.—"Very well said: baptism and the water thereof is a sacrament of God's grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized."

Brad.—"No, sir, away with your enclosing: but this I grant, that after the same sort Christ's body is in the bread, on which sort the grace and Spirit of God is in the water."

Alph.—"In water is God's grace, by signification."

Brad.—"So is the body in the bread in the sacrament."

Alph.—"You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the sacraments that be

standers, and the sacraments that are transitory and passers-by. As for example, the sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though St. Augustine affirm it; it is a standard, although the ceremony be past. But in baptism, so soon as the body is washed, the water ceaseth to be a sacrament."

Brad.—"Very good; and so it is in the supper of the Lord: no longer than it is in use, is it Christ's sacrament."

Here was this friar in a wonderful rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole house rang again, chafing with *om* and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath little patience; for if Bradford had been any thing hot, one house could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture baptism and the Lord's supper to bear any similitude to each other. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Brad.—"Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together."

Alph.—"No, that canst thou never do. Let me see a text of it."

Brad.—"Paul saith; that as we are baptized into one body, we have drunk of one spirit, meaning the cup in the Lord's supper."

Alph.—"Paul hath no such words."

Brad.—"Yes, that he hath."

Confessor.—"I trow, he hath not."

Brad.—"Give me a Testament, and I will show you."

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the friar found this simple shift, that Paul spake not of the sacrament.

Brad.—"Well, the text is plain enough, and there are of the fathers which do so understand the place: for Chrysostom doth expound it so."

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place (1 Cor. xi.); and there he read how that he was guilty who made no difference of the Lord's body.

Brad.—"Yea, but therewith he saith, He that eateth of the bread; calling it bread still: and that after consecration, (as ye call it,) as in 1 Cor. x., he saith, The bread which we break, &c."

Alph.—"Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things, after their conversion, do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses' rod!"

Here Alphonsus, calling for a Bible, after he had

found the place began to triumph: but Bradford cooled him quickly, saying:

Brad.—"Sir, *there* is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense: but *here* ye cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you."

At these words the friar was troubled, and at length he said, how that Bradford hanged on his own sense.

Brad.—"No, that do I not; for I will bring you forth the fathers of the church eight hundred years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak."

Alph.—"No, you have the church against you."

Brad.—"I have not Christ's church against me."

Alph.—"Yes, that you have. What is the church?"

Brad.—"Christ's wife, the chair and seat of verity."

Alph.—"Is she visible?"

Brad.—"Yea, that she is to them that will put on the spectacles of God's word to look on her."

Alph.—"This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for eight hundred years at the least continually."

Brad.—"What will you so prove? Transubstantiation?"

Alph.—"Yea, that the bread is turned into Christ's body."

Brad.—"You speak more than you can do."

Alph.—"That do I not."

Brad.—"Then will I give place."

Alph.—"Will you believe?"

Brad.—"Belief is God's gift; therefore cannot I promise. But I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour."

Here the friar found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt *habitus* and *actus*: as though *actus*, which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let pass, and came again, asking Bradford, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place? "Yea, that I will." Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then said I, "What and if that I prove, by the testimony of the fathers, that continually, for eight hundred years after Christ at the least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament—what will ye do?"

Alph.—"I will give place."

Brad.—"Then write you here, that you will give place if I so prove; and I will write that I

will give place if you so prove: because ye are the ancient, ye shall have the pre-eminency."

Here the friar fumed marvellously, and said, "I came not to learn at thee: are not here witnesses? [meaning the two priests] be not they sufficient?" But the man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed over this matter of writing, the friar would have fallen to plain scolding. At the length the king's confessor asked Bradford what the second question was?

Brad.—"That wicked men receive not Christ's body in the sacrament, as St. Augustine speaketh of Judas, that he received the bread of the Lord, but not the Lord the bread."

Alph.—"St. Augustine saith not so."

Brad.—"Yes, that doth he."

So they arose and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.—After they were gone, one of the priests came, and willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

Brad.—"Sir, be not you so wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me *non est panis*."

Priest.—"Yes, that I can in five places."

Brad.—"Then I will eat your book."

So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way smiling, "God help us."

Talk between Master Bradford and Dr. Weston, and others.

It followed after this, upon the twenty-first of March, that by means of one of the earl of Derby's men, there came to the Compter to dinner one Master Collier, once warden of Manchester, and the said servant of the earl of Derby, of whom Master Bradford learned that Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, would be with him in the afternoon about two of the clock. At dinner time—when the said warden did discommend King Edward, and went about to set forth the authority of the pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic, and that the authority of the bishop of Rome's supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the testimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of supreme head to be a title of the forerunner to antichrist—a woman prisoner was brought in; whereupon the said Bradford took occasion to rise from the table, and so went to his prison-chamber to beg of God grace and help therein, continuing there still until he was called down to speak with Master Weston, who was then come in.

Master Bradford then being called down, so soon as he was entered into the hall, Master Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did; with such other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the chamber: so they all went out,

save Master Weston himself, Master Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the subdean of Westminster, the keeper, Master Claydon, and the parson of the church where the Compter is.

Now then he began with Master Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto desired of the earl of Derby: "and," quoth he, "after that I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any others, I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be sure I will not."

"Sir," quoth Master Bradford, "when I perceived by the report of my Lord's servant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he said) than any other of your sort, I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say," quoth Bradford, "otherwise I desired not your coming."

"Well," quoth Weston, "now I am come to talk with you: but before we shall enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work. First," quoth he, "I shall desire you to put away all vain-glory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the world."

Brad.—"Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of a heretic; which if I cannot put away clean, (for I think there will be a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth,) yet I promise you, by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive there against, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us."

West.—"I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do. Secondly, I would desire you that you will put away singularity in your judgment and opinions."

Brad.—"Sir, God forbid that I should stick to any singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic; understanding catholic as good men do, according to God's word."

West.—"Very well; this is a good day's work. I hope to do you good; and therefore, now, thirdly, I shall pray you to write me *capita* of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednesday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you; therefore away with all dubitations," &c.

Brad.—"Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it: this which you require of me, shall be no great let to me therein."

West.—"You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length; so have I good hope of you."

Brad.—"Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in the religion, wherefore I am condemned."

West.—"Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?"

Brad.—"God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth."

West.—"I would have you to pray so."

Brad.—"So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it; as I thank God he hath done and doth."

West.—"Yea, but pray with a condition, if you be in it."

Brad.—"No, sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth."

"Well," quoth Weston, "as the learned bishop answered St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son: so," quoth he, "I hope your prayers [for then Bradford's eyes did show that he had wept in prayer] cannot but be heard of God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please God. Do ye not," quoth he, "remember the history thereof?"

"Yea, sir," quoth Bradford, "I think it be of St. Ambrose."

West.—"No, that it is not."

And here Weston would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, saying to Bradford, "As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things."

Brad.—"Well, sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Augustine writeth in his Confessions."

After this talk, Weston began to tell Master Bradford, how the people were by him procured to withstand the queen. Whereunto Bradford, answering again, bade him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion: which thing his keeper, and others that were there of the priests, affirmed on his behalf: so, much talk there was to little purpose at that time. Dr. Weston declared moreover how he had saved men going in the cart to be hanged, and such like. The end was this, that Bradford should send unto him *capita doctrinae* of the supper, and after Wednesday he would come unto him again. And thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in beer

and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of books of German writers, of the fear of death, and such other talk, which is to no purpose.

Another disputation or talk between Master Bradford and Dr. Pendleton.

In the mean time, when Master Bradford had written his reasons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Weston, in short space after, (about the twenty-eighth of March,) there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the foresaid Master Collier, sometime warden of Manchester, and Stephen Bech. After salutations Master Pendleton began to speak to Bradford, that he was sorry for his trouble. "And further," quoth Pendleton, "after that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do thee good, and pleasure thee what I can, as ye would wish."

Bradford.—"Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you, was on this sort: Master Bech was often in hand with me whom he should bring unto me, and named you amongst others; and I said, that I had rather speak with you, than with any of all the others. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a man might judge) of the religion that I am of at this present, and I remember that you have set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since, which you saw not before."

Pendleton.—"Master Bradford, I do not know wherefore you are condemned."

Brad.—"Transubstantiation is the cause wherefore I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body: wherein I would desire you to show me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter. For once (as I said) you were as I am in religion."

Here Master Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuse himself, if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully transubstantiation indeed, "although I said," quoth he, "that the word was not in Scripture;" and so he made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: "but," said he, "I will gather to you the places which moved me, and send you them." And here he desired Bradford, that he might have a copy of that which he had sent to Master Weston; the which Bradford did promise him.

Some reasoning also they had, whether evil men did receive Christ's body, Bradford denying, and

Pendleton affirming. Bradford said that they received not the spirit: ergo, not the body; for it is no dead carcass. Hereto Bradford brought also St. Augustine, how Judas received *panem Domini*, and not *panem Dominum*; and how that he must be in Christ's body, which must receive the body of Christ. But Pendleton went about to put it away with *idem*, and not *ad idem*, and how that *in corpore Christi* was to be understood of all that be in the visible church with God's elect. Bradford denied this to be St. Augustine's meaning; and said, also, that the allegation of *idem*, and not *ad idem*, could not make for that purpose. They talked more of transubstantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian; *panis natura mutatur*, &c. And Bradford said, that in that place *natura* did not signify substance. As the nature of an herb is not the substance of it, so the bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in substance; for now it is ordained, not for the food of the body simply, but rather for the soul. Here also Bradford alleged the sentence of Gelasius. Pendleton said, that he was a pope. "Yea," said Bradford, "but his faith is my faith in the sacrament, if ye would receive it."

They reasoned also whether *accidentia* were *res*, or no. If they be properly *res*, said Bradford, then are they substances; and if they be substances they are earthly, and then are there earthly substances in the sacrament, as Irenæus saith, which must needs be bread. But Pendleton said that the colour was the earthly thing; and called it "an accidental substance."

I omit the talk they had of my Lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's book, of Pendleton's letter laid to Bradford's charge when he was condemned, with other talk more of the church; whether *dic ecclesie* was spoken of the universal church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length granted to be spoken of a particular church): also of vain-glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of; and such-like talk. A little before his departing Bradford said thus, "Master Doctor, as I said to Master Weston the last day, so say I unto you again, that I am the same man in religion against transubstantiation still, which I was when I came into prison: for hitherto I have seen nothing in any point to infirm me." At which words Pendleton was something moved, and said that it was no catholic doctrine. "Yes," quoth Bradford, "and that will I prove even by the testimony of the catholic fathers until the council of Lateran, or thereabouts." Thus Pendleton went his way, saying, that he would come oftener to Bradford.—God our Father be with us all, and give us the spirit of his truth for ever. Amen.

The same day in the afternoon, about five of the clock, came Master Weston to Bradford; and after gentle salutations, he desired the company every man to depart; and so they two sat down. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his bosom the same writing which Bradford had sent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain reasons against transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Dr. Weston and others.

"That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under Pope Innocent, the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not believe it, as the bishop of Durham doth witness in his book of the Presence of Christ in his Supper, lately put forth: ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

"2. That the words of Christ's supper be figurative, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the space of 1000 years after Christ's ascension, do teach. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation.

"3. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witness. For he gave that, and called it his body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks: which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread; as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue, which are of antiquity, do affirm. But inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

"4. The bread is no more transubstantiated than the wine: but that the wine is not transubstantiated, St. Matthew and St. Mark do teach us: for they witness, that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood, but wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon Matthew, and St. Cyprian, do affirm this reason.

"5. As the bread in the Lord's supper is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, This is my body, did say also, For we many are one bread, one body, &c.

But now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

"6. The words spoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it: for then it, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiated into the new testament. Therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

"7. All that doctrine which agreeth with those churches which be apostolic mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, Christ of God. But it is manifest, that the doctrine taught at this present of the Church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolic and mother churches in Greece, of Corinth, of Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in time past. For Gelasius the pope, setting forth the doctrine which that see did then hold, doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproveth them of sacrilege, which divide the mystery, and keep from the laity the cup. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth."

This was the writing which Weston pulled out of his bosom: and yet, before he began to read it, he showed Bradford that he asked of his conversation at Cambridge since his last being with him; "and," quoth he, "Master Bradford, because you are a man not given to the glory of the world, I will speak it before your face: your life I have learned was such there always, as all men, even the greatest enemies you have, cannot but praise it; and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: but now I will read over your arguments, and so we will confer them. Such they are, that a man may well perceive you stand on conscience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you." So he began to read the first; to the which he said, that though the word transubstantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been since Christ's institution.

Brad.—"I do not contend, or hang upon the word only, but upon the thing, which is as new as the word."

Then went Weston to the second, and there brought out St. Augustine, how that if an evil man, going to the devil, did make his will, his son and heir would not say his father did lie in it, or speak

tropically: much more Christ, going to God, did never lie, or use any figurative speech in his last will and testament. "Do you not remember this place of St. Augustine," said he?

Brad.—"Yes, sir, but I remember not that St. Augustine hath those words, *tropicè* or *figurativè*, as you rehearse them: for any man may speak a thing figuratively, and lie not: and so Christ did in his last supper."

After this Weston went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of bread is turned into flesh. "Here," saith he, "my Lord of Canterbury expoundeth 'nature' for 'quality,' by Gelasius. The which interpretation serveth for the answer of your third argument, that Christ called bread his body; that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the same names which they had before, as Simon the leper; he was not so presently, but because he had been so."

Brad.—"Cyprian wrote before Gelasius: therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasius Cyprian: and so they both teach, that bread remaineth still. As for things having still the names they had, it is no answer, except you could show that this now were not bread, as easily as a man might have known and seen then Simon to have been healed and clear from his leprosy."

After this, Weston went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's epistle De Aquariis: also of St. Augustine; expounding the breaking of bread by Christ to his two disciples going to Emmaus, to be the sacrament, with such other talk to no certain purpose: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that inasmuch as he had written the reasons that stablished his faith against transubstantiation, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and show him more reasons in writing to confirm transubstantiation; which Dr. Weston promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to Master Bradford again within three days.

Thus, when he had over-read the arguments, and here and there spoken little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his answers, then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer: meaning belike, to have Bradford secretly to come to them, as Grimoald did; for he subscribed.

Brad.—"Master Dean, I would not gladly that you should conceive of me that I pass of shame of men simply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto

as I have not heard or seen any thing to infirm my faith against transubstantiation, so I am no less settled in it, than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall find at the last."

West.—"In good faith, Master Bradford, I love you the better for your plainness; and do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall find me plain in all my talk with you."

Here Weston began to ask Bradford of his imprisonment and condemnation: and so Bradford told him altogether, how he had been handled; whereat Weston seemed to wonder: yea, in plain words he said, that Bradford had been handled otherwise than he had given cause; and so showed Bradford how that my Lord of Bath reported that he had deserved a benefit at the queen's hand, and at all the council's. In this kind of talk they spent an hour almost, and so, as one weary, Bradford rose up, and Weston called to the keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and said that he was out of all peril of death. "Sir," quoth the keeper, "but it is in every man's mouth that he shall die to-morrow." Whereat Weston seemed half amazed, and said, he would go say even-song before the queen, and speak to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the queen had almost supped at that present; for it was past six of the clock.

Before the keeper, Bradford told Weston again that still he was one man, and even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter to teach his conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue. The keeper desired Bradford to hearken to Master Doctor's counsel, and prayed Master Doctor to be good unto him: and so after they had drunk together, Master Doctor with most gentle words took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that Master Doctor spake openly how that he saw no cause why they should burn him: which sentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sorry, lest he had behaved himself in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableness to them in their doctrine, "which, God knoweth," saith Bradford, "I never as yet did." God our Father bless us, as his children, and keep us from all evil for ever. Amen.

Another talk or conference between Master Bradford and Doctor Weston.

On the fifth day of April came Master Doctor Weston to the Compter, about two of the clock in the afternoon, who excused himself for being so long absent; partly by sickness, partly for that Dr. Pen-

dleton told him that he would come unto him ; “ and partly for that,” quoth he, “ I withstood certain monks, which would have come again into Westminster ; ” telling him, moreover, how that the pope was dead. And also declared unto him, how he had spoken to the queen in his behalf, and how that death was not near to him. Last of all Weston excused himself for not answering his arguments against transubstantiation ; “ because my coming to-day,” quoth he, “ was more by fortune, than of purpose.”

Brad.—“ I would gladly, Master Doctor, if it please you, see your answers to my arguments.”

Weston.—“ Why ? you have remembered something that I spake to you, when I was last with you.”

Brad.—“ No, sir, I never called them in manner to mind, since that time, as well because I hoped you would have written them : as also for that they seemed not to be so material.”

Weston.—“ In good faith, I cannot see any other or better way for you, than for to submit yourself to the judgment of the church.”

Brad.—“ Marry so will I, sir, if so be by the church you understand Christ’s church.”

Weston.—“ Lo, you take upon you to judge the church.”

Brad.—“ No, sir, that I do not ; in taking upon me to discern. I do not judge the church.”

Weston.—“ Yes, that you do ; and make it invisible.”

Brad.—“ I do neither.”

Weston.—“ Why, who can see your church ? ”

Brad.—“ Those, sir, that have spiritual eyes, wherewith they might have discerned Christ’s visible conversation here upon earth.”

Weston.—“ Nay, Christ’s church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon ; namely, unity, antiquity, and consent.”

Brad.—“ These three may be as well in evil as in good ; as well in sin as in virtue ; as well in the devil’s church, as in God’s church—as for an example ; idolatry amongst the Israelites had all those three. Chrysostom telleth plainly, as you well know, that the church is well known, *tantummodo per Scripturas*, alone by the Scriptures.”

Weston.—“ In good faith, you make your church invisible, when you will have it known alone by the Scriptures.”

Brad.—“ No, sir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the church, that all men may well enough thereby know her, if they list to look.”

Weston.—“ The church is like a tower or town upon a hill, that all men may see.”

Brad.—“ True, sir, all men that be not blind.

Visible enough is the church, but men’s blindness is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that which is to be imputed to men’s blindness.”

Weston.—“ Where was your church forty years ago, or where is it now, except in a corner of Germany ? ”

Brad.—“ Forsooth, sir, the church of God is dispersed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the word of God ; so that where it is, there is God’s church, if it be truly taught.”

West.—“ Lo, is not this to make the church invisible ? Point me out a realm a hundred years past, which maintained your doctrine.”

Brad.—“ Sir, if you will, or would well mark the state of the church before Christ’s coming, with it now, (as St. Paul and Peter willetth us,) I think you would not look for such shows of the church to be made, as to point it by realms. You know that in Elias’s time, both in Israel and elsewhere, God’s church was not pointable ; and therefore cried he out, that he was left alone.”

West.—“ No, marry ; did not God say that there were seven thousand which had not bowed their knees to Baal ? Lo then seven thousand. Show me seven thousand a hundred years ago of your religion.”

Brad.—“ Sir, these seven thousand were not known to men : for then Elias would not have said, that he had been before left alone. And it is plain enough, by that which the text hath, namely, that God saith, *Reliqui mihi*, I have reserved to me seven thousand. Mark that it saith, God hath reserved to himself, to his own knowledge ; as I doubt not but a hundred years ago God had his seven thousand in his proper places, though men knew not thereof.”

West.—“ Well, Master Bradford, I will not make your case worse than for transubstantiation ; although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it yourself not worse. If I can do you good, I will : hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore I cannot promise you life, except you will submit yourself to the definition of the church.”

Brad.—“ Sir, so that you will define me your church, that under it you bring not in a false church, you shall not see but that we shall soon be at a point.”

West.—“ In good faith, Master Bradford, I see no good will be done ; and therefore I will wish you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again.”

And so he sent for Master Weal, and departed. —Now after his departing, came the keeper, Master Claydon, and Stephen Bech ; and they were

very hot with Bradford, and spake with him in such sort that he should not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against us?

Among divers which came to Master Bradford in prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give counsel, some to take comfort, and some to visit him, there was a certain gentlewoman's servant, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled by her father and mother and all her kindred, in her father's house, for not coming to the mass, and like at length to have been pursued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out of her father's house, being put from all that ever she had. This gentlewoman's servant, therefore, being sent to Master Bradford with commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to over-slip.

This servant or messenger of the foresaid gentlewoman, coming to Master Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, "God be thanked for you: how do you do?"

Master Bradford answered, "Well; I thank God. For as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be."

Servant.—"Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as methinketh you be now, God be thanked for it."

"Why," quoth Bradford, "I have given over all care and study, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to be withal."

Serv.—"Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wondrously in you to his glory."

Brad.—"Truth it is: for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance."

Serv.—"Truly, we hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head."

Brad.—"Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him; let them seek what means or ways they can."

Serv.—"Well, sir, there goeth a talk of a friar that should preach before the king, and should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late."

"Verily," quoth Bradford, "I had a book within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics

should live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise: for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar (he is named friar Fonso) and with divers other; and I praise God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain."

Serv.—"Sir, father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you."

Brad.—"How doth he? how doth he?"

Serv.—"Well, God be thanked."

Brad.—"I am very glad thereof: for indeed my Lord Chancellor did cast him in my teeth; but, as David saith, God hath disappointed him."

Serv.—"Forsooth (God's name be praised) he is very strong."

Brad.—"And, I trust, so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just: therefore let us not be afraid."

Serv.—"My mistress hath her recommended unto you."

Brad.—"How doth she?"

Serv.—"Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment, and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory."

Brad.—"I pray you tell her, I read this day a goodly history, written by Basil the Great, of a virtuous woman which was a widow, and was named Juletta. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, which, for her virtuousness and godly living, had great indignation at her; and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to the law with him. And, in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do: 'for,' saith he, 'this woman is disobedient to the king's proceedings; for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them.' Then the judge, hearing that, said unto her, 'Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them.' This godly woman, hearing that, stept forth to the judge, and said, 'Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends; yea, and farewell life too: and, in respect of the true honour of the ever living God, farewell all.' And with that saying did the judge commit her to prison, and afterward she suffered most cruel death. And being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant: 'for,' saith she, 'ye were redeemed

with as dear a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh: so that also, in the case and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong.' And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress of this history."

Serv.—"That shall I, sir, by God's grace: for she told me that she was with you and Master Saunders, and received your gentle counsel."

Brad.—"We never gave her other counsel but the truth; and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the clock there was such rapping at the door."

Then answered a maid, and said, "Why then I perceive you were afraid."

Brad.—"Ye shall hear how fearful I was; for I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was asleep, these men came into the next chamber and sang, as it was told me; and yet, for all my fearfulness, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast."

Serv.—"Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?"

Brad.—"Nothing but your prayers; and I trust I have them, and you mine."

Serv.—"I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning."

Brad.—"Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer."

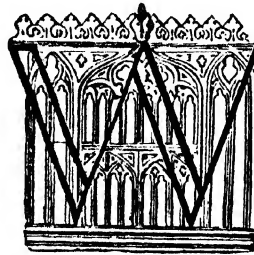
Serv.—"Then we let you: therefore the living God be with you."

Brad.—"And with you also, and bless you."

"Amen," said we; and gave him thanks and departed.

Thus still in prison continued Bradford, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he before always had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was prisoner, in the night season, to Newgate, as afore is declared; and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he, constantly abiding in the same truth of God which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young springal of nineteen or twenty years old, which was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

John Leaf, burnt with Bradford.



ith John Bradford was burnt one John Leaf, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-Church in London, of the

age of nineteen years and above, born at Kirby-Moorside, in the county of York; who, upon the Friday next before Palm Sunday, was committed to the Compter in Bread Street, by an alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that ward, or part of the city, where the said Leaf did dwell. After, he, coming to examination before Bonner, gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the selfsame substance of Christ's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before: and further said, that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth but only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually, in faith, they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and also affirmed, that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made unto a priest; for it is no point of soul-health—neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the Scripture to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon these his answers, and testimony of his faith, he, at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the tenth of June, to appear again in the said place, there and then to hear the sentence of his condemnation; who so did: at what time the foresaid bishop, propounding the said articles again to him, as before, essaying by all manner of ways to

revoke him to his own trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him, if he had been Master Rogers's scholar? To whom the foresaid John Leaf answered again, granting him so to be, and that he the same John did believe in the doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for: and after other replications again of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he, with a great courage of spirit, answered again in these words: "My Lord," quoth he, "you call mine opinion heresy: it is the true light of the word of

God." And again, repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his staid and well-grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. Whereupon the bishop, being too weak either to refute his sentence or to remove his constancy, proceeded consequently to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation: whereby this godly and constant young man, being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs there present, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered the same day with Master Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

The behaviour of Master Bradford, preacher, and of the young man that suffered with him in Smithfield, named John Leaf, a prentice, who both suffered for the testimony of Christ.

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Master Bradford, lying prostrate on



the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute of an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to Master

Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood up upon their feet, and then Master Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment; "for," said he, "I have nothing else to give him: and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith Master Bradford did put off his raiment, and went to the stake: and, holding up his hands, and casting his countenance up to heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry, beware of false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you." And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bade tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "O Master Sheriff," said Master Bradford, "I am quiet: God forgive you this, Master Sheriff." And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing Master Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace." To the which words Master Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him; and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night:" and so spake no more words than any man did hear, but, embracing the reeds, said thus; "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it."

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, most like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the game that they had long run at; to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Touching Master Woodrofe the sheriff, mention is made a little before how churlishly here he answered Master Bradford at the stake, not suffering him to speak, but commanding his hands to be tied, &c. The like extremity, or worse, he used also before to Master Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

The said Woodrofe, sheriff, above mentioned, was joined in office with another, called Sir William Chester, for the year 1555. Between these two sheriffs such difference there was of judgment and religion, that the one (that is, Master Woodrofe) was wont commonly to laugh, the other to shed

tears, at the death of Christ's people. And whereas the one was wont to restrain, and to beat the people, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned: the other sheriff, contrariwise again, with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself, which I wish here to be spoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the severe punishment of God's hand against the said Woodrofe, as against all such cruel persecutors, so it happened, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed martyr, the said sheriff was so stricken on the right side, with such a palsy or stroke of God's hand, (whatsoever it was,) that for the space of eight years after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himself in his bed, but as two men with a sheet were fain to stir him; and withal such an insatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight years together.

Lines in memory of John Bradford, martyr.

Lament we may both day and night

For this our brother dear;

Bradford, a man, both just and right,

There were but few his peer

For God's true servant he was known

In every city and town:

His word amongst them he hath sown

Till it was trodden down.

There was no man could him approach

Neither in word nor deed;

But that he lived as he did teach,

In fear of God and dread.

Such that the time he did profess

God's holy word most true,

No riches, substance more or less,

Could turn his heart anew.

From God's true word he would not slide,

Though it was to his pain;

But in the truth he did abide,

All men might know it plain.

The wicked men, they did him take,

And promise him much store,

To cause him this his God forsake,

And preach the truth no more.

But he, for all that they could say,

Would not his God displease;

But trusted, at the judgment day,

His joy would then increase.

And where they punished him therefore,

Full well he did it take:

He thought no pains could be so sore

To suffer for Christ's sake.

Alas! the people did lament,

When that they did hear tell

That he in Smithfield should be burnt,

No more with us to dwell.

His preaching was both true and good,
His countenance meek and mild;
Alas! the shedding of his blood
Pleas'd neither man nor child:

Save only they, which had the law
At that time in their hand;
Which still desire more in to draw,
And catch them in their band.

O wicked men of little grace!
Was ever the like seen—
So many men, in such a space,
To death consumed clean?

How many of you papists all
Would not with speed return
From your doctrine papistical,
If that you knew to burn!

And where you would not give him leave
His mind forth for to break;
All men of God will him believe,
Though little he did speak.

In going to the burning fire,
He talked all the way:
The people then he did desire
For him that they would pray.

And when he came unto the place
Whereas then he should die,
Full meek the fire he did embrace,
And said, "Welcome to me."

A servant true of God, I say,
With him that time did burn;
Because in God's word he did stay,
Not willing to return.

But quietly were both content
Their death to take truly;
Which made the people's hearts to rent
Their deathful pangs to see.

The letters of Master Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote sundry comfortable treatises, and many godly letters; of which, some he wrote to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and divers to his other private friends. By the which foresaid letters, to the intent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being prisoner, what special zeal he bare to the state of Christ's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the same: and although to exhibit here all the letters that he wrote (being in number so many, that they are able to fill a book) it cannot well be compassed, yet, nevertheless, we mind to excerpt the principal of them; referring the reader for the residue to the book of Letters of the Martyrs, where they may be found.

And first, forasmuch as ye heard in the story before, how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament house, of certain letters written of John Bradford out of prison, to Lancashire, and also how he was charged both of the bishop of Winchester and of Master Allen with the same letters; to the intent the reader more perfectly may understand what letters they were, being written indeed to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will begin first with the same letters; the copy, with the contents whereof, is this, as followeth.

A comfortable letter of Master Bradford to his mother, a godly matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his brethren and sisters, and other of his friends there.

"Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ—whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name there-for) I am—preserve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my father, John Treves, Thomas Sorrocolde, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with their wives and families, &c., now and for ever. Amen.

"I am at this present in prison, (sure enough for starting,) to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God, to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory; as Paul saith, If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven: for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious: so are God's children by the cross of affliction. Always God beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and the apostles were in most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it after: so now God's children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world; for surely, great plagues of God hang over this realm.

"Ye all know there was never more knowledge

of God, and less godly living, and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness, and uncleanness, were common every where, with swearing, drunkenness, and idleness. God therefore now is come, as you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us—as me for my carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am most certain it is and was God's truth, and I trust to give my life for it, by God's grace : but because I lived not the gospel truly, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me : nay, rather in punishing blesseth me. And indeed I thank him more of this prison, than of any parlour, yea, than of any pleasure that ever I had : for in it I find God my most sweet good God always. The flesh is punished, first, to admonish us now heartily to live as we profess ; secondly, to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

“Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the popish doctrine to come again and prevail : but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the wilderness) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietness with him, but rather war : The world, saith he, shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep ; but your weeping shall be turned into joy. And therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted. They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beast's mark—I mean the pope's shaven crown, who now, with his shavelings, rejoice : but woe unto them, for they shall be cast down ! they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow ; but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard, Sir John : for the mass will not bite them, neither make them to blush, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will,—come devils to the church, and go devils home—for no man must find fault : and they are glad of this. Now they have their heart's desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was

gone. But what followed ! Forsooth when they cried, ‘Peace ; all shall be well !’ then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child : even so, dear mother, will it do to our papists.

“Wherefore fear God ; stick to his word though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once ; and when, or how, can you not tell. Die therefore with Christ ; suffer for serving him truly and after his word : for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying : we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think ; for, by God's grace, I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

“I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto : pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure, (I trust in God,) shall be able to separate me from my Lord God and his gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me ; then did you believe me : and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust by God's grace, if need be, to verify with my life ? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

“It is God's truth I have taught : it is that same infallible word whereof he said, Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass. The mass, and such baggage as the false worshippers of God and enemies of Christ's cross (the papists I say) have brought in again, to poison the church of God withal, displeaseth God highly, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may be he which of conscience suffereth loss of life or goods in disallowing it ! Come not at it. If God be God, follow him : if the mass be God, let them that will, see it, hear, or be present at it, and go to the devil with it. What is there as God ordained ? His supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for pardon of our sins : but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, Take, eat : No, saith the priest, ‘Gape, peep.’ There is a sacrificing, yea, killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is idolatry in worshipping the outward sign of bread and wine. There is all in Latin : you cannot tell what he saith. To

conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore, my good mother, come not at it.

“‘Oh,’ will some say, ‘it will hinder you, if you refuse to come to mass, and to do as other do.’ But God will further you, (be you assured,) as you shall one day find; who hath promised to them that suffer hinderance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and, in the world to come, life everlasting.

“You shall be counted a heretic: but not of others than of heretics, whose praise is a dispraise.

“You are not able to reason against the priests, but God will that all they shall not be able to withstand you. Nobody will do so but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you (I doubt not) father Traves, and other my brothers and sisters to go with you therein: but, if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you. Pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoice in my suffering, for it is for your sakes, to confirm the truth I have taught. Howsoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traves’ hands: for, if it should be known that I have pen and ink in the prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to yourselves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his name’s sake, to give my life for his gospel and church’s sake.—Out of the Tower of London, the sixth day of October, 1553.

“My name I write not for causes, you know it well enough: like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel; but rather, if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls.”

After the time that Master Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, it was purposed of his adversaries (as ye heard before) that he should be had to Manchester, where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last *vale* of them in this letter.

A fruitful letter to the city of London.

“To all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of

the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and omni-sufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

“My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ! although the time I have to live is very little, (for hourly I look when I should be had hence, to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence,) and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my state; yet having, as now I have, pen and ink, through God’s working, manure the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto join a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

“First, for my faith, I do confess, and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God, (for faith is God’s only gift,) all the twelve articles of the symbol or creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but, alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto; and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than what, hereout, hath its foundation and ground. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ’s vicar-general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ’s real, corporal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

“To believe Christ our Saviour to be the Head of

his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it, and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander-by and looker-upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as a heretic I am condemned, and shall be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

"For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more than my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for his Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised therefore be his holy name): although, I say, my manifold and grievous late sins have deserved most justly all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me: and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments be true and deserved on my behalf; yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea, most great cause, to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleaseth the heavenly Father to glorify his name, to testify his truth, to confirm his verity, to repugn his adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein!

"And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily, in his bowels and blood, do now (for my last *farewell* and farewell in this present life) beseech you, and every of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly. First, by me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security: profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity: frame and fashion your lives accordingly: beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without more great hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must

put off our shoes and carnal affections: if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy: if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross and follow Christ. We cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek also for the righteousness thereof. To this petition, Let thy kingdom come, we must join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sore deceive ourselves: if we hear the gospel, and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others.

"To faith see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make a shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gossellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with the lusts and concupiscences thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent, and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vain-gloriously, professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God (most justly fallen upon us) be applied to every one of our deserts; that, from the bottom of our hearts, every one of us may say, It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee: it is my hypocrisy, my vain-glory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking away of our good king; of thy word and true religion; of thy good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth success and increase of authority and peace to thine enemies. O be merciful, be merciful unto us! Turn to us again, O Lord of hosts, and turn us unto thee: correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger: chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure: reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy! For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? but with thee is mercifulness, that thou

mightest be worshipped. O then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worship thee ! Help us for the glory of thy name: be merciful unto our sins, for they are great. O heal us and help us, for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? &c.

"On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins; repent us of our former evil life; heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things; continually watch in prayer; diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the Holy Scriptures; labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness: let us fly from all idolatry: let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; abrenounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves to the cross; be obedient to all that are in authority in all things that be not against God and his word,—for then, answer with the apostles, It is more meet to obey God than man. Howbeit, never for any thing resist or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth; and he, in his time, will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you, and you shall be able to bear all brunts: but, if you want this hope, fly, and get you hence, rather than, by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

"In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain, that he is careful for you. With him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing shall happen to your bodies, which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means,—yea, when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands; namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand; you shall not lie still. Before you call upon him, he heareth you; out of evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, hereof; doubt not, I say, this will God your Father do for you—not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ, your Captain, your Pastor, your Keeper, out of whose

hands none shall be able to catch you—in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity; namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

"Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, &c. Marvel not, though the devil and the world hate you—though ye be persecuted here—for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches; fear not the power of man; love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus's coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

"In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead, be in the faith of the Son of God; For the just doth live by faith: which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God, as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps. Her eyes be above, where Christ is; she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in affliction; she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth! It will make us valiant men, to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord—to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you: but that, my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof; and the God of peace be with us all. Amen.—This eleventh of February, 1555.

"Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,

JOHN BRADFORD."

*A letter to the university and town of
Cambridge.*

"To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only prisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

"Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet, having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (specially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more, but only to put you in remembrance of the same: but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me; that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, yea, of dogs and mice: Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

"Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope, for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what

such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou, my mother the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make thee altogether excusable, and as it were almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed; or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers which slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

"Of this, therefore, I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me, (for love and duty I bear unto thee,) to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuate, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, godliness extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know, I say, (if you will,) that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it; and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

"Therefore, for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christ's *collyrium* and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas, authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not the dog returned to his own vomit. Be not the sow that was washed, returned to her wallowing in the mire. Beware lest that Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah! woe to this world and the things therein, which have now so wrought with you! O that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! for thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light, and give shine, all the body shall fare the better; but if thou the light be

darkness, alas, how great will the darkness be ! What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldst thus be afraid of him ?

“O what is honour and life here ? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame ? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross ? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup ? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon ? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah ; that is, the confessors of Christ ? Dost thou not know that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this ? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his people now, when the time is come, as he did then ? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her, and wilt thou give ensample to the whole realm to run unto her ? Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threateneth to offence-givers ? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than thou shouldst offend the little ones ?

“And alas, how hast thou offended ! yea, and how dost thou still offend ! Wilt thou consider things according to the outward show ? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples ? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array, and rich apparel externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter the church of Christ—without or within ? Doth not David say, within ? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the Husband ? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman, (that is, Christ's wife,) except they would make much of her Husband, Christ, and his word, she would not be made much of them.

“When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true church ? they, or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue ? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors ? Therefore bade Christ, Search the Scriptures. And, good mother, shall the servant be above his master ? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found ? Who were taken in Noah's time for the church ; poor Noah and his family, or others ? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom ; Lot, or others ?

And doth not Christ say, As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man ? What meaneth Christ when he saith, Iniquity shall have the upper hand ? Doth not he tell that charity shall wax cold ? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity in those, which would now be taken for Christ's church ? All that fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this than I can write.

“Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth ; come out of Babylon ; confess Christ and his true doctrine ; repent that which is past ; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, &c., something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cramer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me, going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was : for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that ? Hardness of heart. And what then ? Destruction eternally, both of body and soul. Ah, therefore, good mother ! awake, awake ; repent, repent ; buskle thyself, and make haste to turn to the Lord : for else it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts. O stop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by me, a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord ; for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

“You know I prophesied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not ; if you leave not your idolatry ; if you turn not speedily to the Lord ; if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth, which you know.

“O Perne, repent ! O Thompson, repent ! O you doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent ! O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord ! Rend your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, *peccavimus*, we have

all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord! Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon us our offences! In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, Where is now their God? O for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

"If in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people; for he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease; for he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

"O turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers: you shall perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you, world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord! turn you, turn you; repent you, repent you; amend, amend your lives; depart from evil; do good; follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness; put on Christ; confess his truth; be not ashamed of his gospel; prepare yourselves to the cross; drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs; and then shall I, with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my *vale in æternum*, with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting

in his kingdom: Amen, Amen.—Out of prison the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

"Your own in the Lord for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter to Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially to Manchester.

"To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially abiding in Manchester and thereabout—John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace and increase of all godliness, from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

"I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed: that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there, (for in Manchester was I born,) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me, (I speak in respect of mine offence, which is none to them-wards,) think, by killing of me amongst you, to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed; that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wise of the wisdom of God our Saviour.

"Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but since also: yea, even since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God; I have not loved his gospel as I should have done; I have sought myself, and not simply and only his glory and my brethren's commodity; I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c.: all

which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christ's sake, as I hope, and certainly believe, he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

"But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice than I do: for it is God's verity and truth; so that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument, in whom Christ and his doctrine are condemned. And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice; rejoice and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you, for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"But perchance you will say unto me, 'What is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy supper, and so make it a bare sign and common bread, and nothing else.' My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that Pendleton is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted, (for you all know how he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach afore I came amongst you,) but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much pass not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

"Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine; that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion, whereby the mass is maintained, Christ's supper perverted, his sacrifice and cross imperfect, his priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned. In the supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true and very presence of the whole Christ, God

and man, to the faith of the receiver, (but not of the stander-by and looker-on,) as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church, (which the popish church doth persecute,) will I not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome; but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the verity in any other than such as be children of unbelief, which have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies: from which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy: Amen.

"And to the end you might be delivered from this plague—right dear to me in the Lord—I shall, for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all, in the bowels and blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

"You know a heavy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, &c.; and setting over us such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have showed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealt with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed: for if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas! how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved, (yea, undesired on our behalf,) let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms, (for we are not so able to withstand

him, much less to prevail against him,) but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and, according to his wonted mercy, to deal with us.

“Let us arise with David, and say, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee; speak the word, and we shall have peace. Let us penitently, with the publican, look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, O God, be merciful unto us wretched sinners. Let us, with the lost son, return and say, O Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children. Let us, I say, do on this sort; that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful gossiping past, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name; and then, undoubtedly, we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding; and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

“Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I, your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *vale in æternum* for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ showed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison, (as often out of your pulpits I have done,) that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord; whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched-out hand to strike to death stayeth, that he may show mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort; he will not the death of a sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

“Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree, utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh! therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done: it is enough to have played the wanton gossellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false Christians; as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace: oh! turn before

he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to show mercy to them that call upon him. Oh! then call upon him while he may be found; for he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people; his law will he write in our hearts, and ingraft in our minds, and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

“Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh! why do you stop your ears and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? Oh! forget not how that the Lord hath showed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues, which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to pass: specially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached of the twenty-second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now, by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on forward in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, &c. (wherewith, alas! alas! our country floweth); if (I say) you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you; oh! your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

“As I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you; cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, flee the Romish god and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenness; fly from fornication and flattery, murder and malice; destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on pity and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, &c. Be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this our doing's sake, but for his mercy's sake. Go

to, therefore, good countrymen, take this counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the papists, God's enemies, (whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the causes thereof; for they know not what they do,) so will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn not unto the Lord.

"Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beseech thee, thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Lyne, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Stockport, Winsley, Eccles, Preston, Middleton, Radcliffe, and thou city of Westchester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereof, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you: he will say unto his angel, It is enough, put up the sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah, good brethren! take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen.

"Out of prison ready to come to you, the eleventh of February, Anno 1555."

To the town of Walden.

"To the faithful, and such as profess the true doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the increase of all godliness in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the deserts of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most Holy Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

"When I remember how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man, by whom it hath pleased him through my ministry to call you to repentance and amendment of life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sow amongst you his true doctrine and religion, lest that by my affliction, and storms now arisen to try the faithful, and to conform them like to the image of the Son of God, into whose company we are called, you might

be faint-hearted; I could not but, out of prison secretly, (for my keepers may not know that I have pen and ink,) write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught amongst you, which (I take on my death, as I shall answer at the day of doom) I am persuaded to be God's assured, infallible, and plain truth: but also should, after your vocation, avow the same by confession, profession, and living. I have not taught you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, fables, tales, or untruths; but I have taught you the verity, as now by my blood, gladly (praised be God there-for) I do seal the same.

"Indeed, to confess the truth unto you, and to all the church of Christ, I do not think of myself, but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocrisy, vain-glory, uncleanness, self-love, covetousness, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnal professing of God's holy gospel, living therein not so purely, lovingly, and painfully as I should have done. The Lord of mercy, for the blood's sake of Christ, pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done, for his holy name's sake through Christ. But, my dearly beloved, you and all the whole world may see, and easily perceive, that the prelates persecute in me another thing than mine iniquities, even Christ himself, Christ's verity and truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not, confess transubstantiation, and how that wicked men, yea, mice and dogs, eating the sacrament, which they term of the altar, (thereby overthrowing Christ's holy supper utterly,) do eat Christ's natural and real body born of the Virgin Mary.

"To believe and confess as God's word teacheth, the primitive church believed, and all the catholic and good holy fathers taught five hundred years at the least after Christ, that in the supper of the Lord, (which the mass overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death, and passion, the ministry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness,) whole Christ, God and man, is present by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the standers-by and lookers-on, as bread and wine is to their senses, will not serve: and therefore I am condemned and shall be burned out of hand as a heretic. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an instrument, in whom he himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply because I have deserved no less, but much more at his hands and justice; but rather because I confess his verity and truth, and am not afraid through his

gift that to do, that you also might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore, my dearly beloved, I heartily do pray you, and so many as unfeignedly love me in God, to give, with me and for me, most hearty thanks to our heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me, and you also, that your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you desire more, to assure your consciences of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives?

"Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christ's religion truly taught you, and set forth in King Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, and prison it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may prison; they may bind and burn as they do, and will do, so long as shall please the Lord: but our cause, religion, and doctrine which we confess, they shall never be able to vanquish and put away. Their idolatry and popish religion shall never be built in the consciences of men that love God's truth. As for those that love not God's truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord, over those, I say, the devil shall prevail: for God will give them strong illusion to believe lies. Therefore, dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death for the testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of your pulpit, that you would live the Lord's truth; love [I say] to live it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas! you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which God's adversaries have daily, is for our not loving God's word.

"You know how that we were but gossellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, concupiscentious, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters, &c.; and even glutted with God's word; yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the manna in the wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lord's wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confess our faults even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercy's sake) we run unto the Lord our God, who is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with Daniel, saying, We have sinned, we have sinned grievously, O Lord God! against thy Majesty. We have heaped iniquity upon iniquity, the measure of our transgressions floweth over, so that justly are thy vengeance

and wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long-suffering, we have not hearkened to thy voice. When thou hast called us by preachers, we hardened our hearts; and therefore now deserve that thou send thy curse hereupon to harden our hearts also, that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, lest we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us! spare us, good Lord, and all thy people, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee; for then will they be puffed up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the sorrowful sighing of the simple come in thy sight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of hosts, unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou mayest be justified in thy sweet sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their gospel serve them? O Lord, how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honour's sake, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable.

"On this sort I say, dearly beloved! let us publicly and privately bewail our sins; but so that hereto we join ceasing from wilfulness and sin of purpose: for else the Lord heareth not our prayers, as David saith. And in St. John it is written, The impenitent sinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend their lives: as for example, not only such as follow still their pleasures, uncleanness, carnality; but those also which, for fear or favour of men, do against their consciences consent to the Romish rags, and resort to the rotten religion, communicating in service and ceremonies with the papists; thereby declaring themselves to love more the world than God; to fear man more than Christ; to dread more the loss of temporal things than eternal; in whom it is evident that the love of God abideth not. For he that loveth the world, hath not God's word abiding in him, saith St. John: therefore, my dear hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christ's religion and name, and the renouncing of the devil, sin, and the world.

"Remember that before ye learned A, B, C, your lesson was Christ's cross. Forget not that Christ will have no disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, and take up their cross, (mark, take it up,) and follow him, and not the multitude, custom, &c. Consider, for God's sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad.

What should it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a paradise; here is not our home: we are now in warfare; we must needs fight, or else be taken prisoners. Of all things we have in this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as soldiers: if we keep company with him in affliction, we shall be sure of his society in glory: if we forsake not him, he will never forsake us: if we confess him, he will confess us; but, if we deny him, he will deny us; if we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and heaven, and all things to come to us; so let us forsake all things, and come to him, being sure and most certain that we shall not lose thereby. Your children shall find, and feel it double, yea, treble, whatsoever you lose for the Lord's sake; and you shall find and feel peace of conscience, and friendship with God, which is more worth than all the goods of the world.

"My dearly beloved, therefore, for the Lord's sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my *vale*, and last farewell for ever, in this present life. Turn to the Lord; repent you of your evil and unthankful life; declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it: come to the Lord while he calleth you; run into his lap while his arms be open to embrace you; seek him while he may be found; call upon him while time is convenient; forsake and flee from all evil, both in religion, and in the rest of your life and conversation. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation. 'O! come again, come again, you strange children, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why will ye needs perish? As sure as I live (swareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? If she should, yet I will not forget you, saith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your sins for mine own sake.'

"O then, dear friends, turn I say unto your dearest Father. Cast not these sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that cast it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out indignation and eternal shame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you, and every of you, not to condemn this poor and simple exhortation, which

now out of prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be to be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be, if ye repent not; if ye love not God's gospel; yea, if ye love it not.

"Therefore (to conclude) repent; love God's gospel; live it in all your conversation; so shall God's name be praised, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us, for thy dear Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever. Amen.

"The twelfth of February, Anno 1555.

"By the bondman of our Lord,
and your poor afflicted brother,
JOHN BRADFORD."

*To my loving brethren, B. C., &c., their wives,
and whole families. John Bradford.*

"I beseech the ever-living God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever. Amen.

"The world, my brethren, seemeth to have the upper hand; iniquity overfloweth; the truth and verity seemeth to be suppressed; and they which take part therewith, are unjustly entreated; as they which love the truth, lament to see and bear as they do. The cause of all this, is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been too carnal, covetous, licentious, &c.; we have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with antichristian religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

"This should we look upon as a sign of God's anger procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memory oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in

consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this: that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we should have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godliness. And then, if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils! No greater sign of damnation there is, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security; which, of all plagues, is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards and not sons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

"A great mercy it is, therefore, that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because he beginneth his chastising at us: now calleth he us to remember our sins past. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children; and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed, we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

"Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God; not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross; thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity: for blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Be glad, saith Peter, for the Spirit of God resteth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of

goods; for confession of Christ's gospel and truth which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongst you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, King Edward. This is most certain, if you lose any thing for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service set up again amongst us; as you, for your parts, even in prison shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly wealth; so shall your wives and children, in this present life, find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell: for he will show merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

"I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this gear with yourselves, and in the cross see God's mercy, which is more sweet, and to be set by, than life itself, much more than any muck or pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful; for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil, but it is a strait way, which few walk in; for few live godly in Christ Jesus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his truth and true service; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow; few love God better than their goods.

"But, I trust, you are of this few, my dearly beloved; I trust you be of that little flock, which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters which shall be comforted with comfort, which never shall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils; if now you strive against the evils that are in you; if now you continue to call upon God; if now you defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches; if you molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth; which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

"And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered; so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now every where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy name's sake, in Christ our Lord. Amen."

To his dearly-beloved in Christ, unto a godly couple, Erkinalde Rawlins and his wife.

"God, our dear and most merciful Father through Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever; and in all things so guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him: Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporally, (for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompense you both now and eternally,) I cannot but go about (Lord, help hereto for thy mercy's sake!) to write something for your comfort spiritually.

"My dearly beloved! look not upon these days, and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you; that is, as dismal days, and days of God's vengeance; but rather as lucky days, and days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be; that is, towards such as repent their sins and evil life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the world, and most part of men, for the preservation of their pelf, which (will they, nill they) they shall leave sooner or later; and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed, to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance; and their beginning of sorrow is but now, because they contain the physic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not: and because they will not have God's blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them, by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick man will no kind of physic at the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him at the length.

To such men, indeed, these days are and should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh.

"But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will, (among whom I do not only count you, but, as far as a man may judge, I know ye are,) unto such, I say, this time is and should be comfortable. For first, now your Father chastiseth you and me for our sins; for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to ourselves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth them to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our transgressions, as Paul writeth: he chastiseth us in this world, lest with the world we should perish. Therefore, my dear hearts, call to mind your sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

"So that I say, first we have cause to rejoice for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, sleeping in our own sins and security, but, as mindful of us, doth correct us as his children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no bastards, but children; for he chastiseth every child whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that contemn it, declare themselves to be bastards, and not children, as I know you are, which, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad, my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly, even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us. Amen.

"Secondly, ye have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye yourselves, but also the world, shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lord's dearlings. Before these days came, Lord God! how many thought of themselves, they had been in God's bosom; and so were taken, and would be taken of the world! But now we see whose they are: for to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the world, (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it,) then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's: which thing, (I mean, that ye are God's,) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing yourselves to be God's babes, and in seeing that all God's children do so count you.

“What though the world repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kind: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child, that hateth the father: he cannot mind the servant, that careth not for the master. If ye were of the world, the world would love you; ye should dwell quietly; there would be no grief, no molestation. If the devil dwelt in you, (which the Lord forbid,) he would not stir up his knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his fiends to enter into your hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you, (as he doth by faith,) therefore stirreth he up his first-begotten son, the world, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father—to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another city than man’s eyes have seen at any time—hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you; and, by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him, (for ye may not love them above him,) as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

“Satan perchance telleth God, (as he did of Job,) that ye love God for your goods’ sake. What now then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, shall give him power on your goods and body accordingly—should ye be dismayed? should ye despair? should ye be faint-hearted? Should ye not rather rejoice, as did the apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord’s sake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to show mercy to them that look and long for it: as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to show and pour out his mercy upon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you, saith Peter, he will visit, comfort, and confirm you. As to Jacob wrestling with the angel, at the length morning came, and the sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did; that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

“Go to therefore; dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like God’s champions, or else, if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that ye be not able, give place

to violence, and go where you may with free and safe conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream by an angel, that he should fly; so if you feel such infirmity in yourselves, as should turn to God’s dishonour and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as God’s angel, to admonish you to take time whiles ye have it, and to see that in no case God’s name by you might be dishonoured. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do: but, dear hearts, let vocations and all things else give place to God’s name, and the sanctifying thereof.

“This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand it: but I speak it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability: fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourselves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another; and so give occasion to others less to love this world, and perchance to some to doubt of their religion: wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

“Last of all, ye have cause to rejoice over these our days, because they be the days of conformation, in the which, and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christ’s image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shall reign also with him: if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoice with him in glory: if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness: if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we lose aught for his name’s sake, he will give us all things for his truth’s sake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad; for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, &c., for the Lord’s sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? what may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? what can the Holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

“This cognizance of the Lord standeth not in

forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and antichristian pelf; but in suffering for the Lord's sake. The world shall hate you, saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children: the world shall hate you. Rejoice therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to condemn this world, more to desire life everlasting; more to be holy, (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us,) and so to come to God's company: which thing because we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we must enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of soul and body; which God of his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen."

To mine own dear brother, Master Lawrence Saunders, prisoner in the Marshalsea.

"My good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his adversaries. Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will show forth his praise, to destroy the enemy, &c.

"I have perused your letters to myself, and have read them to others; for answer whereof, if I should write what Doctor Taylor and Master Philpot do think, then must I say, that they think the salt sent unto us by your friend is unseasonable: and indeed I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think, my good and most dear brother Lawrence, because I am so sinful and so conspurcate (the Lord knoweth I lie not) with many grievous sins, which I hope are washed away *sanguine Christi nostri*, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but as a cipher in Agrime. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum: I pray God in no case I may seek myself; and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpose it not.

"That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I trust in him, that he will do according to this: Cast thy care on the Lord, &c. Cast all your care upon him, &c. Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and trust, &c. Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about. I did not, nor do I know, but by your letters, *quod cras* we shall come *coram nobis*. Mine own heart, still stick to, It shall be given you, &c. For the Lord is faithful. He will in temptation make a way that

ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly, &c. O would God I were godly! The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation such as trust in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not *adorare bestiam*, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God, our Father and gracious Lord, make perfect the good he hath begun in us!

"He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O if I were with you!" Pray for me, my own heart-root in the Lord.

"For ever your own,
JOHN BRADFORD."

Another letter to Master Lawrence Saunders.

"God's sweet peace in Christ be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your con-captives. Amen.

"I was letted this morning from musing on that which I was purposed to have thought on by reason of you, against whom I saw myself guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write,—I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared myself to purge myself hereof; not that I will go about to excuse my fault, (for that were more to load me,) but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purposing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a letter from you: for the which as I have cause to thank God and you, (howbeit not so that you should think I give not the whole to God,) so I see myself more blameworthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit, good brother, in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you, and for the church of God, which for my sins and hypocrisy (hypocrisy indeed even in this writing; God deliver me from it!) have deserved to be punished. Just is God, for we have deserved all kind of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this world, that we should not be condemned with the world. He might otherwise have punished us; I mean, he might have for other causes cast us in prison, me especially, than for his gospel and word's sake. Praised therefore be his name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah! good God, forgive us our sins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me especially, effectually to love thee and thy Christ; and with joyfulness unto the end to carry thy cross through thick and thin. Always set before our eyes, not this gallows on earth, if we will stick to thee, but

the gallows in hell, if we deny thee, and swerve from that we have professed.

“Ah! good brother, if I could always have God, his majesty, mercy, heaven, hell, &c., before mine eyes, then should I *obdurare*, as Paul writeth of Moses: He endured, saith he, as he that saw him which is invisible. Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks also: for, in the Lord I trust, I shall not waver. If I walk by the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord. I think we shall be shortly called forth; for now *legem habent, et secundum legem*, &c., otherwise will they not reason with us; and I think their sheet-anchor will be, to have us to subscribe: the which thing if we do, though with this condition, ‘so far as the thing subscribed to repugneth not against God’s word,’ yet this will be offensive. Therefore let us *radere planè*, and so *sanè*: I mean, let us all confess that we are no changelings, but *re-ipsa* are the same we were in religion, and therefore cannot subscribe except we will dissemble both with God, ourselves, and the world.

“These things I write to you, dear brother in the Lord. Now I will read your epistle. Ah! brother, that I had the practical understanding with you in that Vine which you describe; pray the Lord that I may think so indeed. God make me thankful for you. All our fellow prisoners salute you, and give thanks to God for you. The same do you for us, and pray that, &c.

“Your brother in the Lord Jesus,
to live and die with you,
J. BRADFORD.”

*To my dear fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley,
and Dr. Latimer.*

“Jesus Emmanuel!—My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech God, our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

“I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that, amongst so many thousands, it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that I justly suffer, (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner: the Lord pardon me!) yet, he hath done it,

he hath done it indeed; yet, What evil hath he done? Christ, whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this indignation and tender kindness of the Lord’s towards me, which useth remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom. Oh! what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify me so vile a man and miser, as always I have been? Is this thy wont, to send for such a wretch and a hypocrite, as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias? Oh! dear fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still might be found worthy, in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen-ushers: The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, to the leopards; by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me. Amen.

“For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven, and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have most need. Faithful is God, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am assured, he will never: Amen. He is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore my heart shall rejoice, for he shall not leave my soul in hell, neither shall suffer me, his holy one, by his grace in Christ, to see corruption.

“Out of prison in haste, looking every moment for the tormentor, the eighth of February, 1555.

“JOHN BRADFORD.”

*To the Right Honourable Lord Russell, now
earl of Bedford: being then in trouble for the
verity of God’s gospel.*

“The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesu Christ, bless your good Lordship with all manner of heavenly blessings in the same Christ our only comfort and hope: Amen.

“Praised be God our Father, which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Christ, so of his cross for the same. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath delivered you from one cross, so he hath made

you willing (I trust) and ready to bear another, when he shall see his time to lay it upon you : for these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, so to none else but to those few which are most dear in his sight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea, it is the greatest itself that we may enjoy ; for by it, as we be justified and made God's children, so are we temples and possessors of the Holy Spirit ; yea, of Christ also, and of the Father himself. By faith, we drive the devil away : we overcome the world, and are already citizens of heaven, and fellows with God's dear saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the soul she sitteth upon ? No man nor angel. And therefore, (as I said,) of all God's gifts, she may be set in the top, and have the upmost seat. The which thing if men considered, (in that she cometh alone from God's own mercy-seat, by the hearing, not of mass or matins, diriges, or such dross ; but the word of God in such a tongue as we can and do understand,) as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might cast her down (for then they fall also) ; so would they with no less care read and hear God's holy word, joining thereto most earnest and often prayer, as well for the more and better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing of the same, maugre the head of the devil, the world, our flesh, reason, goods, possessions, carnal friends, wife, children, and very life here ; if they should pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, sure, and longer use of them.

" Now, notwithstanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the apostle to match therewith, yea, (as it were,) to prefer, suffering persecution for Christ's sake, I trow no man will be so fond as to think otherwise, but that I, and all God's children, have cause to glorify and praise God, which hath vouch'd you worthy so great a blessing. For though the reason or wisdom of the world thinketh of the cross according to their reach, and according to their present sense, and therefore flieth from it as from a most great ignominy and shame : yet God's scholars have learned otherwise to think of the cross, that is, the frame-house in the which God frameth his children, like to his Son Christ ; the furnace that fineth God's gold ; the highway to heaven ; the suit and livery that God's servants are served withal ; the earnest and beginning of all consolation and glory : for they (I mean God's scholars, as your Lordship is, I trust) do enter into God's sanctuary, lest their feet slip. They look not, as beasts do, on things present only, but on things to come, and so have they as present to faith the judg-

ment and glorious coming of Christ Jesus, like as the wicked have now their worldly wealth, wherein they wallow, and will wallow, till they tumble headlong into hell, where are torments too terrible and endless. Now they follow the fiend, (as the bear doth the train of honey, and the sow the swillings,) till they be brought into the slaughter-house ; and then they know that their prosperity hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they, Woe, woe, we went the wrong way ! we counted these men, (I mean such as you be, that suffer for God's sake loss of goods, friends, and life, whom they shall see endued with rich robes of righteousness, crowns of most pure precious gold, and palms of conquest in the goodly glorious palace of the Lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, &c.,) we counted (will they then say) these men but fools and mad-men, we took their conditions to be but curiosity. But then will it be too late : then the time will be turned ; laughing shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.

" Therefore, (as before I have said,) great cause have I to thank God, which hath vouch'd you worthy of his most bountiful blessing : much more then have you cause, my good Lord, so to be ; I mean thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you : tell me how many noblemen, earls' sons, lords, knights, and men of estimation, hath God in this realm of England dealt thus withal ? I dare say you think not that you have deserved this. Only God's mercy in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremiah's time on Ebed-melech, in Achab's time on Abdias, in Christ's time on Joseph of Arimathea, in the apostles' time on Sergius Paulus and the queen Candace's chamberlain. Only now be thankful and continue ; continue, continue, my good Lord, continue to confess Christ. Be not ashamed of him before men : for then will not he be ashamed of you. Now will he try you. Stick fast unto him, and he will stick fast by you ; he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him, for so it proceedeth : He cried unto me, and I heard him ; I was with him in trouble, &c.

" Remember Lot's wife, which looked back : remember Francis Spira : remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully : remember that all you have is at Christ's commandment : remember he lost more for you, than you can lose for him : remember you lose not that which is lost for his sake ; for you shall find much more here and elsewhere : remember you shall die, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell : remember the death of sinners is most terrible : remember the death of God's saints is most precious in his sight : remem-

ber the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to woe: remember that the strait gate, which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers: remember Christ biddeth you to strive to enter in thereat: remember he that trusteth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbered: be certain your good Father hath appointed bounds, over the which the devil dares not look. Commit yourself to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper. Cast your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope, and mark to prick at; let him be your pattern to work by; let him be your ensample to follow: give him as your heart so your hands; as your mind so your tongue; as your faith so your feet; and let his word be your candle, to go before you in all matters of religion. Blessed is he that walketh not to these popish prayers, nor standeth at them, nor sitteth at them: glorify God both in soul and body. He that gathereth not with Christ scattereth abroad. Use prayer: look for God's help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter assuredly. In which prayers I heartily desire your Lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly, (God therefore be praised,) so we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God so will, according to your daily prayer, Thy will be done on earth, &c. The good Spirit of God always guide your Lordship unto the end: Amen.

"Your Lordship's own for ever,

JOHN BRADFORD."

*To Master Warcup and his wife, Mrs. Wilkin-
son, and others of his godly friends, with
their families.*

"The same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

"The time, I perceive, is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known: I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein; for such will not for a little heat or sun-burning wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests. And forasmuch as—my beloved in the Lord—I am persuaded of you, that ye be indeed the children of God, God's good ground, which groweth and will grow on, (by God's grace,) bringing forth fruit to God's glory after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered, (burn the sun never so hot,) therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you accordingly,

to go on forwards after your Master, Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like so to do: of this being most certain, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant and joyful, in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness as cannot but swallow up the showers that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after Paul's counsel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth, chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Read it, I pray you, and remember it often as a restorative to refresh you, lest ye faint in the way.

"And besides this set before you also, that though the weather be foul, and storms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and sisters tread the same path, as St. Peter telleth us: and therefore company should cause you to be the more courageous and cheerful. But if you had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if, even from the beginning, the best of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going, (I mean heaven,) than ye now find and are like to do; except ye will, with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way till the storms be overpast; and then either night will so approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be sparred before ye come, and so ye then lodge without in wonderful and evil lodgings. Read Apocalypse xxii. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the patriarchs, Moses, David, Daniel, and all the saints of the Old Testament; and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

"If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with Mary and Joseph, and come from them to Zachary and Elizabeth, John Baptist, and every one of the apostles and evangelists; and search whether they all found any other way into the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

"Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the primitive church, Lord God! ye should see many to have given cheerfully their bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their journey; that there is no day in the year, but (I dare say) a thousand was the fewest that with great joy lost their homes here, but in the city they went unto have found other manner of homes than man's mind is able to conceive. But, if none of all these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many others, I trust in God, if you had none other of the fathers, patri-

archs, kings, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and other holy saints and children of God, that in their journey to heaven-ward found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go on forward, as I trust ye will; yet ye have your Master and your Captain, Jesus Christ, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleasure, joy, and delectation; ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler, into this our city of Jerusalem. I need not, I trust, to rehearse what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey was no better, but much worse than yours is now.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, be not so dainty, as to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, which the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ, did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather also: now, because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weather, and stirred up the storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before night come, and the doors be sparred. The devil standeth now at every inn-door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the storms be overpast; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth, and how that man doth; but cast your eyes on the gleve ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way; but altogether he looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before. Even so should we do; leave off looking on those which will not run the race to heaven's bliss by the path of persecution with us; and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

"He that shooteth, will not cast his eyes in his shooting on them that stand by, or ride by the ways, (I trow,) but rather at the mark he shooteth at: for else he were like to win the wrong way. Even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus; who, for the joy set before him, did joyfully carry his cross, con-

temning the shame; and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God. Let us follow him; for this did he, that we should not be faint-hearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him: but, if we deny him, surely he will deny us; For he that is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my gospel, in this faithless generation, I will be ashamed of him before the angels of God in heaven. Oh! how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the mass to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege against God and his Christ (as undoubtedly it is); and yet, for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea, for advantage and gain, some will honest it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to dissemble it; or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the sixth and tenth chapters, lest, by so doing, they fall therein. Let them beware they play not willy-beguile with themselves, as some do, I fear me, which go to mass, and because they worship not, nor kneel, nor knock, as others do, but sit still in their pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

"But, alas! if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others (for by this means the magistrates think them of their sort) they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all men's eyes are set upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to mass, do see, or inquire of their behaviour there. Oh! if there were in those men that are so present at the mass, either love to God, or to their brethren, then would they, for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire; they halt on both knees; they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye-salve, that they may see that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. Oh that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful. The counsel given to the church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.

"But to return to you again, dearly beloved: be not ye ashamed of God's gospel: it is the power of

God to salvation to all those that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shall make you able; knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear: and think it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for God's truth; for the Spirit of God resteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye shall see: read 2 Thess. i. and Heb. xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ. The flail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanseth it from the chaff. And ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat: fear not therefore the flail, fear not the fanning wind, fear not the millstone, fear not the oven; for all these make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves to the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast yourselves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, will we, we must drink God's cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then; and at the first, when it is full, lest peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the nations round about.

"Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man shall touch you without his knowledge: when they touch you therefore, know it is to your weal. God thereby will work to make you like Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for righteousness' sake: but this he doth, because we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, saith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, If he kill me, I will hope in him. Read the 91st Psalm, and pray

for me, your poor brother and fellow sufferer for God's gospel sake; his name therefore be praised. And of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good conscience for his name's sake. Die once we must, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean, to die for his sake.

"Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, the way thither to be by persecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow even to the very gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he, within three days, rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time; that is, when the trump shall blow, and the angel shall shout, and the Son of man shall appear in the clouds with innumerable saints and angels, in majesty and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words, and pray for me for God's sake.

"From prison, 19 Nov. 1553.

"J. BRADFORD."

To Sir James Hales, knight, then prisoner in the Compter in Bread Street.

"The God of mercy, and the Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christ's sake.

"Although, right worshipful sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance, (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and name,) and other such-like things; yet I cannot content myself, but presume something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my *συμπάθειαν* and compassion, love and affection, I bear towards your Mastership, which is contented, yea, desirous, with us poor misers, to confess Christ's gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God! how good art thou, which dost thus glean out grapes—I mean, children for thyself, and brethren for Christ! Look, good Master Hales, on your vocation: not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done

you. Certainly I dare say you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you; but rather attribute this, as all good things, unto his free mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you, being a wise man, do judge of things wisely, that is, concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world and its people, which is the great master of error; nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to faith; nor after the present sense, to which it seemeth not to be joyous, but grievous, as Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your cross to be, in respect of yourself, between God and you; God's chastising, and your Father's correction, nurture, school, trial, path-way to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain; yea, even the frame-house to fashion you like to the dearest saints of God here, yea, to Christ the Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

"Now, concerning your cross in respect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his justice, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his goodness, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, one of his *testes*, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the world, and cast the wicked into perdition; but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see an eternal weight of glory, which this cross shall bring unto you, while ye look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in subscription of the king's last will; and therefore they did that, for the which they beshrewed themselves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as, God be praised, you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God; and so you do now in religion, at the least hitherto you have done: and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, say with David, Mine eyes fail for thy word-saying; when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be as *uter in fumo*, that is, like a bottle in the smoke, (for I hear you want health,) yet, do not forget the statutes of the Lord: but cry out, How many are the days of thy servant? when wilt thou execute

judgment on them that persecute me? And be certain the Lord will surely come, and not stay; though he tarry, wait for him; for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning. Follow therefore Esay's counsel, Hide thyself for a very little while, until his indignation pass over, which is not *indignatio* indeed, but to our sense; and therefore in Esay xxvii. God saith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day, so, There is no anger in me, saith he.

"The mother sometimes beateth her child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and colleteth the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And, to say the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore saith he, Can a mother forget the child of her womb? As who should say, No: but if she should so do, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, saith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me, &c. Leave me not, O Lord, &c. Whereas in very truth it is not so, but to their present sense: and therefore David said, I said in my agony, I was clean cast away from thy face. But was it so? Nay verily. Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ: as when he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? He saith not, Why dost thou forsake me? or, Why wilt thou forsake me? But, Why hast thou forsaken me? Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense; and that this Psalm telleth us full well; which Psalm I pray you now and then read, it is the 22nd, and thereto join the 31st, and the 116th, with divers others. The same we read in the prophet Isaiah, chap. xl., where he reproveth Israel for saying, God had forgotten them; Knowest thou not, saith he; hast thou not heard, &c.; They that trust in the Lord shall renew their strength. And in his 54th chapter, Fear not, &c.: for a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and hills shall fall down; but

my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee.

"But the Scriptures are full of such sweet places to them that will bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help. As of all temptations this is the greatest, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us through the pikes, as they say: so of all services of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his help always, which is a helper in tribulations, and doth more gloriously show his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so. For the weaker we are, the more strong we are in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear. He will accomplish their desire, he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them. Before they cry, he heareth them; as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his eternal mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end; that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemies, than already he hath given you against N., for not subscribing to the king's will.

"Be certain, be certain, good Master Hales! that all the hairs of your head your dear Father hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care, which will comfort you with his eternal consolations, and make you able to go through the fire, (if need be,) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall and lie for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire; which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it: so shall it then not much fear us to suffer it for our Master Christ's cause, the which the Lord grant us for his mercy's sake: Amen.

"From the King's Bench.

"Your humble JOHN BRADFORD."

*To my very friend in the Lord, Dr. Hill,
physician.*

"The God of mercy and Father of all comfort, at this present and for ever, ingraft in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatsoever cross he shall lay upon you: Amen.

"Hitherto I could have no such liberty as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now, in that through God's providence I have no such re-

straint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of the suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signify my carefulness for you in these perilous days; lest you should wax cold in God's cause, (which God forbid,) or suffer the light of the Lord, once kindled in your heart, to be quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the world, and of many others, which would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguile themselves, still would be so accounted: although by their outward life they declare the contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth curry favour.

"In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requiring the whole man, as well body as soul, being both create as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the Holy Spirit to be the temple of God, and member of his Son: as (I say) by their parting stake to give God the heart, and the world the body, they deny God to be jealous, (for else they would give him both, as the wife would do to her husband whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest,) so they play the dissemblers with the church of God by their fact, offending the godly, whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless if they be fallen, and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute their malice against such as will not defile themselves in body or soul with the Romish rags now received amongst us. Because of this,—I mean, lest you, my dear master and brother in the Lord, should do as many of our gospellers do for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of soul and body, and that not only temporally, but also eternally,—I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty deserveth it, (for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for the which He reward you, for I cannot,) as also because charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have any need, (for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept yourself upright from halting,) but that I might both quiet my conscience, calling upon me hereabout, and signify unto you by something, my carefulness for your soul, as painfully and often you have done for my body.

"Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two masters, two kinds of people, two ways, and two mansion-places. The masters be Christ and Satan, the people be servitors to either of these, the ways be strait and wide, the mansions be heaven

and hell. Again, consider that this world is the place of trial of God's people, and the devil's servants: for as the one will follow his master whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when the storm ariseth the expert mariner is known, and as in war the good soldier is seen, so in affliction and the cross, easily God's children are known from Satan's servants. For then, as the good servant will follow his master, so will the godly follow their Captain, come what will come: whereas the wicked and hypocrites will bid adieu, and desire less of Christ's acquaintance. For which cause the cross is called a probation and trial, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him. And now in England we see how small a company Christ hath in comparison of Satan's soldiers. Let no man deceive himself; for he that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. No man can serve two masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the lukewarm (that is, such as are both hot and cold) he spitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his servants. The way of Christ is the strait way; and so strait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but must needs go upright: for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side, so, if any man halt, he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternal perdition.

"Strive therefore, good Master Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side or that side, or behind you, as Lot's wife did, but straight forwards on the end which is set before you (though it be to come) as even now present: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will ensue, where-through the bitterness and loathsomeness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness in abiding the working of that is ministered is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that [which] is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant: so (I say) set before you the end of this strait way; and then doubtless, as St. Paul saith, it shall bring with it an eternal weight of glory, whilst we look not on the thing which is seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternal. So doth the husbandman, in ploughing and tilling, set before him the harvest-time; so doth the fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting-in; so doth the merchant the return of his merchan-

dise; and so should we in these stormy days set before us not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life—but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment; the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to God's gospel; the blast of the trumpet; the exceeding glory prepared for us in heaven eternally, such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there: the more we suffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible dross, we shall find incorruptible treasures; for gold, glory; for silver, solace without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly houses, eternal palaces; mirth without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless; in short, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"O happy place! O that this day would come. then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable; then shall they receive the just reward of God's vengeance; then shall they cry, Woe, woe! that ever they did as they have done. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.: read Matt. xxv.: read 1 Cor. xv.; 2 Cor. v.: and by faith (which God increase in us) consider the thing there set forth. And for your comfort, read Heb. xi., to see what faith hath done, always considering the way to heaven to be by many tribulations, and that all they which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. You know this is our alphabet: He that will be my disciple, saith Christ, must deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.—Not this bishop, not that doctor; not this emperor, nor that king, but *me*, saith Christ: For he that loveth father, mother, wife, children, or very life, better than me, is not worthy of me. Remember that the same Lord saith, He that will save his life shall lose it. Comfort yourself with this, that as the devils had no power over the porkets, or over Job's goods, without God's leave; so shall they have none over you. Remember also, that all the hairs of your head are numbered with God. The devil may make one believe he will drown him, as the sea in his surges threateneth to the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which he cannot pass, so hath He done for the other.

"On God therefore cast your care; love him, serve him after his word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the cross; and whensoever it cometh, be assured, the Lord, as he is faithful, so he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, but in the midst of the temptation will make such an evasion, as shall be most to his glory and your eternal comfort. God, for his mercy in Christ, with

his Holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy shadow you, and as his dear child guide you for evermore. To whose merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayer commit you ; so I doubt not but you pray for me, and so I beseech you to do still. My brother P. telleth me, you would have the last part of St. Jerome's works, to have the use thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three days well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will send it you, if God let me not ; and use me, and that I have, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ direct our ways to his glory.

"Out of prison, by yours to command,
JOHN BRADFORD."

To Mistress M. H., a godly gentlewoman, comforting her in that common heaviness and godly sorrow, which the feeling and sense of sin worketh in God's children.

"I humbly and heartily pray the everlasting God and Father of mercy, to bless and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge and love of his truth, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of his Holy Spirit : Amen.

"Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and go forward daily in the way of godliness, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write ; yet, because my desire is that you might be more fervent, and persevere to the end, I could not but write something unto you, beseeching you both often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a mean to stir you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear Father, in, through, and for, Christ and his death's sake. This love and tender kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath, to the godly work of creation of this world, made us after his image ; redeemed us being lost : called us into his church ; sealed us with his mark and sign manual of baptism : kept and conserved us all the days of our life : fed, nourished, defended, and most fatherly chastised us ; and now hath kindled in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love, and knowledge of his Christ and truth : and therefore we lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness, our frailness, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we should be most certain.

"All these things we should use as means to confirm our faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to assure us that he loveth us as our Father in Christ : to this end, I say, we should use the things before touched, especially in that, of all

things, God requireth this faith and fatherly persuasion of his fatherly goodness, as his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us, he saith, I am the Lord thy God : giving himself, and then all he hath, to us, to be our own. And this he doth in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth, and not in respect of us, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith, Thou shalt have none other gods but me, Thou shalt love me with all thy heart, &c., though of duty we are bound to accomplish all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do not the same, yet he requireth not these things further of us, than to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole world to serve to our need and commodity ; so hath he given his Son Christ Jesus, and (in Christ) himself to be a pledge and gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then give us some taste and sweet smell, to our eternal joy.

"Therefore (as I said) because God is our Father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to believe it, give yourself to obedience : although ye do it not with such feeling as you desire. First must faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils, should be occasions whereby Satan would have us to doubt ; as much as we can, let us abhor that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious : for so indeed it is. For when we stand in a doubt, whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to God ; we cannot heartily pray or think any thing we do acceptable to God ; we cannot love our neighbours, and give over ourselves to care for them, and do for them as we should do, and therefore Satan is most subtle hereabout, knowing full well that if we doubt of God's eternal mercies towards us through Christ, we cannot please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that we should doubt of God's mercy and favour towards us.

"Therefore, my good sister, we must not be sluggish herein, but as Satan laboreth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christ's blood ; namely, that God is our God with all that ever he hath : which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon God's own goodness, mercy, and truth only ; and not on our obedience or worthiness on any point ; for then should we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that thereby we might be his children, and he our Father : but because he is our Father

and we his children through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our Father: but rather because he is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefacedness and blushing, because we are not as we should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our Father in prayer on this manner:

“Dear Father, thou, of thine own mercy in Jesus Christ, hast chosen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldest I should be brought into thy church and faithful company of thy children; wherein thou hast kept me hitherto: thy name therefore be praised. Now I see myself to want faith, hope, love, &c., which thy children have and thou requirest of me, where-through the devil would have me to doubt, yea, utterly to despair of thy fatherly goodness, favour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me, good Lord: help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c., and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant that thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness, is always true to me,” &c.

“On this sort, I say, you must pray and use your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of salvation. He doth all he can to prevail herein. Do you all you can to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did: for faith always (I said) goeth before feeling. As certain as God is almighty; as certain as God is merciful; as certain as God is true; as certain as Jesus Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; as certain as this is God’s commandment, I am the Lord thy God, &c., so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other gods but him, so are ye no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true, I am the Lord thy God, to others, if you should not believe that this is true to yourself? The devil believeth on this sort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this—whether God be your God through Christ—that same cometh undoubtedly of the devil. Wherefore did he make you, but because he loved

you? Might not he have made you blind, deaf, lame, frantic, &c.? might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a papist, &c.? And why hath he not done so? Verily because he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness in Christ. Now then, in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was—that is, even as great as himself, for it cannot be lessened—how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good sister, for God is no changeling. Them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

“Cast therefore yourself wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are God’s child; that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the Holy Ghost, &c. If hereof you be assured as you ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted; then shall you lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be holy in soul and body; then shall you go about that God’s glory may shine in you, in all your words and works; then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have wisdom to answer your adversaries, as shall serve to their shame, and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head further than shall please your good Father, to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain, that God as your good Father will be more careful for your children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gone, than you can; then shall you (being assured, I say, of God’s favour towards you) give over yourself wholly to help and care for others that be in need; then shall you condemn this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortify all things that would spot either soul or body. All these things spring out of this certain persuasion and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

“Therefore let us use earnest and hearty prayer; let us often remember this covenant—I am the Lord thy God; let us look upon Christ and his precious blood shed for the oblation and confirmation of his covenant; let us remember all the free promises of the gospel; let us set before us God’s benefits generally in making this world, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his church, &c. Let us set before us God’s benefits particularly—how

he hath made his creatures after his image; how he made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, &c.; how he hath made us Christians, and given us a right judgment in his religion; how he hath, ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do, and use earnest prayer, and so flee from all things which might wound your conscience, giving yourself to diligence in your vocation, you shall find at the length (which God grant to me with you) a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of conscience, to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen, Amen.

"Yours to use in Christ,

J. BRADFORD."

Another letter full of godly comfort, written to the same person.

"The good Spirit of God which guideth his children, be with you, my good sister in the Lord, for ever. Amen.

"Although, as I to you, so you unto me in, prison are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts, known and thoroughly seen: and therefore as for his sake you would, by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; so that I to you might be seen in God to bear you the like, I send to you these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, yea, even in your very thoughts, you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, than any man can know, but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking yourself, and all that you have and do, to be in the sight of God; this (I say) is to be added, that you think his sight is the sight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea, when in yourself you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the same be unto you a trace to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

"And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father through Christ: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure: but

in *his* time, and not when *you* will; and by what means *he* will, not by that way *you* would; in the mean season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a woman that is natural, cannot finally forget the child of her womb, be sure God, which is a Father supernatural, cannot, nor will not, forget you. Yea, if a woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself saith, he will not be so.

"This opinion, yea, rather certain persuasion, of God your Father through Christ, see that you cherish; and by all means, as well by diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish; knowing for certain, that as the devil goeth about nothing so much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be God's child or no; so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the devil. If you feel in yourself not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be God's child in Christ, or no. For if for your goodness' or illness' sake, which you feel or feel not, ye should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but half Christ. But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as your Father, and to pray to him, that inasmuch as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father, so he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his child, to his glory; and cease not upon such prayers to look for comfort in God's good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beseech him to give unto you, my good sister, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be a helper unto your husband, so you would endeavour yourself therein to shew the same as well in soul as body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavours may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ. Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To my well-beloved in the Lord, W. P.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Dear brother, God most justly hath cast me down into a dungeon, but much better than I deserve; wherein I see no man but my keeper, nor can see any except they come to me. Something in the earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections, (which God I trust will mortify,) and of my sepulchre, whereunto

I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me; for the prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common disease doth less trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful providence of God towards me. Use true and hearty prayer, and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

“Out of the Tower, by the Lord’s prisoner,
JOHN BRADFORD.”

A letter which he wrote to a faithful woman in her heaviness and trouble: most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken-hearted for their sins.

“God our good Father, for his mercy’s sake in Christ, with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my most need: yea, he will comfort you, my dear sister; only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you; for his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end: none of his chosen can perish; of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved sister: God increase the faith thereof daily more and more in you! he give unto you to hang wholly on him, and on his providence and protection! For whoso dwelleth under that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cock-sure for evermore. He that *dwelleth*, I say; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor, where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still; we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the mountains.

“Dwell therefore, that is, trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord, my dear sister, and you shall be as Mount Zion. As mountains compass Jerusalem, so doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Son’s sake? Ah! dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry your cross with you. God send you some good Simon to be with you and help you.

“You complain in your letters of the blindness of your mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you; he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient, for so (I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seek-

ing heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the Canticles? Oh, Joyce! my good Joyce! what a gift is this! Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalene, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth. You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face, yea, and that for ever, which signifieth no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face; whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something; yea, sometimes in that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to heaven: in darkness it beholdeth brightness: in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job see God, but as (you would say) under Satan’s cloak? for who cast the fire from heaven upon his goods, who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? and yet Job pierced through all these, and saw God’s work, saying, The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.

“In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that David in the shadow of death saw God’s sweet love! And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you, in your darkness and dimness, by faith do see charity and brightness; by faith, I say, because faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by faith?

“Therefore, my dear heart, be thankful; for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah! my Joyce, how happy is the state wherein you are! Verily you are even in the blessed state of God’s children, for they mourn; and do not you so? And that not for worldly weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And I pray you, saith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears? how could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth you’d find it? how could ye desire to be at home, if in your journey you found no grief? how could ye so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy should sleep all day long? how should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs

feel sorrow and misery: if you will go to heaven, you must sail by hell: if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags: if you will sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations: if you will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominy.

"Can the head Corner-stone be rejected, and the other more base stones in God's building be in this world set by? You are one of his lively stones—be content therefore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows which suffer with you Satan's snatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conscience, and frets of the flesh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are! who shall deliver us? You are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven. You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

"If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture; if you were for the fair, you should be stall-fed, and wait no weal: but, because you are for God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you, my dear sister, that God now haleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little, and be still. Let Satan rage against you; let the world cry out; let your conscience accuse you; let the law load you and press you down; yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. If God be with us, who can be against us? The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you; your Spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with Peter, Lord, I perish; and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope, and it will not cease, for all the stormy surges, till it take hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

"Think not that he which hath given you so many things corporally, as inductions of spiritual and heavenly mercies, (and that, without your deserts or desire,) can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking, he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask, he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith, to his glory, and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

"If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath,) he would not have so called you; he would never have justified you; he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his name therefore; he would never have so exercised your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if, I say, he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you, (as doubtless, dear heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where, and when,) if, I say, he have chosen you, then neither can you nor shall you ever perish. For if you fail, he putteth under his hand; you shall not lie still; so careful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was mother so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been so?

"Speak, woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he now, throw you, in your utmost need, do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please him? Ah, my Joyce! think you God to be mutable? is he a changeling? doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit of truth, told you so? and will you now hearken with Eve to the lying spirit, which would have you not to despair, (no, he goeth more craftily to work; howbeit to that end, if you should give ear unto it, which God forbid,) but to doubt, and stand in a mammering; and so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thankfulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.

"Ah! mine own dear heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your election. This Christ, this mercy, this truth of God, remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, and so is your election certain for ever, for ever, I say, for ever. If an angel from heaven should tell you contrary, accused be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes. These fruits and effects shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, arise; and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a Shepherd which never slumbereth nor sleepeth; no man nor devil can pull you out of his hands; night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you.

Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalm, The Lord is my shepherd, I can want nothing? Do you not know that God spared Noah in the ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you, my good sister; so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left hand; yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly therefore, Many a time from my youth up have they fought against me; but they have not prevailed; no, nor ever *shall* prevail, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are the people of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those, my dear heart; for I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to show most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly: I need not to say, that even before God you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes, no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me, my dear heart, who hath so weakened you? Surely not a persuasion which came from him that called you: for why should you waver? Why should you waver and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On yourself? on your worthiness, on your thankfulness? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, &c., as much as you should do? No, no; nor ever can in this life. Ah! my dearly beloved, have you so soon forgotten that, which ever should be had in memory? namely, that when you would and should be certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith burst throughout all things not only that you have in you, or else are in heaven, earth, or hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and goodness of God in Christ. Here, here is the resting-place, here is your Spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him; bewail your weakness, unworthiness, your diffidence, &c., and you shall see he will turn to you. What said I? you shall see. Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that Moses, when he went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud, and Elias had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear friends of God heard God, but they saw him not; but you would be preferred before them. See now, my dear heart, how covetous you are. Ah! be thankful, be thankful. But, God be praised, your covetousness is Moses' covetousness.

Well, with him you shall be satisfied. But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

"Therefore, to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ before the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost; I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you; I crave at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue, and mind; in Christ, through Christ, for Christ; for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake, my most entirely beloved sister, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself; but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things; and, in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

"The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore: Amen.

"I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer-time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever: Amen.

"As for the report of W. Po., if it be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, 'Do well, and hear evil.' Be content therefore to hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you: Amen, Amen.

"This eighth of August, by him that in the Lord desireth to you as well and as much felicity, as to his own heart.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

Here followeth another letter of his, written to the good Lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions which she demanded. This Lady Vane was a special nurse, and a great supporter (to her power) of the godly saints, which were imprisoned in Queen Mary's time: unto whom divers letters I have both of Masters Philpot, Careless, Trahern, Thomas Rose, and of others more; wheroin they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness extended towards them, with

their singular commendation and testimony, also, of her Christian zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the verity of his gospel. She departed of late at Holborn, Anno 1568, whose end was more like a sleep than any death; so quietly and meekly she deceased and parted hence in the Lord.

Amongst others who wrote unto her, Master Bradford also sent these letters to the said lady; the tenor whereof here followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

"The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"I most heartily thank you, good madam, for your comfortable letters; and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions; the truth is, that the questions are never well seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered; I mean, until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of God's book, that there was never thing upon the earth so great and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that is whereof the questions arise, (as most assuredly it is indeed,) then cannot a Christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service.

"Again, your Ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding Christ's cross; so the end of all our doings should be to God-ward, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example; whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me, by God's grace, you shall receive the other shortly. For I have already written a little book of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear child, with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong, and

rejoice in him and with his church, to carry Christ's cross, if he shall so think it need: which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's word, and tried them by that touchstone.

"If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use yourself to set God's presence, power, and mercy always before your eyes, to see them, as God by every creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever. Amen."

Another letter to the Lady Vane.

"As to mine own soul, I wish to your Ladyship grace and mercy from God, our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

"I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both: I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean, his fatherly love; and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, lest I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised, (as you long have been,) than others which, to the face of the world, have a more show and appearance. Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your letters do well espy; which is indeed the high-way, whereby as God increaseth his gifts, so showeth he more lively his salvation. I have received God's blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three fellow prisoners, Master Ferrar, Master Taylor, Master Philpot; and the residue I will bestow upon four poor souls which are imprisoned in the common gaol for religion also. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have served my turn also: but, because I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your almoner in such sort as I have already advertised you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to

show my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly, for his mercy's sake : Amen.

"Good madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be ; be earnest in prayer ; continue in reading and hearing God's word, and if God's further cross come, as therein God doth serve his providence, (for else it shall not come unto you,) so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort : Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To my dear friends and brethren, Royden and Esing, with their wives and families.

"The comfort of Christ—felt commonly of his children in their cross for his sake—the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoke-fellows ; especially of good Mary, my good sister in the Lord : Amen.

"If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the gospel's sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you, (as he will doubtless for his mercy's sake, if you hope in him—for this bindeth him, as David in Christ's person witnesseth : Our fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredst them, &c.,) yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this realm most justly for our sins, and abusing the light lent us of the Lord, to the setting-forth of ourselves more than God's glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent, (which God grant us to do,) as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting of us, thereby to make us, as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us ; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts, for God's holy name's sake.

"For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write, (the Lord be praised,) and hearing of you as I hear ; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all ; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord, (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary,) and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you are entered, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it : even as in the travail of a woman, the nearer she draweth to

her delivery, the more her pains increase ; so it goeth with us in the Lord's way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.

"Example hereof we have, I will not say, in the holy prophets and apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man ; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can something abide a man to begin well, and set forwards ; but, rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

"Therefore, as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that we have professed no less but to forsake the world and the devil as God's very enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to God's school, than to deny ourselves, and take up our cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us : as (I say) we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present the time to come, like as the wife in her travail doth the deliverance of her child, and as the saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ ; for the apostle saith, He set before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the cross : so if we did, we should find at the length as they found. For whom would it grieve, which hath a long journey to go, through a piece of foul way, if he knew that, after that, the way should be most pleasant, yea, the journey should be ended, and he at his resting-place most happy ? Who will be afraid or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches ? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, or friends, &c., when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own heart's desire ? Who will be sorry to forsake this life, which cannot but be most certain of eternal life ? Who loveth the shadow better than the body ? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come ? Who can desire the dross of this world, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in

heaven? I mean, who is afraid to die, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things, to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guile was never found in his mouth.

“Alas! then, why are we so slack and slow, yea, hard of heart, to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blissfulness, and are so ready to believe the world, promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both knees, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many other things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or, if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? or, if so, how long, I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to die shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to die for God’s cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christ’s cause? If there be any way on horseback to heaven, surely this is the way. By many troubles, saith the apostle, we must enter into heaven. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. For the world cannot love them that are of God; the devil cannot love his enemies; the world will love none but his own: but you are Christ’s, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall God’s true servants find peace and favour in antichrist’s regiment.

“Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned: rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for God’s cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past: you are almost in the haven. Hail on apace, I beseech you, and merrily hoist up your sails. Cast yourselves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than that he will make you able to bear: yea, in the midst of the temptation he will make an outscape. Now pray unto him heartily; be thankful of his indignation; rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive; and be mindful of us which are in the vaward, and by God’s grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the ice before you, that you following, may find the way more easy.—God grant it may so be: Amen, Amen.

“Out of prison, by your brother in Christ,
JOHN BRADFORD.”

To Mrs. Wilkinson.

“Almighty God, our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good mother and dear mistress in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy days, as necessary unto us; so profitable, if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant to us: Amen.

“My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing,—I mean, to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare, as you see. But now, if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare,—I mean, to call you forth as a martyr, and a witness against this filth,—I hope you will become doubly thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost: Except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless.

“You know that he which was rapt into the third heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and cast into the earth, so truly our bodies. And therefore the cross should so little fear us, that even death itself should altogether be desired of us; as the tailor which putteth off our rags, and arrayeth us with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption, and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea, groan in their kind for our liberty, and we ourselves to loathe it; as doubtless we do, if for the cross, yea, for death itself, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lord’s calling, and obeying the Lord’s providence; whereby doubtless all crosses, and death itself doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear mother, that this providence stretcheth itself so unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare ourselves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer ourselves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good cheer, even in the midst of these miseries; be thankful to the Lord,

and prepare yourself for a further trial; which if God send you, as I hope, so do you believe that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompense into your bosom all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

"Your own in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD."

Another letter, written to certain godly persons, encouraging them to prepare themselves with patience to the cross.

"Gracious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and Holy Spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever: Amen.

"In my last letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now I have learned. But, my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than before I have told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling, (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me,) as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye have learned by others, and, by them which have suffered this day, ye might learn, (if already ye had not learned,) that life and honour is not to be set by more than God's commandment. They in no point (for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having Doctor Death to take their part) would consent, or seem to consent, to the popish mass and papistical god, otherwise than in the days of our late king they had received. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider it as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them; if God so will.

"Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind, (of faith, I should have said,) as Moses did, which set more by trouble with God's people, than by the riches of Egypt and Pharaoh's court. Your house, home, and goods, yea, life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to

admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens' sake,—that is, for your home, house, goods, yea, life, will go with the world, lest ye should lose them, then be assured, your love, as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember, that he which will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true: but he which adventureth, yea, loseth his life, for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to salvation, is not the broad way, which many run in; but the strait way, which few now walk in?

"Before persecution came, men might partly have stood in a doubt by the outward state of the world with us, (although by God's word it was plain,) whether was the high-way (for there were as many that pretended the gospel as popery); but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken fast root, cannot nor will abide; and therefore easily ye may see the strait way by the small number that passeth through it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Christ's sake, which yet gave his life for our sakes? We are now become Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our pockets. A faithful wife is never tried so to be, but when she rejecteth and withstandeth wooers. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

"If we be not able,—I mean, if we will not forsake this world for God's glory and gospel's sake,—trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forsake it for nature's sake? Die ye must once, and leave all ye have, (God knoweth how soon and when,) will ye or will ye not; and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now do it for God's sake?

"If ye go to mass, and do as the most part do, then may ye live at rest and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it, then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea, lose your life also. But, my dearly beloved, open the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, see how intolerable the punishment of hell-fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them, world without end, which lose either lands or goods for his name's sake. And then do ye reason thus: If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children that they may live by hereafter, yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands, (which is horrible to hypocrites,) and be in wonderful

hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

“Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? yea, our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be, through many casualties; and when God is angry with us, he can send always, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into care for our own sakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

“On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, if so be you purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you so able to bear his cross, that therein you shall rejoice. Faithful is God, (saith Paul,) which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear; yea, he will give you an out-scape in the cross, which shall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour; to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly cast most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which godly ye have of long time professed. Oh! how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose! Oh! how would the papists triumph against God’s gospel in you! Oh! how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! Oh! how would the poor children of God be discomforted, if now you should go to mass and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth!

“Hath God delivered you from the sweat, to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now, of equity, will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them, unto you. Say with Job, God hath given, and God hath taken away: his name be praised for ever. Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to

suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

“And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ’s sake, that thou wouldst be merciful unto us; comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation: Amen. Pray for me, and I by God’s grace will do the same for you.

“JOHN BRADFORD.”

An admonition to certain professors of the gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the Romish religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced gospellers.

“The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of God’s gospel believed, (my dearly beloved,) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our comforter: Amen.

“Though I have many lets, presently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet, being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would.

“You hear and see how Satan bestirreth him, raging as a roaring lion to devour us. You see and feel partly what storms he hath raised up to drown the poor boat of Christ; I mean his church. You see how terribly he traineth his soldiers, to give a fierce onset on the vaward of God’s battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest God’s children, and to begin at his house. By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers.

“For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well see that our sins are the cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to ourselves after the example of Jonas and David, turning over the wallet, that other men’s offences might lie behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuse other men, which exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as myself, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase to know and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy, &c.

“Let us better feel and hate our self-love, security, negligence, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, &c., and then doubtless the cross shall be less careful, yea, it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant; death then shall be desired,

as the despatcher of us out of misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unspeakable, the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the serpent's bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels; that is, our outward Adam and senses. If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his poison, we could not but, as [we] rejoice over our Captain that hath bruised his head, so be desirous to follow his example; that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and so fill up his passions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his children.

"Now the second, (I mean the sequel, or that which will follow on the strangers,) my dearly beloved, let us well look upon. For if so be that God justly do thus give to Satan and his seed to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people; oh! what and how justly may he and will he give to Satan, to entreat the reckless and impenitent sinners! If judgments begin thus at God's house, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reserved the dregs of God's cup, that is, brimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of God's cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, lest they should lose their pigs with the Gergesites. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, Let us cast his yoke from us; they walk two ways, that is, they seek to serve God and mammon, which is impossible; they will not come nigh the strait way that bringeth to life; they open their eyes to behold present things only; they judge of religion after reason, and not after God's word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profess God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him; or else they would sanctify him by serving him more than men; they part stake with God, which would have all, giving part to the world, to the Romish rout, and antichristian idolatry now set abroad amongst us publicly; they will have Christ, but none of his cross, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Christ, but yet they will suffer no persecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they savour of those things that be of men, and not that be of God: *summa*, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea, and in their deeds, deny him, as well by not repenting their evils past, as by continuing in evil still; by doing as the world, the flesh, and the devil willet; and yet still perchance they will pray, or rather prate, Thy will be done in earth, which is, generally, that every one should take up his cross, and follow Christ. But this is a hard saying: who is

able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be prayed to depart, lest all the pigs be drowned. The devil shall have his dwelling again in themselves, rather than in their pigs; and therefore to the devil they shall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and damnation, even in hell-fire, a torment endless, and above all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not.

"Wherefore by them, my dearly beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in baptism you made a solemn vow to forsake the devil, the world, &c. You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned Christ's cross afore you began with A, B, C.—Go to then; pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men, under Christ's standard; take up your cross and follow your Master, as your brethren, Masters Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders have done, and as now your brethren, Masters Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Ferrar, Bradford, Haukes, &c., be ready to do. The ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no cause to waver or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the pastors. Remember that Christ saith, He that will save his life, shall lose it. And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, your goods, &c., and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christ's disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing; much more, death for the Lord. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, how shall they be that die for the Lord! Oh! what a blessing is it to have death, due for our sins, diverted into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth! Oh that we had a little of Moses' faith to look upon the end of the cross; to look upon the reward; to see continually with Christ and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. O let us pray that God would open our eyes to see his hid manna, heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation of his first-born, the melody of the saints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then should we run, and become violent men, and so take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Christ's sake to see a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us, for his own goodness and truth's sake: Amen.

"My dearly beloved, repent, be sober, and watch

in prayer; be obedient, and after your vocations show your obedience to the higher powers in all things that are not against God's word; therein acknowledging the sovereign power of the Lord: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels, or rebellers for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient sufferers, and the glory and good Spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us, your afflicted brethren, being in the Lord's bonds for the testimony of Christ, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and most merciful Father. The Lord, for Christ's sake, give us merry hearts to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and sigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious will: Amen, Amen.—From the Compter in the Poultry.

“Yours in Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD.”

To my good brother, John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

“The Father of mercy and God of all comfort visit us with his eternal consolation, according to his great mercies in Jesus Christ our Saviour: Amen.

“My very dear brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify, that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your last letter; the name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and, as I have begun, speak still the verity, I must confess, that for mine unthankfulness to you-wards, and to God especially, I have more need of God's merciful tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ah! that Satan envieth us so greatly. Ah! that our Lord would tread his head under our feet shortly. Ah! that I might for ever both myself beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware, of unthankfulness. Good brother Careless! we had more need to take heed, after a lightning, of a foil than before: God therefore is to be praised even when he hideth, and that not of long, his cheerful countenance from us, lest we, being not expert how to use it as we should do, do hurt more ourselves thereby; so great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother and right dear to my very heart, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace; and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourselves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may feel ourselves linked in the same Christ one to another, I to you, and you to me; we

to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us: Amen, Amen.

“Commend me to your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praise my God, which hath given him to see his truth at length, and to give place to it. I doubt not but that he will be so heedful in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think themselves astray. Woe and woe again should be unto us, if we by our example should make men to stumble at the truth. Forget not salutations in Christ, as you shall think good, to Trew, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time, I hope, for them also; although we perchance think otherwise. A drop maketh the stone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping: so if with hearty prayer for them, and good example, you still and drop upon them as you can, you shall see God's work at the length. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all: Amen. I desire you all to pray for me, the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

“Your brother,

JOHN BRADFORD.”

To Master John Hall and his wife, prisoners in Newgate for the testimony of the gospel.

“Almighty God, our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly beloved, as with his dear children, for ever, and so he bless you with his Holy Spirit, that you may in this your cross (for his cause doubtless) rejoice, and gladly take it up to bear it so long as he shall think good. I have heard, my good brother and sister, how that God hath brought you both into his school-house, (whereas you both purposed, by his leave, to have played the truants,) that thereby you might see his carefulness and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and careful Father for his children, to prevent the purpose and disappoint the intent of his children, purposing to depart awhile from the school for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much consider the commodity of learning which there they might get); how should you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of love and fatherly carefulness that he beareth towards you? If he should have winked at your wills, then would you have escaped beating, I mean the cross; but then should you have lost the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he sent to you his cross. He, I say, hath brought you where you be; and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise, yet (my dearly beloved) know for certain that, whatsoever was the mean,

God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal. Although otherwise your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel ; yet I say of truth, that your duty is to think of this cross, that as it is of God's sending, and cometh from him ; so although your deserts be otherwise, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodity's sake.

"What commodity is hereby ? you will perchance object. You are now kept in close prison, you will say ; your family and children be without good overseers ; your substance diminisheth by these means ; poverty will approach ; and perchance more perils also, yea, and loss of life too. These are no commodities, but discommodities, and that no small ones ; so that justly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this cross, whereby cometh so great discommodities.

"To these things I answer, that indeed it is true you say of your bodies, families, children, substance, poverty, life, &c., which things, if you would consider awhile with inward eyes, as you behold them withoutward, then perhaps you should find more ease. Do not you now by the inward sense perceive, that you must part from all these and all other commodities in the world ? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your cross, to learn to loathe and leave the world, and to long for and desire another world, where is perpetuity ? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profession in baptism) forsaken the world, and all earthly things ; using the world as though you used it not : your heart set only upon your hoard in heaven, or else you could never be Christ's true disciples, that is, to be saved, and be where he is. And trow you, my good hearts in the Lord, trow you, I say, that this is no commodity, by this cross to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enjoy with the Lord endless glory ? How now doth God, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning these things and all other things, that repentance and remission might ensue ? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earnest in prayer ? are these no commodities ? Doth not the Scripture say, that God doth correct us in the world, because we shall not be damned with the world ?—that God chasteneth every one he loveth ?—that the end of this correction shall be joy and holiness ? Doth not the Scripture say, that they are happy that suffer for righteousness' sake, as you now do ?—that the glory and Spirit of God is upon them ?—that, as you are now made like unto Christ in suffering, so shall you be made like him in reigning ? Doth not the Scripture say, that you are now going the high and right way to heaven ?—that your suffering

is Christ's suffering ? My dearly beloved, what greater commodities than these can a godly heart desire ?

"Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad, when ye suffer as now ye do : for, through the goodness of God, great shall be your reward. Where ? Forsooth on earth : first, for your children ; for now they are in God's mere and immediate protection. Never was father so careful for his children, as God is for yours presently. God's blessing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them should be pulled away, yet God is not poor ; he hath promised to provide for them most fatherly : Cast thy burden upon me, saith he, and I will bear it. Do you therefore cast them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never yet was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread ; for he will show mercy upon thousands of the posterity of them that fear him. Therefore, as I said, God's reward, first upon earth, shall be felt by your children, even corporally ; and so also upon you, if God see it more for your commodity—at the least inwardly you shall feel it by quietness and comfort of conscience : and secondly, after this life you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive, how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies ; much more upon your souls. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed ! Then shall we think the cross, which is a mean hereto, to be commodious. Then shall we thank God, that he would chastise us. Then shall we say with David, Happy am I that thou hast punished me : for before I went astray, but now I keep thy laws.

"This that we may do indeed, my dearly beloved, let us first know that our cross cometh from God : secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us, thirdly, call to mind our sins, and ask pardon ; whereto let us, fourthly, look for help certainly at God's hand in his good time : help, I say, such as shall make most to God's glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our souls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there issue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requireth as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all through Christ offer this, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who bless us, keep us, and comfort us under his sweet cross for ever ! Amen, Amen.

"My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort

you, you should be sure thereof, though my life lay thereon; but now I must do as I may, because I cannot as I would. Oh! that it would please our dear Father shortly to bring us where we should never depart, but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence. Pray, pray, that it may speedily come to pass—pray! To-morrow I will send to you to know your estate: send me word what are the chiefest things they charge you withal.—From the Compter.

“By your brother in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.”

To Mrs. Hall, prisoner in Newgate, and ready to make answer before her adversaries.

“Our most merciful God and Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end: Amen.

“My dear sister, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice; be glad, I say, be merry and thankful, not only because Christ so commandeth us, but also because our state wherein we are presently, requireth no less, for we are the Lord’s witnesses. God the Father hath vouchsafed to choose us amongst many, to witness and testify that Christ his Son is King, and that his word is true. Christ our Saviour, for his love’s sake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no usurper nor deceiver of the people, but God’s ambassador, Prophet, and Messiah; so that of all dignities upon earth this is the highest. Greater honour had not his prophets, apostles, nor dearest friends, than to bear witness with Christ, as we now do. The world, following the counsel of their sire Satan, would gladly condemn Christ and his verity; but lo! the Lord hath chosen us to be his champions to let this. As stout soldiers, therefore, let us stand to our Master, who is with us, and standeth on our right hand, that we should not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never tempt us further than he will make us able to bear.

“Therefore be not careful (for I hear say this day you shall be called forth) what you shall answer. The Lord which is true and cannot lie, hath promised, and will never fail nor forget it, that you shall have both what and how to answer, so as shall make his shameless adversaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God, who is a helper at a pinch, and a most present remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or shall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

“Therefore, as I said, I say again: dear sister, be not only not careful for your answering, but also

be joyful for your cause. Confess Christ, and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of goods and life be like here to ensue; yet if Christ be true, (as he is most true,) it is otherwise indeed: for he that loseth his life, saith he, winneth it; but he that saveth it, loseth it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God so deal with us, that he will make our deserved death a demonstration of his grace, a testimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow of his adversaries, what great cause have we to be thankful! Be thankful therefore, good sister, be thankful. Rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be stout in his cause and quarrel; be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and set your Captain, Christ, before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the crown. Run to get the game; you are almost at your journey’s end. I doubt not but our Father will with us send to you also, as he did to Elias, a fiery chariot, to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed, to leave our cloak behind us; that is, our bodies to ashes. God will one day restore them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is now at hand. Let us look for it, and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh: Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy grant us his mercy: Amen. I pray you, pray for me; and so desire my brethren which be with you. God’s peace be with us all: Amen. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; then how much more they that die for the Lord!

“Your brother in bonds,

J. BRADFORD.”

To a woman that desired to know his mind, whether she, refraining from the mass, might be present at the popish matins, or even-song; or no.

“I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

“Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at matins or at even-song, or no, is your desire to have me to write something for your further stay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make

you to think that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be borne withal; yet, by God's grace, I am purposed, simply and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

"First, therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ; that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself.

"Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next lesson to it, which is, to seek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

"Thirdly, know that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's fantasies, custom, multitude, &c., and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity; that is, To do as you would be done by. In these is a sum of all the counsel I can give you, if that hereto I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather against God's word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the service is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor ever can learn it, so long as you go thither; therefore the second lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of yourself, that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by God's grace briefly to show.

"First, the matins and even-song are in a tongue forbidden publicly to be used in a congregation that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be against God's commandment. This one, I trow, were enough, if nothing else were. For how can God's glory be sought, where his word and commandment are wilfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown?

"Again, both in matins and in even-song is idolatry maintained for God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory, which he will give to none other.

"Moreover this service, and the setters-forth of it, condemn the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God's curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be partakers that do communicate with them.

"Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of antichrist's catholic synagogue; so that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so

cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments.

"Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of antichrist, (as doubtless you do indeed, howsoever in heart you think,) occasioneth the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sore weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no pen is able to utter by letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with those in religion exteriorly, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him: gather with him, lest you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Make not your body, now a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Come out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue; yea, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day: the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures of this world be but trifles.

"Therefore, good sister, often have it before your eyes; daily set yourself and your doings as before the judgment-seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well, He that will save his life shall lose it. The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Christ, and he saith, Follow me: this can you not do, and follow idolatry or idolaters. Fly from such, saith the Scripture. This God grant to you, to me, and to all God's children: Amen.

"Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually: Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large.—The second of March, anno 1555."

To the Worshipful, and in God my most dear friend, the Lady Vane.

"The good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good Ladyship, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ: Amen.

"Although your benefits towards me have deserved at my hands the service I can do for you, yet, right worshipful and dearly beloved in the Lord, the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which

I perceive to be in you, specially, and above all other things, do bind me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your desire is, to have something sent to you concerning the usurped authority of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, (which is undoubtedly that great antichrist, of whom the apostles do so much admonish us,) that you may have as well something the more to stay on, as also wherewith to answer the adversaries, because you may perchance therein be something apposed. To satisfy this your desire, I will briefly go about; and so, that I will by God's grace fully set forth the same, to enarm you to withstand the assaults of the papists herein, if you mark well and read over again that which I now write.

"The papists do place in pre-eminence over the whole church, the pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is the Head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the same. This they do without all Scriptures: for whereas they bring in this spoken to Peter, Feed my sheep, I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others also. As for that (which perchance they will urge) that he spake to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive how that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to restore him to the honour of an apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, My sheep, my lambs, to be the universal church of Christ? I trow a man might easily, by the like reason, prove that Peter himself had resigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ saith to Peter, Feed my sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole church of Christ? If Peter do truly write unto others that they should do the like, that is, feed Christ's flock, either he translateth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them; so that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground. Peter indeed was a shepherd of the sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them so far as he could stretch himself by his ministry. But the papists prate, that he had full power over all churches: wherein they may see Paul to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superior place. Howbeit, who ever yet read, that Peter did take any thing upon him over churches committed to other men? Was not he sent of the church, and sent as one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the ex-

cellency of his gifts, whensoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole church, because he was so over a small congregation?

"But be it so that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm—who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs? He hath left (say the papists) to his successors the selfsame right which he received. O Lord God! then must his successor be a Satan: for he received that title of Christ himself. I would gladly have the papists to show me one place of succession mentioned in the Scriptures. I am sure that when Paul purposely painteth out the whole administration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable primacy; and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one body of the church, of one faith, and of one baptism; then he describeth the mean and manner how unity is to be kept: namely, because unto every pastor is grace given after the measure wherewith Christ hath endured them. Where I pray you is now any title of *plenitudinis potestatis*, of fulness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say one pope? which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the papists make it.

"But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the church was established in Peter; I would gladly learn why the seat of the primacy should be rather at Rome than elsewhere. Marry, say they, because Peter's chair was at Rome. This is even like to this, that because Moses the greatest prophet, and Aaron the first priest, exercised their offices unto their death in the desert, therefore the principallest place of the Jewish church should be in the wilderness! But grant them their reason that it is good; what should Antioch claim? For Peter's chair was there also, wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unseemly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his president and better.

"No, say the papists, Rome must have this authority because Peter died there. But what if a man should by probable conjectures show, that it is but a fable which is feigned of Peter's bishopric at Rome? Read how Paul doth salute very many private persons, when he writeth to the Romans. Three years after his Epistle made, he was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren; and yet in all these, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their stories was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the pope.

and prelates be, or else he would have visited Paul! Paul being in prison in Rome did write divers epistles, in which he expresseth the names of many which were, in comparison of Peter, but rascal personages; but of Peter he speaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this silence of him had been suspicious. In the 2nd Epistle to Timothy, Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him, or Peter had played his Peter's part. In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted! Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome bishop, as they prate: for all this time, and long before, they say that Peter was bishop there.

"But I will not stir up coals in this matter. If Rome be the chief seat because Peter died there, why should not Antioch be the second? Why should not James and John, which were taken with Peter to be as pillars? why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to Peter's seat? Is not this gear preposterous, that Alexandria, where Mark (which was but one of the disciples) was bishop, should be preferred before Ephesus, where John the evangelist taught and was bishop; and before Jerusalem, where not only James taught and died bishop, but also Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever, by whom, being Master, I hope honour should be given to his chair, more than to the chair of his chaplains?

"I need to speak nothing how that Paul telleth Peter's apostleship to concern rather circumcision or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in Gregory the First, bishop of Rome, which was about the year of our Lord 600, who plainly, in his works, doth write that this title of primacy, and to be head over all churches under Christ, is a title meet and agreeing only to antichrist; and therefore he calleth it a profane, a mischievous, and a horrible title. Whom should we believe now, if we will neither believe apostle nor pope?

"If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose, God willing, to set it forth at large in a work which I have begun of antichrist, if God for his mercy's sake give me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your Ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the bishop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bite-sheep, than a bishop. They brag of Peter's succession, of Christ's vicar: this is

always in their mouth. But, alas! how can we call him Christ's vicar that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his verity, persecuteth his people, and, like a prelate, preferreth himself above God and man? How, or wherein, do the pope and Christ agree? How supplieth he Peter's ministry, that boasteth of his succession? Therefore to begin withal, which I will use presently for a conclusion, if the papists will have the bishop of Rome supreme head of the church of Christ in earth, they must, afore they attain this, give us a bishop in deed, and not in name. For whosoever he be, that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the bishop of Rome be, surely this must needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a most wicked defection and departing from Christ.

"But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyship unto the tuition of God our Father, and Christ our only Head, Pastor, and Keeper, to whom see that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only upon the word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your steps, you shall then avoid darkness, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the papists are fallen by the judgment of God, and seek to bring us into the same dungeon with them; that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preserve us for his name's sake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day! so shall the night never oppress us, we going from light to light, from virtue to virtue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of God's good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever: Amen.

"Your brother in bonds for the testimony of Jesus Christ,

JOHN BRADFORD."

Here followeth another letter of Master Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, sheriff sometime of Coventry, and yet being (as I hear say) alive. This Hopkins, whom Master Bradford commendeth so much in this letter, during the time of his sheriffalty, was detected and accused, by certain malignant adversaries, of matter pertaining to religion. What matter it was I am not yet certainly informed, unless it were for sending and lending unto a thief, being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English book of Scripture for his spiritual comfort.

Whereupon, or else upon some such-like matter, he, being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet; and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Not-

withstanding, the said Hopkins, being at length delivered out of prison, following this counsel of Master Bradford, and minding to keep his conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight young children to avoid the realm; and so, leaving all other worldly respects, with his great loss and damage went into High Germany, where he continued in the city of Basil till the death of Queen Mary; being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper and a comfortable reliever of other English exiles thereabout him; God's holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his household, during all that time there, miscarried, but so many as he brought out, so many he recarried home again; yea, and that with advantage, and God's plenty withal upon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by Master Bradford is this.

A letter to Master Richard Hopkins, then sheriff of Coventry, and prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of God's holy gospel.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord! I wish unto you as unto mine own brother, yea, as to mine own heart-root, God's mercy, and the feeling of the same plentifully in Christ our sweet Saviour, who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for our redemption; praised therefore be his holy name for ever and ever: Amen.

"I will not go about to excuse myself for not sending unto you hitherto, suffering for the Lord's sake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the truth; but rather accuse myself both before God and you, desiring of you forgiveness, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other my sins, which I beseech the Lord in his mercy to do away, for his Christ's sake: Amen.

"Now to make amends to you-ward, I would be glad if I could: but because I cannot, I shall heartily desire you to accept that will, and this which I shall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will, and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this present, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather unto your old Adam, the which I dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not only discerned, but also utterly destroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

"Now his word pronounceth of your state, that it is happy; therefore it must needs be so. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that

the Holy Ghost saith, That they are happy which suffer for righteousness' sake, and that God's glory and Spirit resteth on them which suffer for conscience to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for righteousness' sake, and for conscience to God-ward: for else you might be out of trouble, even out of hand. I know in very deed, that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulness to God, and other sins, to witness to you, that you have deserved this imprisonment, and lack of liberty, betwixt God and yourself; and I would you so would confess unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon, and thanksgiving for his correcting you here. But you know that the magistrates do not persecute in you your sins, your unthankfulness, &c.; but they persecute in you Christ himself, his righteousness, his verity. And therefore happy be you that have found such favour with God your Father, as to account you worthy to suffer for his sake in the sight of man; surely you shall rejoice therefore one day with a joy unspeakable, in the sight of man also.

"You may think yourself born in a blessed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a vessel of honour to suffer with his saints, yea, with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done so with many. The apostle saith, not many noble, not many rich, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen. Oh then, what cause have you to rejoice, that amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one! For this cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more see his special dignation and love towards you. It had not been so great a thing for Master Hopkins to have suffered as Master Hopkins, as it is for Master Hopkins also to suffer as Master Sheriff. O happy day that you were made sheriff! by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, so, by suffering in this room, he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the sight of his church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a sheriff of a city hath suffered for the Lord's sake? Where read we of any sheriff that hath been cast into prison for conscience to God-ward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, than herein he hath done? To the end of the world it shall be written for a memorial to your praise, that Richard Hopkins, sheriff of Coventry, for conscience to do his office before God, was cast into the Fleet, and there kept prisoner a long time. Happy and twice happy are you, if here-for you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion on this sort, out of that office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but specially to magis-

trates in this realm ! Who would ever have thought that you should have been the first magistrate that, for Christ's sake, should have lost any thing ? As I said before, therefore I say again, that your state is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth unto you ; my conscience bearing me witness, that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

“ Be thankful therefore ; rejoice in your trouble ; pray for patience ; persevere to the end ; let patience have her perfect work. If you want this wisdom and power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope still in him ; yea, if he should slay you, yet trust in him with Job, and you shall perceive that the end will be to find him merciful and full of compassion : for he will not break promise with you, which hitherto did never so with any. He is with you in trouble ; he heareth you calling upon him, yea, before you call ; your desires are not only known, but accepted, through Christ. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true : he is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he seem to tarry, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderful works of the Lord. O beloved ! wherefore should you be heavy ? Is not Christ Emmanuel, God with us ? shall you not find that as he is true in saying, In the world you shall have trouble ; so is he in saying, In me you shall have comfort ? He doth not swear only that trouble will come, but withal he sweareth that comfort shall ensue. And what comfort ? Such a comfort as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. O great comfort ! who shall have this ? Forsooth they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them ? Yea, verily are you. Then, as I said, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. You now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall be glorified with him. Call upon God, therefore, in your trouble, and he will hear you ; yea, deliver you in such sort, as most shall make both to his and your glory also. And in this calling I heartily pray you to pray for me, your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high-way to heaven : for by many afflictions must we enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercy's sake. Amen, Amen.

“ Your fellow in affliction,

JOHN BRADFORD.”

To my good sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown.

“ Good sister, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you, unto the end.

“ I am afraid to write unto you, because you so

overcharge yourself at all times, even whensoever I do but send to you commendations. I would be more bold on you than many others, and therefore you might suspend so great tokens till I should write unto you of my need ; which thing doubtless I would do, if it urged me. Dear sister, I see your unfeigned love to me-ward in God, and have done of long time, the which I do recompense with the like, and will do, by God's grace, so long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwise I can do you no service, except it be now and then by my writing, to let you from better exercise ; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and stir up your heart more earnestly to go forwards in your well-begun enterprise. For you know none shall be crowned, but such as strive lawfully ; and none receiveth the glee, but those that run to the appointed mark. None shall be saved but such as persist and continue to the very end.

“ Therefore, dear sister, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promise. Patience and perseverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They that persevere not, were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea, their progress seemeth marvellous ; but yet after, in the end, they fail. These were never of us, saith St. John ; for if they had been of us, they would have continued unto the very end.

“ Go to now, therefore, mine own beloved in the Lord : as you have well begun, and well gone forward, so well persist, and happily end ; and then all is yours. Though this be sharp and sour, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all that ever you do, simply for God, and as to God ; so shall never unkindness, nor any other thing, make you to leave off from well doing, so long as you may do well. Accustom yourself now to see God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it unto yourself : in evil things and plagues behold his judgments, where-through learn to fear him. Beware of sin, as the serpent of the soul, which spoileth us of all our or-nature and seemly apparel in God's sight. Let Christ crucified be your book to study on. and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Use hearty and earnest prayer, and that in spirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Christ. Labour to have here life everlasting begun in you : for else it will not be elsewhere enjoyed. Set God's judgment often before your eyes, that now examining

yourself, you may make diligent suit, and obtain, never to come into judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this antichristian trash: defile not yourself in soul or body therewith, but accomplish holiness in the fear of God, and bear no yoke with unbelievers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at hand; by earnest prayer and godly life hasten it. God our Father accomplish his good work in you. Amen. Commend me to my good mother, Mistress Wilkin-son, and to my very dear sister, Mistress Warcup. I shall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

“JOHN BRADFORD.”

To a friend of his, instructing him how he should answer his adversaries.

“My good brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Christ, open your eyes effectually to see, and your heart ardently to desire, the everlasting joy which he hath prepared for his slaughter-sheep; that is, for such as shrink not from his truth for any such storms' sake. Amen.

“When you shall come before the magistrates to give an answer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and simplicity. And because you may be something afraid by the power of the magistrates, and cruelty which they will threaten against you, I would you set before you the good father Moses, to follow his example: for he set the invisible God before his eyes of faith, and with them looked upon God, and his glorious majesty and power, as with his corporal eyes he saw Pharaoh and all his fearful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give such light unto you, that as you know you are before the magistrates, so, and much more, you and they also are present before the face of God, which will give such wisdom to you, fearing him and seeking his praise, as the enemies shall wonder at; and further, he will so order their hearts and doings, that they shall (will they nill they) serve God's providence towards you, (which you cannot avoid though you would,) as shall be most to his glory, and your everlasting comfort.

“Therefore, my good brother, let your whole study be only to please God: put him always before your eyes, for he is on your right hand, lest you should be moved; he is faithful, and never will suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head he hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you, in that he is become your Father through Christ; and therefore as he hath given you to believe in him,

(God increase this belief in us all,) so doth he now graciously give unto you to suffer for his name's sake: the which you ought with all thankfulness to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the self-same cup, which not only the very sons of God have drunk of before you, but even the very natural Son of God himself hath brought you good luck. Oh! he of his mercy make us thankful to pledge him again. Amen.

“Because the chiefest matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withal, is the sacrament, not of Christ's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby destroying the sacrament which Christ instituted, I would you noted these two things: first, that the sacrament of the altar which the priest offereth in the mass, and eateth privately with himself, is not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood instituted by him, as Christ's institution plainly written and set forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their using of it, plainly doth declare.

“Again, if they talk with you of Christ's sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christ's body or no: answer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, to your taste and corporal sense, it is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the consecration so; even so to the eyes, taste, and sense of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heaven, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed Christ's body and blood, which spiritually your soul feedeth on to everlasting life in faith, and by faith, even as your body presently feedeth on the sacramental bread and sacramental wine.

“By this means, as you shall not allow transubstantiation, nor any of their popish opinions; so shall you declare the sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reason, as the papists make it. For they deny God's omnipotency, in that they say Christ is not there, if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promise, and doubteth not but that Christ is able to give that he promiseth us spiritually by faith, the bread still remaining in substance, as well as if the substance of bread were taken away: for Christ saith not in any place, this is no bread. But of this gear God shall instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and wisdom of his Spirit, which undoubtedly as you are bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it: the which thing he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his name's sake, through Christ our Lord! Amen.

“JOHN BRADFORD.”

To certain godly men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the cross, and constant in the true doctrine which they had professed.

“My dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as here in hope, so in heaven indeed, and eternally.

“You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, so I trust you know not it; that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will seem so to do, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this hot sun, which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corn which is sown upon sand and stony ground, beginneth to wither; that is, many which beforetimes were taken for hearty gospellers, begin now, for the fear of afflictions, to relent, yea, to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that though they go from among us, yet were they never of us; or else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loss have left us, either in word or in deed. As for their heart, (which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger of God’s curse,) we have as much with us, as the papists have with them, and more too by their own judgment. For they, playing wily beguile themselves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour: What though with my body, say they, I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him.

“Ah! brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why dost not thou confess and declare thyself accordingly, by word and fact? Either that which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart is good, or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil, why dost thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee, adventuring thyself for his cause? or will he not defend his worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say, that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

“If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why are we afraid of the loss of our goods, as though God would leave them that fear him destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promises? Ah! faith, faith, how few feel thee now-a-days! Full truly said Christ, that he should scarcely find faith, when he came on earth. For if

men believed these promises, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soever they be, or how learned soever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company or custom. His word is the lantern to lighten our steps, and not learned men. Company and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listened to and followed according to God’s lore and law: for else the more part goeth to the devil. As custom causeth error and blindness, so learning, if it be not according to the light of God’s word, is poison, and learned men most pernicious. The devil is called demon for his cunning, and the children of the world are much wiser than the children of light in their generation: and I know the devil and his darlings have always for the most part more helps in this life than Christ’s church and her children. They (the devil and his synagogue I mean) have custom, multitude, unity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotions plenty, as always they have had, and shall have commonly, and for the most part until Christ’s coming, much more than the true church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter shall have. For her glory, riches, and honour are not here; her trial, cross, and warfare are here.

“And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you be: not worldlings, but God’s children. Consider where you be: not at home, but in a strange country. Consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, and of a wicked generation; and then I trust you will not much muse at affliction; which you cannot be without, being as you be, God’s children, in a strange country, and in the midst of your enemies, except you would leave your Captain, Christ, and follow Satan for the muck of this world, rest and quietness, which he may promise you, and you indeed think you shall receive it by doing as he would have you to do. But, my sweet hearts! he is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and war come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The devil hath no power but by God’s permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body, or life, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you, as Peter saith, you being followers of godliness? Think you that God will not remember you in his time, as most shall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the child of her womb? And if she should, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord. Look upon Abraham in his exile and misery; look upon Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, the prophets, apostles, and all the godly

from the beginning; and my good brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a changeling? You have heard of the patience of Job, saith St. James, and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient, and long-suffering: even so I say unto you, that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be patient; that is, if so be you fear him, set his word before you, serve him thereafter, and if he lay his cross on you, you bear it with patience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present sense, but according to the end.

"Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of my bonds, which I suffer for your sake, pray you, mine own sweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many others my brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantasies, but the very word of God, which we are ready with our lives (God so enabling us, as we trust he will) to confirm, and by the shedding of our bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the superior powers, to testify and seal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confess the same before this wicked world; knowing that if we confess Christ and his truth before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if so be we be ashamed hereof for loss of life, friends, or goods, he will be ashamed of us before his Father, and his holy angels in heaven.

"Therefore take heed, for the Lord's sake take heed; take heed, and defile not your bodies or souls with this Romish and antichristian religion set up amongst us again: but come away, come away, as the angel crieth, from amongst them in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquity. Harken to your preachers as the Thessalonians did to Paul; that is, confer their sayings with the Scriptures, and if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them.

"Use much and hearty prayer for the spirit of wisdom, knowledge, humbleness, meekness, sobriety, and repentance, which we have great need of; because our sins have thus provoked the Lord's anger against us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears and sorrowful sighs, and doubtless he will be merciful to us after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchsafe to do for his holy name's sake in Christ Jesu our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

"Out of prison by yours in the Lord to command,
JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter to Master George Eaton.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, recompense abundantly into your bosom, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received since my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite your loving-kindness here, than by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whither, I thank God, I am even now a-going; ever looking when officers will come, and satisfy the precept of the prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved a hundred thousand deaths at God's hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoice, because the prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his verity: so that they persecute not me, they hate not me; but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

"And because they can do him no hurt, (for he sitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel,) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants. Great cause therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, amongst many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me, (who have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins,) that I might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

"Therefore, my right dear brother in the Lord, rejoice with me, give thanks for me; and cease not to pray, that God, for his mercy's sake, would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writing, as to the whole world I shortly shall, by God's grace, in suffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his church, of his prophets, apostles, and all good men: so that if an angel should come from heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

"Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it; and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confess it, though it be perilous so to do. The end shall evidently show another manner of pleasure for so doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Use reverent reading of God's word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come depart out of your memory. Practise in doing that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, espe-

cially for the Lord's cause, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppression of Jerusalem; and God our Father shall give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

"And thus I take my *vale* and farewell with you, dear brother, for ever in this present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly. Amen.—God bless all your babes for ever. Amen.—Out of prison this eighth of February.

"Your afflicted brother for the Lord's cause,
JOHN BRADFORD."

Another letter to Mrs. Ann Warcup.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for his Christ's sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed and safely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth. Amen.—My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a *vale* or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life indeed, upon certain knowledge. My staff standeth at the door; I continually look for the sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practise that which I have preached. Now am I climbing up the hill: it will cause me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his goodness, even almost come to the top, I may by his grace be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should be. O loving Lord! put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee; for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath and great weakness. As he sent for Elias in a fiery chariot, so sendeth he for me; for by fire my dross must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess, (right dear to me in the Lord!) that my sins have deserved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which the prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins. Therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

"Oh that I had so open a heart as could so

receive as I should do this great benefit and unspeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never shrink. I shall never shrink, I hope. I trust in the Lord I shall never shrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have most need, for his truth and mercy's sake. O Lord! help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me: Amen, Amen. My dearly beloved, say you Amen also; and come after, if so God call you. Be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but keep company with him still. He will never leave you, but in the midst of temptation will give you an out-scape, to make you able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer; reverently read and hear God's word; put it in practice; look for the cross; lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord; pray for mitigation of God's heavy displeasure upon our country. God keep us for ever; God bless us with his spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, pray for me; for God's sake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me. Amen.—Out of prison, the seventh of February.

"Yours in the Lord,

J. BRADFORD."

In the story of Master Bradford, it was above rehearsed, how a certain gentlewoman, being in trouble by her father and mother for not coming to mass, sent her servant to visit Master Bradford in prison; who, tendering the woeful case of the gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counsel, partly to relieve her oppressed mind with some comfort, directed this letter unto her: the contents whereof are these.

To a certain godly gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her friends for not coming to the mass.

"I wish unto you, right worshipful and my dearly beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's gospel, whereto you are called. Amen.

"I perceived by yourself, the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the school-house and trial-parlour of the Lord; which to me is (at

the least it should be) a great comfort, to see the number of God's elect by you increased, which are in that state whereof God hath not called many, as Paul saith. And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord, for his faithfulness' sake, will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.

"If then your cross be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, my dearly beloved, how much more ought it to be so unto you, unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake; and that not commonly of common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolks, as you told me! by which I see Christ's words to be true, how that he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide; and therefore stirreth up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than it should continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him; how that for conscience to him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you; and by this would have you to see, how that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him. For he will make your body, which now you defile not with idolatrical service in going to mass, like unto his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your father; he will make you to reign with him, that now suffer for him and with him; he will reward you with himself and all the glory he hath, that now, for his sake, deny yourselves with all that ever you have; he will not leave you comfortless, that seek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and strengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear Husband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive in such sort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your stedfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly will he show you how stedfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully resigned it to his will.

"Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you

shall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink, and all those that, for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked, in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you should do, (which God forbid,) then, my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you should not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but also be a cast-away, and partaker of God's most heavy displeasure in hell-fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, to lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. For he that gathereth not with me, saith Christ, (as no mass-gospeller doth,) scattereth abroad. According to that we do in this body, we shall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we shall be judged to condemnation or salvation; much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be partaker of God's religion and anti-christ's service, whereof the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ's church, and a member of the pope's church. You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requireth less of you his wife now, than your husband did of you. If both heart and body your husband would have, shall Christ have less, trow you, which hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband could not admit an excuse how your heart is his only, if he should have taken your body in bed with another; do you think that Christ will allow your body at mass, although your heart consent not to it?

"God esteemeth his children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works; and therefore in Elias's time he counted none to be his servants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baal: as now he doth not in England account any other to be his darlings, which know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds; as do our mass-gospellers.

"We ought to desire above all things the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly, as it is at mass, by making it a sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ of the priests' and bakers' making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing any thing blasphemously done or spoken against God; and shall we yet come to church where mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their clothes to see the people of Lyeaonia to offer sacrifice unto them; and shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to

an inanimate creature, and be mum? What thing helpeth more or so much antichrist's kingdom as doth the mass? And what destroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Christ upon earth more than *it* doth? And how can we then say, Let thy kingdom come, and go to mass? How can we pray before God, Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friends? How pray we, Deliver us from evil, which, knowing the mass to be evil, do come to it?

"But what go I about to light a candle in the noon-day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in so doing do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will mercy yet halt on both knees? saith God. Halting, saith St. Paul, bringeth out of the way; that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he which is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hell-fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, which be now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

"Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and there-through to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than now to return to it; making oftsoons your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness; as you do, if you do but go to the church where mass is. Be pure therefore, and keep yourself from all filth of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

"And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the Spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble; which is but short, if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you shall not fail but inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and yield not over to the wicked world, but stick still against it unto the end. God, for his holy name's sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I myself would be holpen at his hands in all things; and especially in this his own cause. Amen, Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To one by whom he had received much comfort and relief in his trouble and imprisonment.

"The mercy of God in Christ, peculiar to his

children, be evermore felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. Amen.

"When I consider with myself the benefits which God hath showed unto me by your means, if I had so good and thankful a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now, being yet still the Lord's prisoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think myself so much bound to you, my good brother, (although you were but the instrument by whom God wrought and blessed me,) that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleasure or service that I shall ever be able to do you in this life. I shall heartily pray unto God, therefore, to requite you the good you have done to me for his sake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it simply in respect of God and his word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and word, and so plentifully pour upon you the riches of his Holy Spirit and heavenly treasures laid up in store for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be used of you as sacraments and significations thereof; the more to desire the one—that is, the heavenly, and the less to esteem the other—that is, the earthly. For Satan's solicitation is, so to set before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you should not have access to the consideration of the heavenly, but, as one bewitched, should utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worshipper of the earthly mammon, and so to fall to covetousness, and a desire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noisome and hurtful lusts: as now-a-days I hear of many which have utterly forsaken God and all his heavenly riches, for antichrist's pleasure, and the preserving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their posterity; whereof they are uncertain, as they may be most certain they leave to them God's wrath and vengeance, in his time to be sent by visitation, if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the same by earnest prayer. Wherein, my good brother, if you be diligent, hearty, and persevere, I am sure God will preserve you from evil, and from yielding yourself to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact in the Romish service, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth disallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into consideration of earthly and present things simply, then shall you fall into faithless follies and wounding of your conscience; from which God evermore preserve you, with your good wife, and your babe Leonard, and all your family; to the which I wish the blessing of God, now and for ever, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

"I pray you give thanks for me to your old bed-fellow, for his great friendship for your sake showed to me when I was in the Tower.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a faithful friend of his, and his wife, resolving their doubt, why they ought not to come to auricular confession.

"The merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which loveth us as a most dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affection of a most tender mother towards her children, so that he can no less think upon us (although of ourselves we be most unworthy, and deserve nothing less) than she can think on her only begotten child in his distress; yea, if she should forget her child, as some unnatural mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he seem to sleep, that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear brother Nathaniel, and your good yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved sister in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory, and your eternal comfort: and also of his goodness he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in store for you both, far passing the store and provision, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you: but I beseech him to increase it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the same; the which once felt and had in deed, then the means by the which we come thereto cannot be so greatly dreaded, as most men do dread them, because either they want this feeling, (I mean it, of altogether,) or else because the sense of this present time and things therein, are as a mist to the hiding of those things from our sight, lest we should run and embrace them by hearty prayer; the spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we should attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

"For auricular confession, wherein you desire my advice for your good yoke-fellow and family, (my most dear brother,) I am as ready to give it, as you to desire it, yea, more glad, forasmuch as half a suspicion was in me (at the least touching my dear sister your wife) of a loathing of my advice, that too much had been given, whereas indeed I should lament my too little feeding you spiritually, as you, both out of prison and in prison, have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, so I yet think, that she is the child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time, to her eternal comfort, give her her heart's desire in sure feeling and sensible believing of this, which I would

she had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father through Jesus Christ our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater service to God she cannot give, than to believe this. If Satan say, she believeth not, to answer not him but the Lord, and to say, Yea, Lord, help my unbelief; and increase my poor faith, which Satan saith is no faith: make him a liar, Lord, as always he hath been, is, and shall be. Undoubtedly, sooner or later God will graciously hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his bottle, yea, write them in his counting-book, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his creature; he loveth mercy, he will return and show her his mercy, he will cast all her sins and iniquities into the bottom of the sea; and the longer that he tarrieth, (as he doth it but to prove her,) so the more liberally will he recompense her long looking; which no less pleaseth him, than it grieveth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof God useth this cross, and therefore if she desire to bear the same, doubtless God will make her able to bear it; and in presumption of his goodness and strength, let her cast herself wholly upon him; for he is faithful, and will assuredly confirm, and bring to a happy end, that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thing I desire him to do for his own glory and name's sake. Amen, Amen.

"And now to the matter. Confession auricular, as is was first used and instituted, (which was by the way of a counsel asking,) I take to be amongst those traditions which are indifferent; that is, neither unlawful, nor necessarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to consider it as it is now used, (I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; which follow no further, than good men by God's word do allow it,) to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinketh, it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes:

"First, because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of itself, I will not say meritorious; this bringer, my brother, can tell you at large how great this evil is.

"Secondly, because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good Christian.

"Thirdly, because it requireth of itself an impossibility; that is, the numbering and telling of all our sins; which no man perceiveth, much less can utter.

"Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least alloweth, praying to saints: *Pre-cor sanctam Mariam*, you must say, or the priest for you.

"Fifthly, because it is very injurious to the liberty of the gospel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in God's sight.

"Sixthly, because (as it is used) it is a note, yea, a very sinew, of the popish church: and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think ourselves happy to lose any thing in bearing witness there-against.

"Seventhly, because, instead of counsel, thereat you should receive poison; or, if you refuse it under Sir John's *benedicite*, you should no less there be wounded in the briers.

"Eighthly, because the end and purpose why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the cross; that is, for our own cause, and not for Christ's cause, or for our brethren's commodity. For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ, and the freedom of his gospel: and the same thing teacheth us, that it is against the commodity of our brethren, which either be weak, either be strong, either be ignorant, either be obstinate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be strong, you do what you can to infirm their strength. If they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obstinate, your resorting to it cannot but rock them asleep in their obstinate error of the necessity of this rite and ceremony. These causes recited, do show you what I think in this: but my thinking must no further bind you than a man's thought should do, except the same be grounded upon God's word, which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you, weighing these causes, and especially two, the first and the last, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I say) but you shall be guided to do that which is best in God's sight, although in the sight of the world, perhaps, you should be counted foolish and precise. But be at a point with yourselves as the disciples of Christ, which had forsaken themselves, to follow, not your will, but God's will, as you daily pray in the Lord's prayer.

"The cross of Christ be willing to carry, lest you carry the cross of the world, the flesh, or the devil. One of these four crosses you must carry. Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heaven; but few go that way, as well because the way is strait, as also because few walk in it. Howbeit, though it be strait, it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and

Christ Jesus, with all his guard and train. Think not scorn to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whose number I trust I am appointed to be one; and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our sins deserve plagues, prison, and the loss of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our sins out of sight, and send us prison, or loss of goods and living, for his name's sake, O how happy are we! My dear hearts in the Lord, consider this gear, and be assured that he which loseth any thing for Christ's sake, the same in his posterity shall find it here, and in heaven elsewhere. As for unablensness to answer for your faith, it shall be enough to will them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputing. I think few, if it came to disputing, could defend the Godhead of Christ and many other articles: I speak it for the simple sort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B., and my good sister his wife. I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this bearer to hear how you do.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a dear friend N., and his wife.

"God's mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithful sister your wife, now and for ever. Amen.

"Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put myself in remembrance of my duty to God-ward for you, both in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me; and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not say in thankfulness for me: not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderfully great and sweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deserts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation (that is, in the fear of God to give yourselves to great vigilancy in prayer for the increase of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in works and words, but also in thoughts, because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in God's sight): I have (I say) not only not done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, talking, and doing; so that woe to me for giving you such offence. Partly for this cause, dear brother

and sister, God hath cast me here, that I might repent me and turn to him; and that ye might also, by this correction upon me, be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your conscience do accuse you.

"My dearly beloved, heavily is God's anger fallen upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath antichrist all his power again. Now is Christ's gospel trodden under foot. Now are God's people a derision and prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen, the want of God's word: and all these we have, yea, I alone have justly deserved. Oh! that as I write, (I alone,) I could with David, and with Jonas, in heart say so. But I do not, I do not. I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen for mine unthankfulness for God's word, for mine hypocrisy in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of God's word; for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not living of it thoroughly, as it requireth, &c. I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough.

"Dear brother and sister, with me say ye the like for your own parts, and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christ's sake beseech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us: O good Father, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy word; it is we that have deserved these thy just plagues fallen upon us; we have done amiss; we have dealt unjustly with thy gospel; we have procured thy wrath; and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miserable. But, good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such, that thou wilt not punish the poor souls of this realm, which yet have not thus sinned against thee as we have done, (for many yet never heard thy word,) for our trespasses; and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christ's sake, if we repent and believe: grant us, we beseech thee, true repentance and faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our sins, may, through thy Christ, get deliverance from the tyranny of antichrist now oppressing us.

"O good Father, which hast said, that the sceptre of the wicked should not long lie upon and over the just, lest they should put forth their hands to iniquity also; make us just, we pray thee in Christ's name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate Sion; let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? Thou our God art in heaven, and dost whatsoever pleaseth thee upon earth.

"Oh that thou wouldest in the mean while, before

thou dost deliver us—that, I say, thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come, whatsoever they be, public or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand; and that justly and mercifully: justly, because we have and do deserve them, not only by our birth-poisson still sticking and working in us, but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments thou wouldest have us to call to our remembrance, and to set before us, that thou mightest put them from before thee, whereas they stand so long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend; that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and begin to suffer for righteousness' sake; to be part of thy house, whereat thy judgment beginneth; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy church, and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same; to weep here that we might rejoice elsewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy saints judge hereafter the world; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus find rest elsewhere; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive. Oh! that our eyes were open to see this: that the cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is; how long a time the time of rejoicing is, to them that suffer here; but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us, dear Father, and give us more light in soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearest children have carried the cross of grievous afflictions in this life; in whose company do thou place us, and such a cross lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation. Amen, Amen, Amen.

"And thus, dear hearts, I have talked, methinks, a little while with you, or rather we have all talked with God. Oh! that God would give us his Spirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for yourselves, so for me; and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with

a good conscience for his name's sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you.—This twentieth of December, by him whom by this bringer you shall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in heaven we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore. Amen."

To my good brother Augustine Bernher.

"Mine own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy bless thee, my dear brother, for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you; but come as secretly as you can: howbeit, in the mean season, if you can, and as you can, learn what Master G. hath spoken to Dr. Story and others. The cause of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that shortly. The Lord's will be done. Behold, here I am, Lord, send me. Ah! mine own sweet friend, I am now alone, lest I should make you and others worse. If I should live, I would more warily use the company of God's children, than ever I have done. I will bear the Lord's anger, because I have sinned against him. Commend me to my most dear sister, for whom my heart bleedeth: the Lord comfort her and strengthen her unto the end! I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we shall most surely meet, and praise the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain answer of death than ever I did: and yet not so certain as I think I should do. I am now as a sheep appointed to the slaughter. Ah! my God, the hour is come; glorify thy most unworthy child. I have glorified thee, saith this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee. Amen.—Ah! mine own bowels, praise God for me; and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forsake me, though I have above all others most deserved it. I am the most singular example of his mercy, praised be his name therefore for ever. Cause Mrs. Pierrepont to learn of the sheriff, Master Chester, what they purpose to do with me; and know, if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. I am like to an owl in the house, and as a sparrow alone in the house-top. Ah! my Augustine, how long shall God's enemies thus triumph? I have sent you this of the baptism of children to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Pray, pray, mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to speak with me, but yet, I trust, that I shall speak with you.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To these letters of Master Bradford above specified, here is also adjoined another letter of the said Bradford, written to certain of his faithful friends, worthy of all Christians to be read; wherein is described a lively comparison between the old man and the new: also between the law and the gospel, containing much fruitful matter of divinity, necessary for Christian consciences to read and understand.

A letter of Master Bradford, describing a comparison between the old man and the new, &c.

"A man that is regenerate and born of God (the which thing that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin Mary say, Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word, according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, striving against it, as we shall be made able of the Lord): a man, I say, that is regenerate, consisteth of two men (as a man may say); namely, of the old man, and of the new man: the old man is like to a mighty giant, such a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect; but the new man is like unto a little child, such a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general resurrection.

"The old man therefore is more strong, lusty, and stirring than is the new man, because the birth of the new man is but begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the old man is more stirring, lusty, and stronger than the new man; so is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satan's seed, the nature of the new man being heavenly, and blessed with the celestial seed of God. So that one man, inasmuch as he is corrupt with the seed of the serpent, is an old man; and inasmuch as he is blessed with the seed of God from above, he is a new man. And as, inasmuch as he is an old man, he is a sinner and an enemy to God; so, inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the seed of God preserving him from sin, so that he cannot sin, as the seed of the serpent (wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception) inclineth him, yea, enforceth him to sin, and nothing else but to sin: so that the best part in man before regeneration, in God's sight, is not only an enemy, but enmity itself.

"One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always just, and always sinful; just in respect of God's seed, and his regeneration; sinful in respect of Satan's seed, and his first birth. Betwixt these two men therefore there is continual

conflict, and war most deadly. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man, (being but a child in comparison,) and that in such sort, as not only others, but even the children of God themselves, think that they be nothing else but old, and that the spirit and seed of God is lost and gone away; whereas, yet notwithstanding, the truth is otherwise, the spirit and the seed of God at the length appearing again, and dispelling away the clouds which cover the sun of God's seed from shining, as the clouds in the air do the corporal sun; so that sometimes a man cannot tell, by any sense, that there is any sun, the clouds and wind so hiding it from our sight: even so our cecity or blindness, and corrupt affections, do often shadow the sight of God's seed in God's children, as though they were plain reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they, praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think so for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not still as others do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt God's children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked always; that the elect lie not still continually in their sin, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reason of God's seed, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes; as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalene, and others. For these (I mean God's children) God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given this dignity, that they should be his inheritance and spouses.

"This our inheritor Christ Jesus, God with God, light of light, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father and with the Holy Ghost, to the end that he might become our Husband, (because the husband and the wife must be one body and flesh,) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by [it] in his own person, to us all his children, his Divine majesty, (as Peter saith,) and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones substantially; as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea, even our sins; as all that ever he hath pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no sueable person, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his action against our Husband, Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

"For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Christ, and so be certain of salvation, and at godly peace with God in our consciences) God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts, (as now the children of God do consist of two men,) one part of God's word being proper to the old man, and the other part of God's word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man, is the law; the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the gospel.

"The law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding: under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatenings, promises, upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The gospel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring faith on our behalf, not as of worthiness, or as a cause, but as a certificate unto us: and therefore under it are contained all the free and sweet promises of God, as, I am the Lord thy God, &c.

"In those that be of years of discretion, it requireth faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument, whereby we ourselves may be certain of our good Husband, Christ, and of his glory; and therefore when the conscience feeleth itself disquieted for fear of God's judgment against sin, she may in no wise look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man; in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is, faith, because we never believe as we should; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ. So shall she be in quiet, when she looketh for it, altogether out of herself, in God's mercy in Christ Jesus: in whose lap if she lay her head with St. John, then is she happy, and shall find quietness indeed. When she feeleth herself quiet, then, in God's name, let her look on the law, and upon such things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to slay that Goliath; from whom she must needs keep the sweet promises, being the bed wherein her Spouse and she meet and lie together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things she is contented to have fellowship with others, as to speak, sit, eat, drink, go, &c.; so our consciences, which are Christ's wives, must needs keep the bed (that is, God's sweet promises) alone for ourselves and our Husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If sin, the law, the devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lie there, then complain to thy Husband, Christ, and forthwith thou shalt see him play Phineas's part. Thus, my dearly beloved, I

have given you, in few words, a sum of all the divinity which a Christian conscience can want.

A letter written to his mother, as a farewell, when he thought he should have suffered shortly after.

“The Lord of life and Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, bless you and comfort you, my good and dear mother, with his heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and spirit, now and for ever. Amen.—If I thought that daily, yea, almost hourly, you did not cry upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his children, then would I write more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away; among the which, in that I think my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will thereabout spend this letter, and that briefly, lest it might increase the let, as my good brother, this bringer, can tell you. You shall know therefore, good mother, that for my body, though it be in a house, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to God’s will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, books, and all other necessities for mine ease, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better case than I could wish, and God’s merciful providence here is far above my worthiness. Worthiness, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

“But besides all this, for my soul, I find much more commodity; for God is my Father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore, in prisoning me for his gospel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is I shall be. Now maketh he me like to his friends the prophets, apostles, the holy martyrs and confessors: which of them did not suffer at the least imprisonment or banishment for his gospel and word?

“Now, mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared to them!—I (I say) which always have been and am so vile a hypocrite and grievous a sinner. God might have caused me, long before this time, to have been cast into prison as a thief, a blasphemer, an unclean liver, and a heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but, dear mother, his mercy is so great upon both you, and all that love me, that I should be cast into prison as none of these, or for

any such vices, but only for his Christ’s sake, for his gospel’s sake, for his church’s sake, that hereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and sins, so I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ; for whose sake, praised be his name for it, I now suffer, and therefore should be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, so I am, as ever I was: yea, never so merry and glad was I, as now I should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this sort: Ah! good Father, which dost vouchsafe that my son, being a grievous sinner in thy sight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Son’s captains and men of war to fight and suffer, for his gospel’s sake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Christ’s name, that thou wouldest forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good which thou hast begun; yea, Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer, not only imprisonment, but even very death, for thy truth, religion, and gospel’s sake. As Anna did apply and give her first child Samuel unto thee, so do I, dear Father, beseeching thee for Christ’s sake to accept this my gift, and give my son, John Bradford, grace always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did. Amen, Amen.

“If on this sort, good mother, from your heart you would pray, as I should be the most merriest man that ever was; so am I certain the lets of your prayer for my imprisonment would be taken away. Good mother, therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to say it daily; and then I shall be merry, and you shall rejoice if that you continue, as I trust you do, in God’s true religion, even the same I have taught you, and my father Traves I trust will put you in remembrance of: my brother Roger also, I trust, doth so daily: go to, therefore, and learn apace. Although the devil cast divers lets in the way, God, in whom you trust, will cast them away for his Christ’s sake, if you will call upon him; and never will he suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. But how you should do herein, the other letter which I have written herewith shall teach you, which I would have none should read till my father Traves have read it, and he will give you, by God’s grace, some instructions.

“Now, therefore, will I make an end, praying you, good mother, to look for no more letters; for if it were known that I have pen and ink, and did write, then should I want all the foresaid commodities I have spoken of concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron; which thing I know would grieve you. And therefore, for God’s sake, see that these be burned, when this little prayer

in it is copied by my brother Roger ; for perchance your house may be searched for such gear, when you think little of it : and look for no more, sweet mother, till either God shall deliver me, and send me out, or you and I shall meet together in heaven, where we shall never part asunder. Amen.

“ I require you, Elizabeth and Margaret my sisters, that you will fear God, use prayer, love your husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you ; bring up your children in God’s fear, and be good housewives. God bless you both, with both your husbands, my good brethren, to whom to do good, because I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my sister Anne, mother Pike, Thomas Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcross and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wild, Master Vicar, the parson of Mottram, Sir Laurence Hall, with all that love, and, I trust, live in the gospel ; and God turn Sir Thomas’s heart : Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to set my name ; you know it well enough.

“ Because you should give my letters to my father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good mother, and another for all your house in your evening prayer, to pray with my brother. These prayers are written with mine own hand : keep them still, but the letters give to father Traves to burn, and give father Traves a copy of the latter prayer.”

Another letter to his mother, at his last farewell unto her in this world, a little before he was burned.

“ God’s mercy and peace in Christ be more and more perceived of us. Amen.

“ My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himself : I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an adulterer, &c. ; but I die as a witness of Christ, his gospel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank God) as well by preaching as by imprisonment, and now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God most justly might take me hence simply for my sins (which are many, great, and grievous ; but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope) : but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God’s truth. The prelates do persecute in me Christ, whom they hate, and his truth, which they may not abide, because their works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light, lest men should see their darkness.

Therefore, my good and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father through Christ. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures : serve God after his word, and not after custom ; beware of the Romish religion in England, defile not yourself with it ; carry Christ’s cross as he shall lay it upon your back ; forgive them that kill me ; pray for them, for they know not what they do ; commit my cause to God our Father ; be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as you can.

“ I send all my writings to you by my brother Roger : do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would : he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you ; only I pray God my Father, for his Christ’s sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. He give you patience ; he make you thankful, as for me, so for yourself, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity : wherein I confess to the whole world, I die and depart this life, in hope of a much better ; which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

“ Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever. Amen.—Out of prison, the 24th of June, 1555.

“ Your son in the Lord,

JOHN BRADFORD.”

A letter sent with a supplication to Queen Mary, her council, and the whole parliament.

“ In most humble wise complaineth unto your Majesty and Honours, a poor subject, persecuted for the confession of Christ’s verity : the which verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign, and have your honours and authorities. Although we that be professors, and through the grace of God the constant confessors of the same, are (as it were) the outswEEPINGS of the world ; yet, (I say,) the verity itself is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your Highness and Honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and sufficeth only to accuse. It behoveth kings, queens,

and all that be in authority, to know that in the administration of their kingdoms they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are no kings, but plain tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to be taught, to submit themselves to the Lord's discipline, and to kiss their Sovereign, lest they perish; as all those potentates with their principalities and dominions cannot long prosper, but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God; and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cause, which he hath most chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his truth gloriously; the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting—much more is suppressed, as it is now in this realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your Highness, and all your Honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to antichrist and his prelates, which have brought your Highness and Honours already to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ: as by the grace and help of God I shall make apparent, if, first, it would please your excellent Majesty, and all your Honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisees (I mean the bishops and prelates) than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to pass the less of it. For it (the doctrine, I mean) is higher and of more honour and majesty, than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly so doth he and will he reign, that he will shake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silvery brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shivers, in such sort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the prophets do write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

"But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once

to whist against them, that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God; calling us the most wicked contemnors of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, &c. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation; yet here will I occasion your Majesty and Honours, by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake, direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, to the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm. Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To certain of his friends, N. S., and R. C.

"I wish to you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I wish and pray the Father of mercies to give me, for his holy name's sake. Amen.

"Your letter, though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a Christian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of himself, and all his posterity. I believe that Christ, for man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the justice of God, a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all that believe in Christ, (I speak of such as be of years of discretion,) are partakers of Christ and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of faith that men have by reason of miracles, or by reason of earthly commodity, custom, and authority of men, which is commonly seen—the hearts of them that so believe, being not right and simple before God; but I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith): I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to those which be the children of God; that is, to those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath predestinated in Christ unto eternal life.

"Thus do I wade in predestination, in such sort as God hath pated and opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come.

to redemption, so to justification, and so to election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, seeing this faith not to be given to all men, but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the world was made, after the purpose and good will of God: which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fear submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it seem to the judgment of reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory than for man's salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well see: for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but also judgment, which is his justice, and most justice; although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others, through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur there-against. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your letter particularly answered by Master Philpot; as also, if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

Notes upon the same epistle, and to the matter of election appertaining.

As touching the doctrine of election (whereof this letter of Master Bradford, and many other his letters more, do much entreat) three things must be considered.

1. First, What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.

2. Secondly, How God's election proceedeth in working our salvation.

3. Thirdly, To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between predestination and election, this difference there is: predestination is as well to the reprobate, as to the elect; election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the reprobate, is called reprobation; in that it respecteth the saved, is called election, and is thus defined:

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to salvation or damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will, through faith in Christ his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

In this definition of election, first goeth before,

"the mercy and grace of God," as the causes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before either of them began to work, &c.

Secondly, in that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be "free," thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, &c.; but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpose; as it is written, The wind bloweth where it listeth. And thus was the outward race and stock of Abraham after the flesh refused (which seemed to have the pre-eminence); and another seed after the Spirit raised up to Abraham of the stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward temple of Jerusalem and chair of Moses, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and God's chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refused, and little David accepted; the rich, the proud, the wise of this world rejected, and the word of salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable abjects; the high mountains cast under, and the low valleys exalted, &c.

Thirdly, where it is added, "in his own will," by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of nature; according as it is written, It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy: so we see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more; and yet they which came last were rewarded with the first. The working will of the Pharisee seemed better; but yet the Lord's will was rather to justify the publican. The elder son had a better will to tarry by his father, and so did indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son that ran away: whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God; as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it is written, Which are born, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man; so again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his Son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clause added in the definition, "through faith in Christ his Son;" which faith in Christ to us-ward maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of God's election; as this epistle of Master Bradford doth well express: for

whosoever will be certain of election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ; which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of God's elect. Secondly, the said faith, and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon God's mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all God's promises to salvation, do stay, according to the words of St. Paul, If ye abide in the faith. Thirdly, this faith also is the immediate and next cause of our justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes, do save and justify us upon condition, if we believe in Christ: so this faith only in Christ, without condition, is the next and immediate cause, which, by God's promise, worketh our justification; according as it is written, Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house. And thus much touching the definition of election, with the causes thereof declared; which you see now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the mere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam, do taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his apple; so all they that be born of Christ, (which is by faith,) take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him.

Now to the second consideration, let us see likewise, how and in what order this election of God proceedeth, in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first, God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through promise, obtaineth justification; justification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith come in time. Justification and glorification are without end.

Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

Vocation, standing upon God's election, excludeth all man's wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by God's promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

Justification, coming freely by faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification, pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of God's Spirit by the word) is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of justification.

And this order and connexion of causes is diligently to be observed, because of the papists, which have miserably confounded and inverted this doctrine, thus teaching, that Almighty God, so far forth as he foreseeth man's merits before to come, so doth he dispense his election. "*Dominus prout cujusque merita fore prævidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam.*" And again, "*Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere:*" that is, that the Lord recompenseth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the same to the merits which follow: as though we had our election by our holiness that followeth after, and not rather have our holiness by God's election going before.

But we, following the Scripture, say otherwise, that the only cause of God's election is his own free mercy; and the only cause of our justification is our faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example; first concerning election, if the question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen, and not Nahor? Why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen, and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise than thus: Because it was so the good will of God.

In like manner touching vocation, and also faith, if the question be asked, Why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? why to the poor, to the babes, and little ones of this world? (of whom Christ speaketh, I thank thee, Father, which hast hid this from the wise, &c. ;) why to the unwise, the simple, abjects and outcasts in this world? (of whom speaketh St. Paul, Ye see your calling, my brethren, how not many of you, &c. ;) why to the sinners, and not

to the just? why were the beggars by the high-ways called, and the bidden guests excluded? We can go to no other cause, but to God's purpose and election, and say with Christ our Saviour, Yea, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.

As so for justification likewise—if the question be asked, Why the publican was justified, and not the Pharisee? why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter? why harlots and publicans go before the scribes and Pharisees in the kingdom? why the son of the free-woman was received, and the bond-woman's son, being his elder, rejected? why Israel, which so long sought for righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles, which sought not for it, found it?—we have no other cause hereof to render, but to say with St. Paul, Because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith, as it cometh not by man's will, (as the papist falsely pretendeth,) but only by the election and free gift of God; so it is only the immediate cause whereunto the promise of our salvation is annexed, according as we read: And therefore of faith is the inheritance given as after grace, that the promise might stand sure to every seed. Item, in the same chapter, Faith, believing in him which justifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness.

And thus concerning the causes of our salvation, ye see how faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any condition, doth justify us, being so linked with God's mercy and election, that whosoever election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of God's election.

Whereupon resulteth now the third note or consideration; which is to consider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To answer to which question, this first is to be understood; that although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, *a priore*: yet, notwithstanding, it may be known to every particular faithful man, *a posteriore*: that is, by means, which means is faith in Christ Jesus crucified. Forasmuch as by his faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made the child of salvation, reason must needs lead the same to be then the child of election, chosen of God unto everlasting life; for how can a man be justified but he must needs be saved? and how can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected?

And therefore of election it is truly said, We must judge of election by that which cometh after, that is, by our faith and belief in Christ: which

faith, although in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause assigned by the Scripture which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this election of God.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth this present letter of Master Bradford, wherein he saith, "Election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first," saith he, "with creation, I come from thence to redemption, and justification by faith, and so to election." Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Christ. For albeit that election first be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Wherefore, whosoever desireth to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God; which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of God's Holy Spirit accordingly, thereupon let him stay, and so wrap himself wholly, both body and soul, under God's general promise, and cumber his head with no further speculations; knowing this, that, Whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish, shall not be confounded, shall not see death, shall not enter into judgment, shall have everlasting life, shall be saved, shall have remission of all his sins, shall be justified, shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life, shall never die, shall be raised in the last day, shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed.

Now then, forasmuch as we see faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, let us discuss, in like manner, what is this faith whereof the Scripture so much speaketh, for the more plain understanding of the simple. For many kinds there be of faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth save, neither doth the believing of every truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that he is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be seasoned with another thing, will not serve to salvation; as it availed not the old Jews, which so thought of

themselves, and yet think to this day, to be God's only elect people.

The only faith which availeth to salvation is that, whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two, faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; faith as the action which apprehendeth, Christ as the object which is apprehended.

For neither doth the passion of Christ save without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Christ: as we see the body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomach: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only faith in the blood of Christ: neither again doth the same blood of Christ profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light: so the passion of Christ is the efficient cause of salvation, but faith is the condition whereby the said passion is to us effectual.

And that is the cause why we say with the Scripture, that faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Christ, &c., all which be external causes, working our salvation through faith. But when we say that faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this: that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

For although the action of praying, fasting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man imputed of God to salvation, but only this one action of faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be considered alone, but must ever go with its object, and taketh its virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of itself procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen serpent,

whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up; even so, after like sort, are we saved by faith and spiritual looking up to the body of Christ crucified; which faith to define is this: to believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God, sent into this world, by his death to satisfy for our sins, and so to receive the same.

And thus much touching election and faith; with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretended Catholics do swerve from the right mind of the Scriptures. For whereas the Scriptures, in declaring the causes of salvation, do send us only to faith, as the only condition whereby these causes have their working, these Catholics do quite leave out faith, and, instead thereof, place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confessions, with penance and satisfaction for our sins, &c.

And besides these letters above specified of Master John Bradford, there have come to our hands certain other letters of his, not long ago, sent by a certain old friend of the said John Bradford unto us: which letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not yet been printed nor seen abroad, so I thought it not amiss to communicate the same to the Christian reader, for the worthiness of the matter, and the goodness of the man, which may redound, I trust, to no small fruit to him that with godly eyes shall devise the same.

To father Traves, minister of Blackley. (No. I.)

"The abundant grace and rich mercy of God in Christ our only Saviour and high Bishop, be increased in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodness, the Holy Spirit, until the day of the Lord, &c.

"I have received your two letters, good father Traves, since that I did write any unto you, whereof though honesty willeth to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and saith, it is better with shame to confess the fault, (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon,) than without shame to lie. I might have written unto you twice (notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied); but yet I have not. Now the cause is, because I would not. And why would I not, but because I could not? I mean, because my canning is taken away by sin; for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have lost: but seeing, both willing and knowing I have too

much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me; and because I would not have blessing, I am worthy (as David saith) that it be taken away from me: I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of God's favour, is sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution, (you know what I mean,) and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body; I was another manner of man than now I am, and yet God's deserts have otherwise bounden me: but the Scripture is true, I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me; I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me. Perchance you will ask me wherein? O father Traves, I warrant you, this my style, in carnal, and not in spiritual writing, doth something show unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things it is nothing. For whereas the life of man is such, that either it pairerth or amendeth, as Paul saith, The outward man is corrupted day by day; and therefore, except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth awry; every building in Christ doth grow to a holy temple, as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worse. I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think by letters I can persuade you. Wherein? will you say. For the first, second, and third, and, to be brief, in all things: as for an example, God's true fear is flown away from me; love to my brethren is exiled from me; faith is utterly taken away. Instead whereof are distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of God's honour, and of my brethren reigning; and instead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the principality. For I extenuate sin, and I do not consider that in sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is such a thing for the which God casteth his creature away, as examples, not only of Saul, of Judas, of the Israelites, (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected,) but also of others, on whom lately, for my warning, God hath showed the same, do admonish me. But it is but my pen which writes this: For the wicked, saith Solomon, when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security. I am I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do; I fear me, I say, that I am entangled of the devil, after his desire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give repentance, that I may escape out

of his snares. Alas! the spirit of prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me! I am sold under sin; I am the bond-slave of sin: for whom I obey, his servant I am. I am ashamed to speak of it?—No, I shame not at all: for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey; I obey, I say, mine own concupiscences, namely, in eating, in drinking, in jangling and idleness; I will not speak of vain-glory, envy, disdain, hypocrisy, desire of estimation, self-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou renderest to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea, too true, thou knowest it, O Lord! for thy mercy's sake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no man's heart but that considering the ingratitude of this world, this belly-cheer, (wherein you even take me by the nose,) &c., his eyes would tumble out great gushes of tears. The Lord be praised which worketh so in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be so again, but oh! it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old, and are made by custom more than familiar; for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot persuade myself that God will help me. O Lord, be merciful unto me for thy Christ's sake. This day I received the Lord's supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have spent in lasciviousness, in wantonness and prodigality, obeying my flesh and belly) doth so declare, that what to say or write any more, I know not; sleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occasion of making this bringer a supper in my chamber: the Lord pardon me; I trust no more to be so far overseen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deserved, so feareth me, thou knowest it, O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

"For God's sake pray for me, good father Traves, and write unto me as you may by your weakness: your letters do me good. But this which I have now written, you may consider more: touch me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord, I trust, shall and will reward you. If God lend me life, of which I am most unworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge; there is none whose company and talk I more desire than yours, I speak it before God. Prove my mother's mind how she can bear it, if, when I shall come down, I shall show myself another man outwardly, but alas! feignedly, than before I have done. Marry, when my coming will be, I

know not. Indeed two things move me sore, the one for my mother's cause, concerning her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto use me his instrument; the other is to talk with you, and est-soons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but always to my profit. For God's sake pray for me, for I had never so much need.—This Sunday at night, following St. Andrew's day, at Pembroke Hall.

“ The most miserable, hard-hearted,
unthankful sinner,
JOHN BRADFORD.”

*To Sir Thomas Hall, by father Traves, of
Blackley.*

“ The grace of God our most merciful Father, keep your mind and soul in Christ Jesus, who alone is our full sufficient Saviour, for in him we be complete, being made, through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the cross, the children of God, and fellow heirs with him of the celestial kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or trust in any other thing visible or invisible, than in that oblation of sweet savour which Christ himself did offer upon Good Friday, (as we call it,) which oblation is alway recent and new in the sight of God the Father, and maketh intercession for us; us I mean, which think that only Sacrifice, then offered, to be sufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever shall be, for all the faithful, by the which sacrifice (we believe) we have free pardon of all our sins. To him therefore which was both the offerer and the offering, be all honour and praise, with the Father and said the Holy Ghost, blessed for ever: Amen.

“ Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, mine old friend John Traves shall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have sent unto you an English and Latin Testament, both in one print and volume, the which though it be not so beautiful without, as I could have sent you, yet no less beautiful within, and more I think for your profit and better for your eyes, your eyes, I mean, of the body: for undoubtedly it giveth light unto the soul, if she be not dead. Whereof take this for an argument, and a true proof: If your soul be not delighted in it, if your soul do not hunger for it, (I mean not the book, but the doctrine in the book,) surely your soul is sore sick; for as the body abhorring meat is not well, even so must the soul be, for other meat hath she none. Christ, whom you must believe afore all men, affirmeth this to be true in Matt. iv.: Not only in bread, but in every word of God, the soul doth

live. Mark well, he saith not, one or two words, as an epistle, or a gospel; but he saith, every word. Take heed, believe Christ better than any man, be he never so holy; for he that is of God heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text? Christ saith, He that is of God heareth the word of God: but other word of God have we none, than in the canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written for our learning, saith St. Paul; whereby he proveth, seeing that it is a learning, yea, *our* learning, that we must learn it. Therefore woe be to all them which either persuade men, that there is other doctrine of like authority, or that dissuade men from embracing this word, this word of God, or that think this word, especially the New Testament, is not above all others to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious stone, which in the gospel Christ saith, when a man hath found, he selleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now, how necessary and precious Christ maketh that which great learned men (nay, the devils, but no men) think not necessary, God help them! Christ bade his disciples sell their coats, and buy a sword: which is none other thing than the word of God; for so St. Paul calleth it, the sword of the Spirit. Nay, say our great learned men, (I lie, they *have* said so, *now* they are ashamed,) fetch fire and burn it.

“ This I say, Sir Thomas, to the intent no ungodly hypocrisy should persuade or dissuade you from reading the holy word of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ. Follow you St. Paul's lesson: attend reading, and let the word of God dwell in you. How much? Plentifully, saith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Christ: even as much as in you is, saith Peter; not once a year or once a quarter, as a strawberry, but so much as in you is. This word of God trieth all doctrine; for we ought to have our conscience charged with nothing as touching religion, except the word of God in the canon of the Bible set it out (I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words); for no other foundation can any man lay, beside that which is laid. St. Paul saith, the ground-work is laid already. Even so saith he to the Ephesians: We be his workmanship, to do good works, which God hath created that we should walk in them. He saith that they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we think, then, of such works as man's wit hath founded, which yet seem most holy? Let God's word be judge. Read the same diligently and reverently with prayer, (I mean not Latin service not understood, but with true hearty prayer,) and mark what the law requireth, even that

which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were possible. But to this end, that we, seeing our abominable uncleanness and inability, might despair in ourselves, trembling at the justice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and so amplex Christ, in whom God the Father is well pleased : which Christ is the end of the law to justify all that believe, and continue not in their popish ignorance, justifying themselves, and treading Christ's blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. All such, be they never so well learned, never so holy, be nothing but hypocrites, and plain antichrists, which may not abide the sword of God's mouth. For the trumpets of the army, (I mean still God's word,) when they blow, the high walls of Jericho, the figure of hypocrisy, fall down. Embrace therefore God's holy word, and be not only a reader, but a doer : for your calling requireth you to be apt to teach such proud, hypocritical, arrogant babblers, as I am now (which, if I may use this term, defile God's word). God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that spareth me, thus Lucifer-like, not of a true zeal but of a foolish bragging, which prate of God's holy word. I wot not what I do to confess it. So it is. I have sent to you other books, which I pray you read. I have written your name in them. The Holy Ghost keep you, with your brother George, his wife, and children, and with your brother James, &c., Sir Laurence, &c.

"This twentieth of March.

"A very painted hypocrite, JOHN BRADFORD,
Yours in Christ for ever."

"Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Traves's help to read this letter written in haste.

"If any thing but good be chanced to John Traves, (which God forbid,) I pray you burn my letters out of hand."

To father Traves. (No. 2.)

"Gratia, misericordia, et pax à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo Domino nostro."—If mine heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind letters to me, unkind miser, would cause me, from the bottom of the same, to confess mine ingratitude towards you, upon your behalf concerning me so much deserved : but as I am to do, so show I myself to write ; and as I am unable in the one, so am I foolish in the other ; in all those unkindnesses, rudeness, &c., whereof you accuse yourself, I am enforced to acknowledge myself most justly condemned ; not so feignedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your letters as

in a glass I may learn by you, in dejecting yourself, to espy my nakedness, which heretofore I thought clothed 'duplici vestitu,' now only but with fig leaves hypocritishly gilded : of which dejection, wrought in you by the Holy Ghost, be not proud ; for what have you that you have not received ? But be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore, but also for those surges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your children and family, now through that cross of the common accustomed trade of living : for through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Yea, they be the cognizances of God's election, the letter *Thau*, the instruments which work 'suspiria æternæ vitæ,' and therefore to be embraced. Believe me this is the most excellent gift of God ; a man to deject and humble himself, and to feel the crosses of Christ as crosses. But I, most hypocritical wretch, not worthy that this earth should bear me, am even a-going to bed with Jezebel, and such as commit fornication with her, which is 'afflictio maxima.' O Lord, help me and deliver me for Jesus' sake ; anoint mine eyes with ointment, that I may see. O give me not over unto a lewd mind and reprobate sense ; but awaken my sleeping soul, that Christ may shine in me. You know the cross, the fatherly cross, the loving Lord hath laid upon me ; but I am little or nothing moved therewith. I work therein (yet not I, but God's Spirit) ; not of a repentant, faithful mind, but (I cannot tell how) of a slothful, blind, wretchless intent. O Lord ! forgive me for saying so (it is thy gift) ; forgive me mine unthankfulness for Jesus' sake, and grant me, as herein I blasphemed and dishonested thy holy name, so do thou, by thy Holy Spirit, glorify by me the same. So be it, So be it.

"Since my coming to London, I was with Master Latimer, whose counsel is as you shall hear, which I purpose, by God's grace, to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord, *fiat*). He willed me (as I have done) to write to my master who is in the country, and to show him, that if within a certain time, which I appointed, (fourteen days,) he do not go about to make restitution, that I will submit myself to my Lord Protector, and the king's Majesty's council, to confess the fault, and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail ; and when time is, it must not be deferred. And what should it profit me to win the whole world, and to lose mine own soul ? If, as I justly have deserved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly friends, loss of living, &c., shall ensue. What then ? Lord, thy will be done, thine I am : if death come, welcome be it : if slani-

der, &c. Even as thou wilt, Lord, so be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obedient heart, and of mere love to go forwards herein; and not to shrink, to stand and not to fall, that thy name only be praised herein. Amen.—Pray, pray for me; cry for me, and when you shall hear any thing, comfort my mother, to whom, for that this bringer hath not given me an hour's warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but also have thus prattled to you, who (as no man else would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth, (to whose grace I commit you and your bed-fellow, with all your children and family,) the shortness of time, and this said bringer's importance, is the only let I neither send you spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your cheese, as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, send the premises to you, and a godly Testament for Sir John Hall, which is at the binding. But be not acknowledged that I have now written to you, for so I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me, and abhor not my rude scribbling; which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deserve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the hastiness of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.

“From the Temple this Sunday, immediately after Master Latimer's famous sermon, which this bringer, as he saith, did hear.

“By your poorest friend,

JOHN BRADFORD.”

“It shall not be long, God willing, but you shall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthon's Common-places, for I have another.

To father Traves. (No. 3.)

“Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with increase of all manner of godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your household, now and ever, Amen.

“To excuse this my long silence, within five or six days after my (like foolish) letters written to you by John Moss, it pleased God to send my master hither to London, whom (as I lately before had advertised by letters) I moved, (you know wherein,) and prayed him to discharge the same, or else I would submit myself, &c. Whereunto he answered, that if the books would declare it, he would satisfy, &c. The books I showed, whereupon he promised as much as I could ask. But being herein something more moved than he had cause, (God be praised there-for, which of his mere good pleasure wrought it,) at times, as I could, I desired to know how and in what time he would discharge us both. He, thinking me to be over-

curious herein, was not therewith contented; and hearing me to allege the uncertainty of time, and the fear of God's justice, (which, O gracious Lord, grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knowest good for me,) he answered me to be scrupulous, and of a superstitious conscience (for ‘animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Dei’): and plainly said further, that I should not know, nor by these words have his head so under my girdle. And when I showed him that (God witnessed with me) I went about no such thing: he said, that there was no godly conscience, seeing he promised afore the face of God to discharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at divers and sundry times, moving oftsoons to know of him the way and time of discharging the debt, and having none other answers than before, I, doubting worldly wisdom, which useth delays, to reign in him with this mammon, (the which, O merciful God, eradicate out of his heart, mind, and all others,) I was something more sharp, and told him, ‘non ego tamen, sed gratia tua, Domine,’ I would obey God more than man: the which he lightly regarding, as seemed, I departed, and went to Master Latimer, to have had him to have brought me to my Lord Protector (whose Grace then was purposed shortly to take his journey to visit the ports): Master Latimer, I say, willed me to stay until his return, which will not be long before Easter. In this mean time I bade my bed-fellow, my master's son, whom my master had used as his instrument to move me carnally, for my master discharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either house or child, for I purposed to undo both him and all his, (untruly, thou knowest, good Lord,) and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his brethren should provide for themselves as they could—I bade, I say, my said bed-fellow to show my master, as of himself, my further purpose, which thing when he knew, it so moved and feared him, that he began something to relent, and then made fair promises, that look what I should devise, that would he do. I devised, but my devices pleased him not. And thus, but not vainly I trust, (as I now do with you, but I know your gentleness, which ever hath borne with me,) I spent the time in which I have been silent, to write, nay, babble to you. And he, departing out of London before I knew, did send me word by another of his said sons, not so given to the gospel and a good life according as my bed-fellow, and therefore more to be suspected, (for though ‘pietas non est suspiciosa,’ as I should think myself rather *impious*; yet Christ bade us to be ‘*prudentes sicut serpentes*,’) this other brother, I say, told me that my master would do all things, only his fame and

ability preserved ('et quid prodest totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam facere?') And with the said brother my master sent me a little billet also, wherein he confessed that he was contented within twelve months to deliver to my hands the whole money; which bill I thinking not so good as it might have been, have devised another, and have sent it down to him in the country, with request that he will seal and sign it. For thus Master Latimer thinketh sufficient, but as yet I hear not of it, doubting worldly wisdom, which was the whore that overcame Samson, that moved David to slay Uriah, that brought wise Solomon to idolatry, that crucified Christ, the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*, the which worketh in my master's heart, having higher place there than *timor Domini*. What say I? 'there?' Yea, yea, with me, it sitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us). Doubting, I say, worldly wisdom, I remain in that same state now for this matter, (though in worse for my soul, which is more to be lamented. Pray therefore, I beseech you, pray with me, and for me, that I may do so earnestly,) that I was in at my last writing unto you. And as I then was purposed, so I doubt not, (grant it, Lord,) but that I shall persevere, if in the mean season I shall not hear from my master accordingly. Thus I have (like myself) foolishly but truly declared unto you in many babbling words, which wit (if I had it) would have shortly and briefly comprehended (arrogant! nay, God's working, unthankful wretch!) my working in this matter, which is and was the only cause (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertise you some certainty in this thing. And though silence had been much better than this foolish prating, yet your fatherly kindness ever towards me in expecting from you correction, as I have herein given cause, may, though not to you, yet to me, be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me, a most unkind wretch, to God and you, in your prayers with the almighty merciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleasure herein, than all honour or shame in this life. But I must confess unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I should do, nor of fear of God's justice, (mine unthankfulness, mine unthankfulness, if nothing else were, hath not only deserved it, but doth deserve more than everlasting damnation, O Lord, be merciful unto me,) I do not so repent it as I should do. Why say I so? as though this so were any thing: O! hypocritical wretch that I am. Alas! father Traves, (let me so call you,) I am hard-hearted, there was never any so obstinate, so unkind, against so loving, so merciful, so gracious, so good, so beneficial a Lord, yea, a Father, as I, wretch

and most miserable sinner, am. This I speak, but not of humility, but of hypocrisy, yet I speak truly. I pray thee, good Father, for Christ's sake, I may think it truly; as I write it even of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be such goodly, godly, and learned sermons, which these uncircumcised ears of mine hear at the least thrice a week, which were able (the great loving mercy of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burst any man's heart, to relent, to repent; to believe, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obstinate, most unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all lords, so graciously, so lovingly, vouchsafe by so many his instruments to speak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his gospel, now by his promises, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himself, I hide me with Adam in the garden; I play not only Samuel running to Eli, but I play Jonas running to the sea, and there I sleep upon the hatches, tumbling in Jezebel's bed, (*quod est afflictio maxima*,) until it please God to anoint mine eyes 'collyrio,' until it please him to raise up a tempest, to turn and look upon me, as Luke saith he did on Peter. For, O Lord, it is thy gift, and cometh of thee, and of thy mere grace; it cometh not of man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me, for Jesus Christ's sake, which am thy creature, and most unthankful, hypocritical servant, not when I will, nor as I will, but when thou wilt, even that which may be most to the glory of thy name. Amen. What should I write? nay, why do I not pluck these same words and paper in pieces? for I write altogether of hypocrisy and arrogant presumption. I will confess it, (thou wicked spirit, the Lord judge thee,) I will confess it; it is most true, John Traves; I but only write it, for it is not I, it is Hypocrisy. 'Scientia' (if I had it) 'inflaret,' O Lord, grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine own judgment and reason. Hypocrisy, arrogancy, and obstinate security environ me: yet I feel them not. The Lord deliver me! Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for me. O Lord, even 'tua fiat voluntas:' unlock this mine heart, thou which hast the key of David, which openest only, that I may desire to have the desire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, &c. Pray for me, and be thankful for me, O father Traves, and write to me. Your letters I desire more to see, than any man's living. Let me have them therefore as you may, but your prayers at all times, that God would open mine heart to feed and taste of these comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked): memento 'Jesum Christum resurrexisse ex mortuis.'

This text as a text of most comfort (as it is indeed, and, when God will, I shall feed on it) did Paul send to Timothy to be his comfort in all places. For our salvation (this day of resurrection) is nearer now than when we believed. Therefore, 'qui perseveraverit salvus erit.' For 'consummabitur pravaricatio,' saith Daniel, 'finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, et adducetur justitia sempiterna. Deus enim ipse veniet et salvabit nos. Veniens veniet, et non tardabit, et quodcumque manifestatus fuerit vita nostra Christus, tunc et nos manifestabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus est ut multorum peccata tolleret, rursus absque peccato conspicietur iis qui illum expectant in salutem. Sic semper cum Domino erimus: proinde consolemini vos invicem mutuo sermonibus hiis.' O Lord, open mine eyes, which see nothing of the great comforts in these thy most rich words: open mine eyes, good Lord, 'ne nunquam obdormiam in morte.' Pray for me, and commend me to your good bed-fellow, 'et omnibus in Christo fratribus osculo sancto.' Thus I make an end, (for it is time, you may say,) and I pray you still, water Sir Thomas Hall, unto whom I have sent a fair Testament both in English and Latin, if this bringer will carry it. And I have herewith sent you a letter, which first peruse and read, and, when you have so done, abhor not me, but my wickedness, and pray for me. And as you can see a meet time, seal it, and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolstoncros, by such policy as you can think, by God's grace, through prayer. I confess unto you, God is my witness, to my knowledge, I never, in my being in the country this winter, at any time called it to remembrance; the Lord forgive me! I would by some occasion, if any could be had, afore the delivery of the letter, by some story or communication, that he did know that abomination to be sin, for I fear me he thinketh it to be no sin. The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us. Amen.—The peace of God be with you, Amen.

"From the Temple, this 22nd of March, 1547.

"Yours in Christ most bounden,

JOHN BRADFORD."

"I have sent you three pair of good spectacles, I trow; and other such books as have your name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me."

To father Traves. (No. 4.)

"'Gratia, misericordia, et pax,' &c.—My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrained, time coarcting me, to write not so much of things, (which

I will omit,) as my desire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to this end, that I have a bill of my master's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next coming. This Master Latimer thinks to be sufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a most wretched ingrate sinner, which have also in other things no less cause to praise God's name; as for that I have and sustain my master's sore displeasure, the which hath brought me (God I should say) through it, unto a more contempt of worldly things, through the sequestration of such his business, as before I had ado withal: I call it a contempt. Well, take the word even as it is hypocritically and vain-gloriously spoken; for the which fault, amongst my others innumerable, I trust you remember in your prayers, whereof I have (would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertise you, even to this end; that you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I trust shortly to begin, so he may vouchsafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I believe it is his working. If the thing seem, by God's Spirit in you, that I presume, then, for the Lord's sake, advertise me: for I am much given to that disease; the Lord deliver me! I have moved my master therein already by letters, to see if I shall have any living of him as hitherto I have had; but I have thereof no answer, nor, as our natural speech is, any likelihood of any grant: yet that I have already, I trust, will suffice me for three years. You look what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, because my long babbling should be less tedious. Now shall you have it. If God's will be, (whereunto pray I may be obedient,) I am minded afore Midsummer to leave London to go to my book at Cambridge; and, if God shall give me grace, to be a minister of his word. Thus you have of a fly an elephant. Well, take it in good part, though you see my *etiam non*, and not *etiam, etiam*. A tumbling stone gathereth no moss: so therefore pray for me. Perchance I do foolishly to forsake so good a living as I have. I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust, as I said, for three years' study I have sufficient, if my master take all from me: and when this is spent, God will send more. I do not write this that you should think me to be in need of worldly help, and therefore, as friars were wont, secretly to beg. No, in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it so: for I had rather never send letter, afore I should be herein a cross to you, for 'sufficit sua diei afflictio,' we are more set by than many sparrows. But if

my mother, or Sir Thomas Hall, murmur at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsel. Howbeit as yet I will not write to them of it, until such time as I be going. I am something fickle-minded and unconstant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough, (presumptuously spoken,) I look not back. You may gather by my words in this letter the heroical heart which lieth in me.

"I have sent you a book of Bucer against Winchester, in English, lately translated, which I never read; therefore I cannot praise it. And as I call to remembrance, I did send you with the other books more than you received, at the least one of them I remember, which is called, *The Common-places*, or the *Declaration of the Faith*, by Urbanus Rhegius. Ask for it, or send me word in whom the default is you have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly, by God's grace, I will send you *Primitive Laborum meorum*, a work or two which I have translated into English, so soon as they be printed, which will be afore Whitsuntide. Pray for me, good father Traves, and God send you health of soul and body, as I would mine own or any man's living. But yet, to warn you of that you know not: in writing your letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and so are all that know me; I never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling sets me afloat. God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all men be most bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you I run as the priest saith matins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghost preserve you, your wife, and family, and persevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a most (what should I call me) miserable and blasphemous sinner. The peace of God be with us.

"From the Temple, this twelfth of May, 1548.

"Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himself most. I desire to speak with him, as this winter it may chance, if I discharge not myself of mine office, to see him. Pray for him, and for me.

"A very hypocrite,

JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 5.)

"The perseverance of God's grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increase with you unto the end.—To declare myself, as I am, a carnal man, which understand not the things that be of the Spirit: these my letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spiritual words, as the devil did in his temptations to Christ, will declare not less. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I so end: for how can a

man gather figs of briers? These words, as they seem, so they are spoken for a cloak to make you think otherwise: but, father Traves, you cannot think so evil of me as I am: but to the matter. This present day, by God's grace, I take my journey towards Cambridge, where, I pray God, and so earnestly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas! I have spent most wickedly the time past, for the which I must account, even for every hair-breadth, as they say: for God hath not given here time to sin. But if I considered this, (as I do nothing less, custom of sin and pleasing myself hath so hardened my heart,) I should then come to the feeling of myself; then should I hate sin, which I now love; then should I fear God's wrath, which I now contemn; then should I cry out and weep, and continually pray; whereas now I am as dry as a stone, as dumb as a nail, as far from praying as he that never knew any taste of it. Which thing once I felt (thanks to the Lord); but now, for mine unthankfulness, I am almost (but most worthily) deprived. I fear me God will take his grace from me, I am so unthankful. Alas! why do I lie, in saying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray: but seeing I cannot, speak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercy's sake draw me, yea, compel me, to serve, to fear, and to love him. Thus may you see how I presume: for my intent was to have been a minister of God's word, to have been his instrument to call from, as I have called to, sin; but you see how that God punisheth mine arrogance. Alas! what shall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle member; I thought I should have been therein profitable, but *Medice, cura teipsum*. How should I, or what should I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I trust God will give me grace and knowledge to translate. Nothing I fear me, yea, I distrust me, that I shall never be minister of God's word: yea, if arrogance were not in me, how should I, of all wretches the greatest, think me to look to the highest room and vocation that is upon earth? Therefore oftsoons I desire you to pray for me, that God's will may be done in me, whether I live or die, so that his name be honoured. My master which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this life more than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I intend, by God's favour, to declare more unto you. This book which I have sent, take it in good part; it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last, God hath appointed me to translate. The print is very false, I am sorry for it.

I pray you be not offended at my babbling in the Prologues, &c.

JOHN BRADFORD.

"I will lie, God willing, this summer, at Katherine's Hall in Cambridge. Write to me."

To father Traves. (No. 6.)

"The loving-kindness and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the faithful, in the blood of that meek Lamb, Jesus Christ, our only satisfaction and Mediator, through the working of the most Holy Spirit, be increased and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

"Because I stand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of such letters as I write and send unto you, dearly beloved father Traves, I am constrained to leave off such griefs and spiritual wants, as, thanks unto the Lord, I unwillingly feel: for the flesh, as you know, loveth nothing so much as security, of all enemies most perilous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocrisy, &c., and worldliness, the Lord deliver me! I had not thought to have written thus much, but these I cannot keep, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you should not think any ingratitude in me; as also that I might give you occasion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even so do I inturb and trouble you with my babbling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not so much as I am wont to do. The cause I have declared, which had almost been the cause I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came hither: send me word what letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Moss; and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had visited you with sickness, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you: 'Ut in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es, ut cum Christo patiaris, nam et cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est, si sufferimus et con-regnabimus.' You know that Christ, 'etsi Filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ passus est didicit obedientiam.' 'Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut sitis perfecti et integri, nullaque in parte diminuti:' and doth not *patientia* come of *probatio*? The one then you had, so that you were going a-school to learn the other, which learnt, what want you? The end of all God's proving is, as Paul saith, 'Ut impertiat nobis sanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo Patri, qui ido-

neum te fecit ad participationem sortis sanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem instauret te, fulciat, roboret, stabiliat.' And that the Lord knoweth how 'cripere pios è tribulatione,' and that 'in tempore opportuno,' even shortly: for 'haud tardat qui promisit: 'nam modicum tempus, et videbis me;' 'veniens enim veniet, et non tardabit.' 'Itaque qui consortes estis crucis Christi, gaudete,' saith Peter, 'ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ ejus gaudeatis exultantes.' Oh, how doth my will over-run my wit. Why, Bradford! whom writest thou unto? thou showest thyself. Thus, father Traves, you may see my rashness to rabble out the Scripture without purpose, rhyme, or reason. I will not blot it out, as I thought to have done; for that hereby you shall see my need of your prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write, for God's sake, and pray for me that I may be in something profitable to the Lord's congregation, that I may be no stumbling-block, 'ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant.' Send me such counsel as the Lord's Spirit shall move you how to study. My desire is in something to be profitable, if it were the Lord's will, for to be 'minister verbi.' Alas! I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea, the Lord's time, I have hitherto evil, yea, most wickedly mispent it, &c. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you and your bed-fellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your children and family, the which I beseech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for winter to speak with you. Rescribe oro. Pray for me.

"This Assumption-day in Katherine's Hall, in Cambridge.

"Yours, with all I have and can,

JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 7.)

"The plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ, increase in us daily to the glory of his name. Amen.

"Forasmuch as I have often written unto you, good father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you since Pentecost, I cannot now be so bold, either in writing much or often, as I would have been: howbeit this I say, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a sinner, that the Lord's Spirit, I am certain, doth not move you to write to me, yet, for God's sake, pray for me, and in the Lord's name I desire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may please God to move you, write to me, though it be but two words, and counsel me how to study the word of life, the ministry whereof I desire, if it

be the Lord's pleasure, to profess, and that I may do it both in living and learning: pray for me. 'Heres meus omnibus rebus suis me abdicavit, et quæ prius concesserat, jam solvere renuit, et mihi prorsus factus est inimicus.' I know not when I shall see you in body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you should think me 'in egestate aut angustis esse.' No, father, the Lord giveth me 'omnia affatim,' and will do. I trust I shall shortly here have a fellowship: I am so promised, and therefore I have taken the degree of Master of Arts, which else I could not have attained. If I get a fellowship, I shall not need 'de crastino sollicitus esse,' as hereafter I shall more write to you by God's grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haste, as appeareth, the twenty-second of October. Ne sciat mater me quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.

"Miserrimus peccator,
J. BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 8.)

"The peace and plenteous mercy of God our heavenly Father, in his Christ our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increased in you by the Holy Spirit, 'qui efficit omnia in omnibus.' Amen.

"Father Traves, though I might think myself more happy if you would often write unto me, yet because I ought to have respect to your pains, which now that old man cannot so well sustain as it might, I had rather lose my happiness in that behalf, than will your grief, forasmuch as it can be no happiness unto me which turneth to your pain; yet, because pain is not painful when it is joined with gain, I therefore desire you, for God's sake, to pray often for me: for if I shall not be worthy of your prayer, as the Lord, who knoweth all things, doth right well see it, and so my conscience witnesseth, your good prayer shall return into your own bosom. And know this, that whoso converteth a sinner by prayer, (whether it be by prayer, preaching, or writing letters, &c.,) the same hath saved a soul. Use therefore, for God's sake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joined profit, I mean prayer to God for me, a miserable and most wretched sinner: and as for the gainless pain in writing to me, use it yet as you may, and surely God, for whose sake you do it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, will in some thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did see what spiritual profit I receive by your letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour lost. For Christ's sake, therefore, begin again to write unto me, and reprove me sharply for my horrible unthankfulness to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my laden conscience

of the great weighty burden, for so I did write to you; yea, the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the lesser burden also; for I have an assurance of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Lo, thus you see what a good God the Lord is unto me. O father Traves, give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulness. But what should I rehearse the benefits of God towards me? Alas, I cannot. I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against God. For whereas you know the sun, the moon, and the seven stars, did forsake me, and would not shine upon me, you know what I mean 'per herum et heriles amicos,' yet the Lord hath given me here in the university as good a living as I would have wished; for I am now a fellow of Pembroke Hall, for the which neither I, nor any other for me, did ever make any suit: yea, there was a contention betwixt the master of Catherine Hall and the bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke Hall, whether should have me, 'fit hoc tibi dictum.' Thus you may see the Lord's carefulness for me. My fellowship here is worth seven pound a year; for I have allowed me eighteen-pence a week, and as good as thirty-three shillings four-pence a year in money, besides my chamber, launder, barber, &c., and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a problem. Thus you see what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I now to God, for all this? I will not speak of the great mercies he showeth unto my soul. Surely, father Traves, I have clean forgotten God; I am all secure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of brotherly love; I am envious, and disdain others; I am a very stark hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in these my letters to you. I am all sensual, without the true fear of God, another manner of man than I have been since my calling. Alas! father Traves, I write this to put myself in remembrance; but I am without all sense, I do but only write it. For God's sake pray for me, which am only in name a Christian, in very deed a very worldling, and, to say to you the very truth, the most worldling of all others. I pray you exhort my mother now and then, with my sister Margaret, to fear the Lord: and if my mother had not sold the fox-fur which was in my father's gown, I would she would send it me. She must have your counsel in a piece of cloth.

"Yours for ever,
JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 9.)

"The selfsame mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plenteously, though now,

through mine unthankfulness and wilful obedience to the pleasure of this outward man, I neither feel, neither can be persuaded that I possess; yea, if I shall truly write, I in manner pass not upon the same, so far am I fallen, the Lord help me: the same mercy, &c., I say, I wish unto you as I can, with all increase of godliness: hypocritically with my pen and mouth, beseeching you, in your earnest prayers to God, to be an earnest suitor unto God for me, which am fallen into such a security, and even a hardness of heart, that neither I sorrow my state, neither with any grief or fear of God's abjection do write this: before the Lord, which knoweth the hearts of all men, I lie not. Consider for Christ's sake therefore, good father Traves, my necessity, though I myself do it not, and pray for me, that God cast me not off, as I deserve most justly. For whereas I ought to have well proceeded in God's school, by reason of the time, I confess it to my shame I am so far gone back, as, alas! if shame were in me, I might be ashamed to write it; but much more to write it, and think it not: such is the reward of unthankfulness. For whereas God wrought the restitution of the great thing you know of, (the which benefit should bind me to all obedience,) alas! father Traves, I am too unthankful: I find no will in heart (though by my writing it will be hard to persuade you) either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortify this outward man, and heartily to be well content to serve the Lord in spirit and verity, and withstand mine affections, and especially my beastly sensuality in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you; but now, through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion spirituum malorum possesseth me. The Lord, whom I only with mouth (my heart still abiding both in hardness and wilfulness) call upon, deliver me and help me; and for God's sake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of restitution. Pray to the Lord, that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will. Amen. —I thank you for your cheese, and so doth father Latimer as unknown: for I did give it him, and he saith he did never eat better cheese; and so I dare say he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you; yea, God so moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have me come and dwell with him whensoever I will, and welcome. This do I write yet once more to occasion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means sheweth nothing but most high love to me; and I again a very obstinate rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haste.

“The sinful JOHN BRADFORD.”

William Minge.



HE next day after Master Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion,

and like to have suffered also, if he had continued the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel: which William Minge with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake; and as he himself was ready also so to do, if it had pleased God to have called him thereunto.

James Trevisam buried in the fields, and summoned after his death.

On the third of July, 1555, died one James Trevisam in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury, upon a Sunday, who, being impotent and lame, kept his bed: for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Smal, which read on the Bible; and, as he was in reading, Berd the promoter came to the house, and would needs go up the stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife—to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman; all which folks, the said Berd the promoter, there being, apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the said Berd would have had also James the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart, (and brought the cart to the door,) but for neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor man was fain to put in two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days, the said James lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named Master Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller, a founder. “Yea,” saith he, “be ye agreed? I will accuse you, for he denieth the sacrament of the altar.” Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could

not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so, when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the coffin to put him in, nor any thing else, but was fain to bear him upon a table to Moor-field, and there was he buried. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field, seeing him, buried him again, and a fortnight after the sumner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him! But what more befell upon him, I have not certainty to say.

The history of Master John Bland, preacher and martyr, constantly suffering for the gospel of Jesus Christ.



THE twelfth day of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton, were all four burned at Canterbury together, for one

cause; of the which number, Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvenden. This Master Bland was a man so little born for his own commodity, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men; for his first doings were there employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue: under whom were trained divers towardly young men, which even at this present do handsomely flourish; in the number of whom is Dr. Sands, a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well beseeem a scholar meet for such a schoolmaster, whom I gladly here name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

After this he, coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that whereas he was cast into Canterbury prison for the preaching of the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the suit of his friends, yet would he needs

preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he, being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle Paul: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword? &c. But to express the whole life and doings of this godly martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as ye shall hear.

A discourse of the whole process and doings of Master Bland, written and reported by himself to his father in his own letter as followeth.

"Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters; and, to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have chanced me since ye were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

Your son,

JOHN BLAND.

"First, the third of September, being Sunday, after service ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table, (commonly called the Lord's table,) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, 'Who set this here again?' (Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again.) The clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, 'He is a knave that set it here.' I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and said, 'Goodman Austen, the queen's Highness hath set forth a proclamation, that ye may move no sedition.' And ere I could speak any more, he said, 'Thou art a knave:' and I said, 'Well, goodman Austen, that I have said, I have said.' 'By God's soul,' quoth he, 'thou art a very knave.'

"Then my clerk spake to him, but what I am not sure: but he said, 'Ye are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face.' And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it. Wherefore I rode by and by to Master Isaac, and showed him the cause, both how seditiously he had spoken, and performed it

with a like deed. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable or borsholder, which was incontinently served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognisance, with sureties, to appear, if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

"The twenty-sixth of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the foresaid table after the communion was done; and as I was going by them, Richard said unto me, 'Master Parson, we have to speak to you.' And I said, 'What is your will?' And he said, 'You know that you took down the tabernacle or ceiling where-in the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompence you will make us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must up again.' Quoth I, 'I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment.' 'No,' said Thomas Austen, 'ye will not know the queen's proceedings.' 'Yes,' said I, 'I refuse not to know them.'

"Then said Richard, 'Ye are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.' 'Goodman Austen,' said I, 'if I so said, I will say it again; and, God willing, stand to the proof of it.' 'Masters all,' quoth Richard Austen, 'bear record of these words;' and went his way.

"Quoth Thomas Austen, 'Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them.' 'No,' quoth I, 'not so soon.' 'Tell us,' quoth he, 'what that devilishness is, that is in the mass.' 'I have often preached it unto you,' said I, 'and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now either, though I should tell you.'

"'Thou,' quoth he, 'hast told us always, like a heretic as thou art.' 'Now ye lie, goodman Austen,' quoth I, 'by your leave.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'thou liest.' And I said, 'And you lie; for I have taught you Christ and his truth.'

"Quoth he, 'Thou art a heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy; for thou canst say nothing that is true.' 'Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven; and ye will say (I trow) that it is true, and so have I taught you truly.'

"Quoth he, 'Thou hast taught us like a heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell.' 'Well,' said I, 'lie on; methinketh you can say little truth.'

"Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the last he said, 'Ye pulled down the altar: will ye build it again?' 'No,' quoth I, 'except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.'

"'Well, if you will not,' said he, 'then will I: for I am a churchwarden.' 'I charge you,' said I, 'that you do not, except you have authority.'

"'I will,' said he, 'not let for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher that shall prove thee a heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.' 'Yes,' quoth I, 'God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.'

"'Yes,' quoth he, 'and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.' 'No, goodman Austen, I will not run away.'

"'Marry,' quoth he, 'I cannot tell, thou art as like yea, as nay.' With many other words we came out of the church door, and so departed.

"When the Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning-prayer, I said to the clerk, 'Why do ye not ring? ye forget that we shall have a sermon to-day.' 'No,' quoth he, 'Master Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said his master hath letters from my Lord Chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come.' That day I did preach to them a sermon in his stead.

"Now have they slandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie; for some said, I had them at Adisham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent for the king's constable to see the peace kept, which is found a lie. Other said, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adisham. Other said, I had them in both places, that if the one missed the other should not. God forgive them all! Now upon these two matters they crack that they sent two bills of complaint to the council: wherefore by the counsel of friends, I made this testimony, and sent it up by Master Wiseman."

The behaviour of John Bland, parson of Adisham, in the county of Kent, the Sunday, the third day of December last past, [1553,] containing the words which he there spake unto the people.

"Whereas upon certain communication had between the said parson and Richard Austen and Thomas Austen, in the presence of all the parish of Adisham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day last, the said Austen then declared, that the said parson had taught there in times past great heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher against the next Sunday following, if so be the said parson would abide, and not run away: upon which rumour divers and sundry persons resorted out of the country, unto the said parish church, at the said same day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at

the time in which the sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the parson, that the preacher appointed had urgent business, and could not come: so that the multitude being now come together, the same parson, perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, said, 'Forasmuch as you are come willingly to hear some good advertisement of the preacher, who now cannot be present, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without some exhortation for your edifying.' And so further declaring that he had no licence to preach, said that he would not meddle with any matter in controversy. And then he began the epistle of the day, desiring the audience to mark three or four places in the same epistle, which touched quietness and love one to another. And there briefly reading the epistle, he noted the same places; and so, making an end thereof, desired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

"Witnesses the undernamed, with divers others:
 Edmund Mores. William Forstall.
 Richard Randall. Thomas Gooding."
 John Hills.

Another matter of trouble wrought against John Bland, as appeareth by his own narration.

"Upon the Innocents' day, being the twenty-eighth day of December, they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them mass. He had nigh made an end of matins ere I came; and when he had made an end of matins, he said to me, 'Master Parson, your neighbours have desired me to say matins and mass: I trust ye will not be against the queen's proceedings.' 'No,' quoth I, 'I will offend none of the queen's Majesty's laws, God willing.' 'What say ye?' quoth he; and made as he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again, with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time, (that all in the church heard,) that I would not offend the queen's laws. And then he went to mass; and when he was reading the epistle, I called the clerk unto me with the beckoning of my finger, and said unto him, 'I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little; I have something to say to the people.' And the clerk did so.

"And the priest came down to the stall, where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always showed unto his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what

benefit they past, we present, and our successors, have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass-book doth, saying, 'Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation: so that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood.'

"And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament: and showed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the mass eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship.

"And after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare what men made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the mass.

"And ere I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the borsholder, his son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, 'Thou heretic;' some, 'Thou traitor;' some, 'Thou rebel:' and when every man had said his pleasure and the rage was something past, 'Be quiet, good neighbours,' said I, 'and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me.' But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, 'Peace, masters; no more till mass be done:' and they ceased.

"Then said I to the churchwarden and the borsholder, (either holding me by the arm,) 'Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done.' 'No,' quoth the churchwarden, 'thou shalt tarry here till mass be done.' 'I will not,' quoth I, 'but against my will.' And they said, 'Thou shalt tarry: for if thou go out, thou wilt run away.' Then said I to the borsholder, 'Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me:' and turned my back to the altar.

"By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the borsholder and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door to me; and there they made me tarry till mass was ended.

"When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then said Thomas Austen, churchwarden, (after many brablings that they made with me,) 'Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's.' 'Ye lie, goodman Austen,' said I, 'it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's.'

"Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, that of late was clerk, said unto him, 'Sir, where dwell you?' And therewith Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, 'Come on, sirrah, you are of his opinion:' and took his dagger from him, and said he should go with him. 'I am content,' said he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk.

"By this time there came in at the church stile, one John Gray, of Wingham, servant to John Smith, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, 'How now, Ramsey, have you offended the queen's laws?' 'No,' quoth he. 'Then there is no transgression.' Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, 'Ye are one of their opinion; ye shall go with them for company:' and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? but after, I think, for very shame they let him go again; but they carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, with eighteen persons weaponed. A sheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with Master Hardes, justice, Master Oxenden, Master Spilman, and Master Tutsam.

"The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to prison. But James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes were bound in twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were sent for before the queen's Majesty's council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen's authority. And Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions. His sureties were Thomas Hogeeking and Simon Barrat.

"Now the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of February, [1554,] Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Master Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by Sir Thomas Moyle's commandment, (they said,) where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions holden at Canterbury; but after they changed it to be at Ashford on the

Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court."

The first examination of Master John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Doctor Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Master Collins, commissary, May 18, 1554.

"The eighteenth day of May, Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, made the mayor's serjeant to bring me before him and Master Collins, commissary, into Christ's church; and they went with me into a chamber, in the suffragan of Dover's house. Then the archdeacon said, 'Art thou a priest?' And I said, 'I was one.' And he said, 'Art thou a graduate of any university?' And I said, 'Yea.' 'What degree,' said he, 'hast thou taken?' 'The degree,' quoth I, 'of a Master of Arts.' 'The more pity,' quoth he, 'that thou shouldest behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common preacher licensed, hast thou not?' And I said, 'I have been so.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'so I understand.'

"'What hast thou preached?'

"And I said, 'God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.'

"'No, no,' quoth he; 'to the destroying of their souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me.'

"'I told you,' quoth I, 'what I have preached.'

"'Nay, but tell me,' quoth he, 'what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest?' 'I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.'

"'No, by my faith,' quoth he, 'but only that I would win thee from heresies that thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected others withal: for thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'I perceive (as I said) that ye seek matter against me. But, seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach and my living are taken from me, I think thus I am not bound to make you an answer.'"

Collins.—"Master Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make answer to every

man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?"

Bland.—"I know that, and am content so to answer as that text biddeth: but I know that Master Archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble."

"Then they said, 'No, ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here.'"

Bland.—"I am content for knowledge' sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise."

"And so they fell in reasoning more than the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At the last Master Collins said, 'Master Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next, as shall be laid to you?'"

Bland.—"Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's sake."

"And they said, Ye shall not, but it is for other matters."

Bland.—"Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford: I am in doubt whether I can or no; yet I have purposed to be there, and so to go to London to Master Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive certain money to pay my debts withal."

"Then said Master Archdeacon, 'I will write to Master Wiseman, that ye shall sustain no loss.'"

Bland.—"That shall not need; for I can sustain no great loss, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day." "No," quoth he.

Bland.—"Sir, I cannot well come on Monday."

Harpsfield.—"Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?"

Bland.—"I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day."

Harpsfield.—"Thou shalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on Monday."

Bland.—"Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or Master Collins, for God's sake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?"

Harpsfield.—"With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my Lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt:" and thus they departed. Now the seventeenth of May at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the same matter, but was bound to appear at the sessions holden at Cranbrook, the third of July.

Another appearance of Master Bland before the archdeacon and his fellows.

"The twenty-first day of May I appeared in the chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and Master Archdeacon said thus to me, 'Ye are come here according as ye were appointed: and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's Highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others more would be very glad; and I, for my part, shall be right glad to show you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because ye then refused to satisfy again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought to hellward by thee. What sayest thou?'"

Bland.—"I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And whereas your Mastership saith, that I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Master Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open disputation, as ye have here offered, should be this day between you and me: whereat I much marvelled, and said to him that before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute. And to this can Master Vaughan, Master Oxenden, Master Seth of Overland, and Master Ugden witness; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now if your Mastership have any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answer to it."

Harpsfield.—"Hear ye what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is."

Bland.—"I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open audience."

Harpsfield.—"Why, thou heretic, art thou

ashamed of thy faith? If it were a Christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it."

Bland.—"I am not ashamed of my faith: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c., with all the other articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the Holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true."

Harpsfield.—"Wilt thou declare no more than this?"

Bland.—"No."

Harpsfield.—"Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the Creed, and upon all the Holy Scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were, since the apostles' time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith;" with many words more which I well remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me, than I had said before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, "By what law and authority will ye proceed against me?" Master Collins said, "By the canon law."

Bland.—"I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law."

Harpsfield.—"Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?"

Bland.—"Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Master Collins, ye said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my desire, to confer Scriptures with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said, ye would borrow my Lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would. And now ye require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me."

Harpsfield.—"I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable: and I trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my Lord of Dover, and Master Collins, to hear us."

Bland.—"No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness, but, when we agree, set to our hands." Hereat made the people a noise

against me, for refusing the witness: and here had we many more words than I can rehearse. But at the last I said, "Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question?" And he said, "Yea, with all my heart; for in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won."

Bland.—"Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, Hail, full of grace, &c., came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin's womb to become man?" Whereat as well Master Archdeacon, as my Lord of Dover, and Master Collins staid. But my Lord spake the first, and said, "The Holy Ghost came to her;" and ere he had brought out his sentence, Master Syriac Peters said, "The power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." "Truth," said Master Archdeacon, "it was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost."—They had forgotten that, begotten of the substance of the Father; or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I said, "Sir, shall I ask one other?" And he said, "Yea." "Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?"

Harpsfield.—"Hark," said Master Archdeacon; "hear ye this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the quantities of Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament: but it is no absurdity; for even that natural body that was born of the Virgin Mary is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question."

Bland.—"Sir, if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament, after the consecration."

Harpsfield.—"I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born of the Virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament?" And while he spake many other words, I said to Master Petit, that the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his apostles, before Christ's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying Master Petit partly recited to Master Archdeacon.

Harpsfield.—"Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ's body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified: for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was

not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?"

"Then my Lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, 'When Christ was in Mount Tabor, he was there glorified in his apostles' sight.'"

Harpfield.—"Ye say truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles."

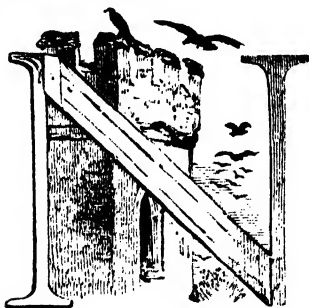
Bland.—"This methinks is new doctrine."

Harpfield.—"Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in, and prove these matters against him." And therewith the archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put against me at Christmas, and about that we talked a little. And then Master Archdeacon rose up and said, "See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him." Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, "I pray you," said he, "let us be no more troubled with him."

"And then spake John Austen, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuse me; but no answer they could have of me, but, 'Do to me what ye can by law, and I will answer it.' Then said Thomas Austen, 'Bland, ye were once abjured.'"

Bland.—"Ye say not truly, Goodman Austen, I was never abjured." "Either," said he, "ye were abjured, or else ye had the king's pardon." "Neither of both; ye speak this of malice:" with many other brabbling words more."

"Then Master Archdeacon departed, and left Master Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to Master Commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit myself to the law when I came home.



OW about the twenty-eighth day of June I came to Master Commissary to show him of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against

me, before Master Cox of Surrey, and Marks the apparitor: but Master Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me; and so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after.

"Now in the mean time was the sessions holden

at Cranbrook, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the third of July.

"And Sir John Baker said, 'Bland, ye are, as we hear say, a Scot: where were ye born and brought up?' And I said I was born in England. And he said, 'Where?' And I said, 'In Sedberg, and brought up by one Doctor Lupton, provost of Eton college.' 'Well,' said he, 'I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.'

"Then said Sir Thomas Moyle, 'Ah! Bland, thou art a stiff-hearted fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called.' 'Nor will,' quoth Sir John Baker. 'Master Sheriff, take him to your ward:' and the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. And so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone, till a fortnight after Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assize holden there, where we were among the prisoners two days. And when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, Master Barrow, clerk of the peace, said, that I was an excommunicate person.

"Then Master Roper of Linsted talked with the judges, but what, I am not able to say: but the judges of assize said, 'Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be holden next at the town of Malden.' Howbeit, the sheriff did not send for us, so that we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions holden at Greenwich the eighteenth and nineteenth of February [1555]. I and others, being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailer and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to Sir John Baker, Master Petit, Master Web, and two others whom I know not."

Another examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker. Feb. 19, 1555.

Baker.—"Bland, wherefore were ye cast into prison?"

Bland.—"I cannot well tell. Your Mastership cast me in."

Baker.—"Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?"

Bland.—"For an unjust complaint put upon me."

Baker.—"What was the complaint?"

(I told him as truly and as briefly as I could.)

Baker.—"Let me see thy book;" (and I took him a Latin Testament.)

Baker.—"Will ye go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?"

Bland.—"I trust in God to do no otherwise but is an honest man should do."

Baker.—"Will ye do as I said?"

Bland.—"Will it please your Mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?"

Baker.—"Yea."

Bland.—"Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?"

Baker.—"Away, away:" and threw down the book and said, "It is no Testament." And I said, "Yes." And Master Web took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently, "Master Bland, I knew you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reform yourself;" with better words than I will write. And I said, "If ye have known me of another opinion than I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge."

Baker.—"Yea, sayest thou so? By St. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I will give six faggots to burn thee withal, ere thou shouldst be unburned: hence, knave, hence!" And so were we reprieved into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailer, "Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution." And one of our company said, "My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever."

Another appearance of Master Bland in the Spiritual Court. March 2, 1555.

"Then came we to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second of March, at which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Creechchurch, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, Master Collins, Master Mills, with others; and then went to them Master Oxenden, Master Petit, Master Web, and Master Harges, justices. And when I was called, Master Web said, 'Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of heresy.'

"And I said, 'Master Web, ye have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?'"

Web.—"Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge."

Bland.—"I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy."

Web.—"Yes; ye denied to Sir John Baker to be conformable to the queen's proceedings."

Bland.—"Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy for asking a question with leave?" So we had more words there than I well remember.

"Then stood up Master Petit, and said, 'Ye were cast into prison, because ye fled away from your ordinary.'"

Bland.—"Then have I had wrong; for I never fled, nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did:" but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, "Master Commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?" "No." quoth he; "ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the sessions." Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented: and then we were sent to Westgate, into prison, and were put in several close holds, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they despatched, (by what means I cannot tell,) whose name was Cornwall, a tanner."

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now followeth the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chiefest doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover, or suffragan of Canterbury, called Dr. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or constancy is in these catholic persecutors, I thought here to exhibit by the way a certain popish letter, written of a papist unto him; wherein is declared what a gospeller the said Richard Thornton was in King Edward's time, who now, turning with the world, sheweth himself such a bitter persecutor against God's servants in Queen Mary's time. The copy of this letter here followeth:

"Right reverend, and my good Lord,—after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your Lordship, this shall be to certify you, that as soon as I arrived with my Lord's Grace, I gave him your letters: but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there have been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been said, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath these years past been in England, as well against the holy sacrament of the altar, and against the supreme authority of Christ's vicar in earth, as with the use of the abominable late communion, and with the marriage of priests, as well religious as secular; and that you

have given orders to (I cannot tell how many) base, unlearned, and evil disposed people, by reason of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in Kent. So that men think that yet, if any new mutation (the which God forbid) should chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the same, by reason that notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God to provide that your absolution was sent unto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of matters past, yet your Lordship (more regarding the vanity of the world, than the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) presumed to sing mass in pontificalibus, the holy-days immediately following; and also to ministrare to children the sacrament of confirmation, because that one (being a member of the devil) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

"O my Lord, what honour should it have been both to God and yourself, and also edification to all good people, (though all worldly men and heretics would therefore have laughed you to scorn,) if you, considering your great offences toward God, and his goodness again toward you, would, like as you have offended in the face of the world to the damnation of many, likewise have showed yourself penitent in the face of the world to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrated for vanity *pontificaliter*; but also for a time to have abstained for reverence *totaliter* from the altar, according to the old custom of the church; the which I have also seen observed of some honest men, not being thereto enjoined of any man: but that which is past cannot be called again. And I thought it not my part to leave your Lordship, mine old friend and master, in the mire. Wherefore I ceased not to solicit your cause with my Lord's Grace, till at the last I obtained of his Grace, for your Lordship, all the faculties of the which I send you a copy here enclosed, partly for your own consolation, and partly for others, desiring your Lordship so to use them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke; not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receive them: for hitherto there is never a bishop in England, who hath granted him so great authority concerning those which be under his cure. Only Master Archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great than be these your Lordship's. Wherefore your Lordship shall do well to remit unto him all such priests as have cure of soul, whether they be beneficed men, or parish priests. For he hath not only authority to absolve them, as you have, but also to give them authority to absolve such as be under-

neath their cures. And thus I commit your Lordship to the protection of Almighty God.—Written at Brussels, the sixteenth of June, 1554.

"Your Lordship's bead-man,
THOMAS GOLDWELL."

And thus much concerning the bishop of Dover, by way of digression. Now to return again to the examinations of Master Bland, let us hear his own report of his answers, as followeth:

Bland.—"Here followeth mine answer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word and sentence; yet if any that was present can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I say, that there is never one sentence, but it was openly spoken the ninth of March, in the chapter-house of Cree-church, in the presence of as many as they had chosen; the mayor of the city being called to be assistant, and all others shut out."

"Master Collins said, 'Master Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy. How say ye, be ye contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?'"

Bland.—"I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy, and this ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any law or authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it."

Collins.—"Ye were convented before Master Archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge."

Bland.—"That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in prison this year and more. If ye have any thing against me by any law, I desire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will answer according to the law."

"Then said my Lord Suffragan, 'But that I am one of the judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol.'"

Bland.—"You, my Lord, never heard me say so: but I heard you once say, that in your conscience ye had abhorred the mass three years." "Thou liest," quoth he, "I never said so."

Bland.—"My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear Master Collins, at a visitation in Wingham, say, that Christ was a full

satisfaction for all sin present, past, and to come ; contrary to that he saith now."

"And here we had more words of this matter, which I do let pass for lack of good remembrance.

"Master Collins said, 'This is but a drift. You were better answer now ; for else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you.'

Bland.—"Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to answer any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law : wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the law."

Collins.—"This is the law, that if ye be required of the ordinary, *reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now."

Bland.—"To that then will I answer : for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the same creed ; and I believe all the articles contained both in the creed called the mass creed, and in the creed of Athanasius ; and I do believe, that all the Holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true."

Collins.—"This will not serve you : ye must answer to all such articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you."

Bland.—"Let me know the law, that it is in that force, (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me,) and I will answer."

Collins.—"How say ye, will ye answer ?"

Bland.—"Sir, I have answered you." "Have him away," said my Lord of Dover ; "he had better have answered."

Bland.—"My Lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the law."

Bishop of Dover.—"Ye have preached many heresies in Adisham, where I am parson now ; and therefore ye must make answer to them."

Bland.—"Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year and more ago : for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to, all things done in all my life, I trow."

Collins.—"It is not a year ago since you were before Master Archdeacon and me."

Bland.—"It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks since the words were spoken ; and I have been a prisoner ever since, and have been at five sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Methinketh your charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty."

Collins.—"All this will not serve you ; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will ye reform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar ; and be obedient unto all the queen's laws ?"

Bland.—"I pray you, wherefore am I brought hither ?"

Collins.—"To answer to such things as are demanded of you."

Bland.—"Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the law."

Collins.—"Well, on Monday, at nine of the clock, ye shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you."

"Then they had spied Master Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and said, 'Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to answer :' and he said as they had said."

Collins.—"Do ye not believe, that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, there remaineth no substance of bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and man ?"

Bland.—"Master Commissary, I know not by any law why ye should ask me that question more than any other man here." And after a little talk, my Lord of Dover asked me this question : "Dost not thou believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ ?" And I said, "No, I do not so believe : for the Scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat man's flesh."

"Then Master Glasier said, 'That was the opinion of the Capernaïtes ; there is no man here of that opinion :' and spake long of cutting Christ's body, as men cut flesh in the shambles.

"Then Master Doctor Faucet said, 'Master Bland, forasmuch as you and I were brought up both in one house, and born both in one parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good : but ye may not thus stand against the church, for Christ saith, Ye must humble yourself, and take up his cross, and follow him. And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the consecration there remaineth no bread, but the natural body and blood of Christ.'

Bland.—"Master Doctor, if ye take humbling of ourselves in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then must we know by the Scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not : and therefore I do not believe any such transubstantiation ; nor ever will, God willing." "Then,"

quoth he, "I have done with you: I will no more pray for you than for a dog."

"Then said Master Glasier,—'How think ye? Did Paul, when he said, Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Christ? did he mean baker's bread?'"

Bland.—"Though he did not mean baker's bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real flesh."

Glasier.—"No, by St. Mary, we say not so; but we say it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine."

Bland.—"Then the apostles had it not as we have: or else his glorified body was crucified for us."

Glasier.—"Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures; for Christ's body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvellously united to the Godhead: yea, and he showed his body divers times glorified, as in the Mount Tabor; and when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?"

Bland.—"Then belike Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the deed of a glorified body: and the iron that Elizeus made to swim upon the water."

"'Tush,' quoth my Lord of Dover, 'that was done by prayer.' But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord said."

Bland.—"Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reason with you, no more than it booted you in the time of the gospel. For then neither the reason of Eckius, Cochlaeus, nor yet of the detection of the devil's sophistry of my Lord Chancellor's doing, could take any place. And it is known that some be here, that something I can say in them."

Dover.—"No, you know Œcolampadius, Zuingleus, and such others."

Bland.—"Indeed, my Lord, I have seen part of their doings."

Dover.—"That is seen by thee to-day."

Glasier.—"I was glad, when I heard you say ye believed the catholic church; and now go you from it?"

Bland.—"No, that I do not."

Glasier.—"Ye know that Christ saith, If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it to the church, *dic ecclesiæ*; if he hear not the church, take him as a heathen. I pray you where could ye have found this church of yours fifty years ago?"

Bland.—"Ye know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted."

"Then my Lord of Dover cried, 'No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in another.'"

Collins.—"Ye shall come again on Monday, at nine of the clock, and in the mean time ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal: your friend Dr. Faucet, or Master Glasier, if ye desire them."

Bland.—"I will refuse to talk with no man. As for any conference of your part, it is but weak laws, established as they are: but when there was no law, I did desire conference." And so for that time I departed.

"The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place again; and then Master Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform myself. But, as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which, they said before, I should see."

Dover.—"What needs that? we have enough against you: for ye denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament."

Bland.—"I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the law, whereby ye may compel me to answer."

"My Lord of Dover took the scribe's book, and read the answer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reason, which I knew not that they had written."

Bland.—"My Lord, I made you no such answer when ye asked me: I take Master Collins and Master Glasier to witness."

"Then they brought forth a Decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me to answer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that they, so examined, must needs answer. But I said, that it meant of such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid. But Master Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the justices put me in prison for a sermon seditiously spoken, and for troubling a priest at mass."

Bland.—"That is not true; for, after I had been ten weeks in prison, I was bailed, till I was cast in again, and (as the justice said) for the disobeying mine ordinary, which I never did."

Collins.—"Will ye be content to confer with some? It will be better for you. Now we offer it you, because ye would not desire it."

Bland.—"As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to confer the Scriptures; and therefore I looked that Dr. Faucet would have come to me without

desiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference: for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor."

Collins.—"Are ye content to come to his chamber at afternoon?"

Bland.—"Sir, I am a prisoner; and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will," and so departed.

"At this time we were three: but they took another to appear before them the Tuesday seven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier."

Here followeth a certain confutation of Master Bland against false and manifest absurdities, granted by Master Mills, priest of Christ's Church in Canterbury.

Mills.—"We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure."

Bland.—"This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say, *Materia sacramenti est panis et vinum*. And God by his power worketh no miracles with *Hoc est corpus meum*, so to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle so with God's work."

Mills.—"To Christ is given all power in heaven and in earth; so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be and is where he listeth; and is in the sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place."

Bland.—"Mark your own reason: all power is given to Christ both in heaven and earth. By the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: ergo, he is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your major nor minor. And, first, I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at every priest's list. For if the priest list not to say your mass, then Christ listeth not to be there. Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in heaven and in earth, so that that is the cause, by

your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his human body; and then he was not equal with the Father in Divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *filius*. Here is more danger than ye are aware of, if ye would stand to it with just judges."

Mills.—"We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity; and we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament. And the body that we so receive hath life; for the Godhead is annexed thereto: which, although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not invisible after a gross sort. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ, for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood."

Bland.—"I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinketh it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix, or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And ye say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken, for it is the nature of wine that doth that; which ye deny not. And a more truth ye confess than ye did think, when ye said, 'If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of blood;' for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood. 'If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth, that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the flesh that ye receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities."

Mills.—"If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, after the con-

secration thereof, there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance but accidents without substance, to a true believer."

Bland.—"Ye grant three absurdities, that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, ye have brought in two inconveniences; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration. *Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charibdim.*

Mills.—"The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly; for although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh."

Bland.—"Ye make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation: ergo, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver; for, if that be the cause that she properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied but the mouse will live with consecrated bread; and then ye must grant the absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents."

Mills.—"Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and we deny that, by the sacramental eating, any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body."

Bland.—"Whereas it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body, with the sacramental bread and wine

consecrated, ye cannot avoid that. But then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, 'Men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine;' and then must ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made substance in man. For *ex eisdem sunt et nutriuntur mixta*, or else all that is the nutriment in man, is accidents, and no substance."

Mills.—"If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again."

Bland.—"Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles. And this I count a more absurdity than the other, that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again: for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you (which we do not) that it were there. God Almighty open your heart—if it be his will and pleasure—to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings. I submit myself to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same."

"Your orator in the Lord,

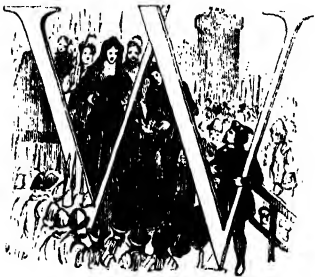
JOHN BLAND."

Another appearance and examination of John Bland. June 13, 1555.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tost to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, the thirteenth day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton; the commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal, by his letters patent, had substituted to be his factor, before his coming over to England; the archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great sort of innocent lambs of Christ were cruelly entreated and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom this aforesaid Master Bland was one of the first; who, as it is said, being brought before the said bishop, and his colleagues, which were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker,

Humfrey Middleton, William Cocker, was examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the sacrament, or no, &c. To this he answered and said, that he believed that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament.

The last appearance of John Bland. June 20, 1555.



hereupon, the day being Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next; and from thence he was deferred again to Monday fol-

lowing, being the twentieth of June, in the same chapter-house, then to hear further what should be done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foresaid articles, being again repeated to him: which articles, commonly and in course, they use to object to their examiners which be brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that country of Kent, to be repeated.

Articles ministered by Richard, bishop of Dover, to Master Bland, and likewise to the rest following after him.

"First, that thou art of the diocese of Canterbury, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

"II. Item, that thou art a Christian man, and dost profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

"III. Item, that all parsons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say, within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate persons, and heretic, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

"IV. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of

bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

"V. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, hast within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man, safely and with a safe conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he understandeth not.

"VI. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, hast, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may with a safe conscience so receive it.

"VII. Item, that the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury."

The answers of Master Bland to the foresaid articles.

"To these articles Master Bland, answering again in order as they were objected to him, saith to the first, (granting the same,) that he was a priest, and of the diocese of Canterbury.

"To the second also he answereth affirmatively.

"Item, to the third he answereth, that the article is true; meaning the catholic church to be Christ's church.

"Item, in the fourth article, as touching the first part of the article, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the same. And as touching the second part of the article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

"Item, to the fifth article he granteth.

"To the sixth, he hath preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the article.

"Item, to the seventh and last article he granteth the same," &c.

This done, and his answers and confession taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So, the twenty-fifth day of the said month of June, he, making his appearance again in the said chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon his sentence was read, and so he condemned and

committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one, read before in the history of Master Rogers.

The prayer of John Bland before his death.

"The Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of this cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy. I chose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee; which death is more dear unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be, at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire into thy bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Lord Jesus, receive my soul. So be it!"

The history of Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, and Humfrey Middleton.



HAVING now passed over the examinations of Master Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellows con-captives, being joined the same time with him in the

like cause and like affliction; the names of whom were Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest, constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury. the twenty-fifth day of June, the year above expressed; touching whose examinations I shall not need long to stand. Forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as hereafter (by the Lord's help) you shall hear. In the mean time, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with the same.

"First, the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very bare words of Christ, when he said, This is my body, did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words."

Sheterden.—"Then, belike, when Christ said, This cup is my blood, the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine."

Harpfield.—"Not so; for when Christ said, This cup is my blood, he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup."

Sheterden.—"If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread, as of the cup."

Harpfield.—"There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand; but of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth, without any other meaning."

Sheterden.—"Then do ye make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech; and so ye divide Christ's supper."

Harpfield.—"Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, This cup is my blood."

Sheterden.—"Then show me whether the words which the priests do speak over the cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest doth it?"

Harpsfield.—"The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words."

Sheterden.—"If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people do worship the priest's harlot, instead of Christ's blood. And again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest; for no man can tell what the priest meaneth but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry."

"Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, 'I pray you, Master Commissary, speak you to him another while; for they are unreasonable and perverse answers as ever I heard of.'

"Then stood up the commissary, and said, 'Your argument is much against yourself; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body, but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.'

Sheterden.—"My argument is not against me at all; for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the priest, do not change the substance any more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood."

Commissary.—"It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, This cup is my blood; but he meant the wine in the cup."

Sheterden.—"Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the archdeacon; that is, whether the mind of the priest, when he speaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?"

Commissary.—"Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea, the intent and the words together do it."

Sheterden.—"If the words and intent together do change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine; forasmuch as the words are, This cup is my blood, and the intent, ye say, was the wine: or else the words take none effect, but the intent only."

"After, the commissary in his chamber said, it was the intent of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for if the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained, then the intent made the sacrament to take effect."

Sheterden.—"If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes having a priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to be God, which is but bread; because, for lack of the priest's intent, the words do take none effect in it: so that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests do intend."

"Then the commissary would prove to me, that Christ's manhood was in two places at one time, by these words of Christ in John iii., where he saith, No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven; that is to say, the Son of man which is in heaven. By this he would prove, that Christ was then in heaven and in earth also, naturally and bodily."

Sheterden.—"This place and other must needs be understood for the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and man; and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error."

Commissary.—"This is not so: for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, the Son of man which is in heaven."

Sheterden.—"If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's manhood, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him."

Commissary.—"Lo, how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err yourself; for it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passible: for God cannot come down, because he is not passible."

Sheterden.—"If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passible; then it might be said, by the like argument, that God could not sit; and then heaven is not his seat: and then say as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at."

"Then the commissary affirmed plainly that it was true, 'God hath no right hand indeed.'"

Sheterden.—"Oh! what a spoil of Christ's religion will this be, that, because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the sea. O misery! at length it will come to pass, that God cannot sit, and then how can heaven be his seat; and if heaven be not his seat,

then there is no heaven : and then, at length, I doubt ye will say there is no God, or else no other God but such as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel."

Commissary.—"Why, doth not the Scripture say, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a spirit have?"

Sheterden.—"Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worshipped in spirit and truth; and as he is a Spirit, so hath he a spiritual power, so he hath a spiritual seat, a spiritual hand, and a spiritual sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Because we know not what hand God hath, therefore, if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said, there is no Christ."

"Then the commissary said, he would talk no more with me; and so departed. And also the commissary was compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but, he said, they had power so to do."

My first answering, after their law was established.

"Because I know ye will desire to hear from me some certainty of my state, I was called before the suffragan, and seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles; and then I required to see their commission. They showed it to me, and said, 'There it is, and the king and queen's letters also.'

"Then I desired to have it read: and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles; whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament; and whether the Church of England be Christ's catholic church. To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would, therefore, that I should answer to those things wherefore I was prisoner.

"The suffragan said, his commission was, I must answer directly, yea or nay. This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion. He said I was suspected, and presented to him.

"Then I required that the accusation might be showed. He said he was not bound to show it, but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to answer directly."

Sheterden.—"And I, as a subject, do require of you justice: for that I have done, I ask no favour."

"He said I was suspected. I bade him prove that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect."

Suffragan.—"Thou wast cast into prison for that cause."

Sheterden.—"That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and the realm, that therefore I must now, for amends, be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speak as I did: therefore, in that point, I could be no more suspected than you which preached the same yourself not long before."

Suffragan.—"That was no matter to thee, what I preached."

Sheterden.—"Well, yet in the king and queen's name I must answer directly: and therefore I require, as a subject, that ye do not extend beyond your commission, but prove me suspect more than you yourself."

"Then said Master Mills, I had written to my mother, and he did see the letter, wherein I persuaded my mother to my opinions."

Sheterden.—"In that I did but my duty to certify her, I was not in prison for any evil. And that was before the law, also; and therefore no more suspicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like."

Mills.—"Well, ye are required here to answer directly, yea or no."

Sheterden.—"First, then, I require of you to prove his suspicion." And thus we tossed to and fro. At last the bishop said, he himself did suspect me. I asked, whereby?

Suffragan.—"Well," said he, "I myself did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby."

Sheterden.—"But your commission doth not serve you so to do without just cause of suspicion."

Suffragan.—"Well, yet did I suspect you."

Sheterden.—"It is not meet for you to be my accuser and my judge also; for that is too much for one man." And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Mills.—"If you were a Christian man, you would not be ashamed of your faith being required."

Sheterden.—"I am not ashamed indeed, I thank God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but, forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you."

Mills.—"If you will not, then will we certify the king's council."

Sheterden.—"I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters' prison wrongfully, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such imprisonment; and then I will not refuse to answer

your articles, though there were a bushel of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal all your wrong done to me against the law of God and the realm, I will not."

"Here much ado there was, to prove that he had no wrong; and again, that it was not they that did it. But said Sheterden, 'The commissary was one of them.' He answered, 'No, it was the archdeacon.' Sheterden said, 'You sat with him, and he asked your counsel in it: and yet if it were he, it was your church—except the archdeacon and you be divided one from another.' 'Well,' said they, 'will ye now deny that ye said then, and promise here to submit yourself henceforth, and ye shall be delivered?' "

Sheterden.—"I am not so much bound to you to grant any such promise: and again, you shall well know that I would not promise to go cross the street for you: but if I did at any time offend your law, let me have the punishment. I ask no favour."

"Then said they, that it was obstinacy in him, that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was naught, seeing he was ashamed to utter it.

"'Nay,' said Sheterden, 'you shall well know I am not ashamed of my faith: but because you do so greedily seek blood, I will answer only to that you have against me.'"

Suffragan.—"Nay, you shall answer to the articles, or else be condemned upon suspicion."

Sheterden.—"I am content with that: yet all men shall know, that as ye suspect and can prove no cause, so shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know ye seek my blood, and not justice."

Suffragan.—"No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion."

Sheterden.—"That we shall see: for then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same: and, by that, I shall know whether you seek blood or no." Many other words were between them.

"At last stopt up one Lovels a lawyer, which would prove his imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old statutes of Edward the Fourth, and Henry, &c.; but, at last, he was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he said, it was no wrong.

"To this Nicholas said, If he could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then, under that, hide the first wrong, then he said true; or else not.

"Thus he kept the ban-dogs at staves' end, not as thinking to escape them, 'but that I would see,' said he, 'the foxes leap above the ground for my blood: if they can reach it, (so it be the will of God,) yet we shall see them gape, and leap for it.'—From Westgate in haste.

"By yours,
NICHOLAS SHETERDEN."

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, against the false worship and oblation of the sacrament.

"The holy sign instead of the thing signified is servile servitude; as St. Augustine termeth it, when the bread in the sacrament is by common and solemn error worshipped, instead of the flesh assumed of the word of God.

"There was no mention of worshipping the creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate: therefore the saying of Christ concerning divorce, may well be applied to them; it was not so from the beginning, nor shall be to the end.

"The once made oblation of Christ is hereby derogate, when this sacramental oblation and offering of thanksgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the soul as well of the living as of the dead, against this saying to the Hebrews: With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified. Again, Where is remission, there is no more oblation for sins, making us clean by him.

"This word 'by himself' hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all priests from authority to enterprise such oblation; whereas what he himself doth by himself, he leaveth not for others to do. So seemeth our purgatory already past and done, not to come and remaining to be done."

The examination of Nicholas Sheterden before the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor.

"I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. He standing to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

"Then said he, 'I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted of heresy; and, being called before the commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit yourself. I said, 'If it like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not

to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment; neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made.' "

Winchester.—"Well, yet if such suspicion be of you, if you be a Christian, ye will declare that it is not true, and so purge yourself."

"I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, &c., trusting that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right. Winchester said, 'If thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment,' &c.

"I said, 'I am not minded to sue now, but require to have right justice; but to make a promise I will not: but if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly. For it may be that my conscience is not persuaded, nor will be, in prison; seeing those things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by authority of the realm.' And he said, it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament. I said, against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

"Winchester said, By no law, and that it was notable to consider that (all that while) God preserved that, so that no law could pass against it.

"I said, 'Their law did not only persuade me, but this most: when they preached unto us, they took pain to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we might read and judge whether they say true or no; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so; which is to me a great persuasion.' "

Winchester.—"It was not a few that could be your guide in understanding, but the doctors and all the whole church. Now whom wouldst thou believe, either the few or the many?"

Sheterden.—"I do not believe for the few nor for the many; but only for that he bringeth the word, and sheweth it to me to be so according to the process thereof."

"'Well,' said Winchester, 'then if an Arian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he show this text, My Father is greater than I.'

"I answered, 'No, my Lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, My Father and I am one.'

"'Yea,' said Winchester, 'that is by charity, as we be one with him.'

"I said, that gloss would not stand with the rest of the Scripture, where he said, I am the very same

that I say to you; He said the truth, and the truth was God, &c., with much such like.

"And here he made many words (but very gently) of the sacrament: 'Likewise Christ said,' quoth he, 'it was his body; yea, (that is to say,) a figure of his body;' and how men did not consider the word was God, and God the word: and so provoked me with such temptation. But I let him alone, and said nothing.

"So, after many words, Winchester came to the church's faith, and comely order of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice. I said, that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness."

Winchester.—"Where find ye that?"

Sheterden.—"Forsooth in the law, where God gave them the commandments: for he said, Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only; and added a reason why; lest they should after make images, and mar themselves: so that God would not show his shape, because they should have no image of him which was the true God," &c.

"Winchester said, I made a goodly interpretation. I said, no, it was the text.

"Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bade me find it, and I should straight be confounded with mine own words; so that if there were any grace with me, I would trust mine own wit no more: and when I looked, it was Latin.

"'Why,' said Winchester, 'can ye read no Latin?' 'No.'

"Then was the English Bible brought. He bade me find it; and so I read it aloud, and then he said; 'Lo. here thou mayest see; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl, or fish' (the place was Deut. iv.). I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an image of God, because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any image, 'This is an image of God.' "

Winchester.—"Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may; that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father appeared to Daniel, like an old man," &c.

Sheterden.—"That is no proof that we make images contrary to the commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities. And therefore when I saw the dove which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be

simple and loving, &c.:" and with that he was somewhat moved, and said, I had learned my lesson; and asked who taught me; with many words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

"At the last I said, 'My Lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents:' and much ado we had. At last he saw, he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity's sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and said, my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear myself.

"I said, that was easy for me to do; for I had not offended.

"Winchester said, I could not escape so; there I was deceived.

"I said, 'Well, then I am under the law,' &c.

"The archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with such arrogance and stoutness as never was heard, I behaved myself before him; whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, &c. And many lies he laid to me, 'that I was sent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with such an outcry as was notable.'

"I declare, that he falsely herein reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation that none of her subjects should be compelled till the law were to compel; and that I rehearsed the same in the court for me: 'and I did use him then,' said I, 'as I used your Grace now, and no otherwise.'

"Winchester said, that I did not use myself very well now.—I said, I had offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

"Winchester said, I should not confer, but be obedient.—I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither; and when I offended, let them punish me: and so departed.

"By your brother,

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate."

The last examination with the condemnation of the four godly martyrs, Master Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton.



ND thus much touching the particular, and several examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of Master Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, which

the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humfrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent above mentioned, here first would be declared the articles which publicly, in their last examinations, were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the foresaid Thornton, bishop of Dover. But forasmuch as these articles, being ordinary and of course, are already expressed in the story of Master Bland, as may appear before; it shall not therefore be needful to make any new rehearsal thereof.

To these seven articles then being propounded to the five persons above named, to wit, John Frankesh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first answered John Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himself: which was granted. Master Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden and Humfrey Middleton answered to the first and second articles affirmatively. To the third, concerning the catholic church, after a sort they granted. To the fourth, and fifth, and sixth, touching the real presence, and the sacrament to be ministered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they refused utterly to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained prisoner, before the laws of parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, "My living God, and no dead God," &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforesaid four, upon these answers, were condemned by the bishop of Dover, the twenty-fifth day of June, anno 1555.

And so, being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury the twelfth of July, at two several stakes, but all in one fire together,



where they,
in the sight
of God and
of his angels,
and before
men, like
true soldiers
of Jesus
Christ, gave

a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

*The Christian prayer of Nicholas Sheterden
before his death.*

"O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in heaven and earth, Maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands. Lord God, look upon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppressed of the worldly-minded for thy law's sake: yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and commodity of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid

up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might by thy permission enjoy these commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, which all I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold, I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

"O Father, I do not presume unto thee, in mine own righteousness; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is any sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will. And now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any

strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace; and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen."

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden; and, first, a letter to his mother.

"After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, that ye may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly show himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but, having confidence in men's traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisy, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of souls, doth by his ministers make many believe, that those things which they compel us unto for their bellies' sake, have many godly significations, although they be most contrary to God's will, as doubtless they be; even as did the serpent in Paradise to our first mother Eve. 'What,' said he, 'hath God commanded ye shall not eat of all the trees in the garden?' The woman said, 'Of the fruits of the trees in the garden we may eat.' 'But of the tree in the midst of the garden,' said God, 'see ye eat not, lest ye die.' Even so our ministers now-a-days say, 'Hath God commanded ye shall not make you any image or likeness of any thing?' 'Yea, forsooth.' 'Tush,' say they, 'what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we see his image or picture? for they are good books for the laymen:' but indeed they be better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

"And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve, so is the persuasion of our priests found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were so open, that he lost both innocency and righteousness, and was become most miserable of all creatures: and even so we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments, and count his testament, confirmed in his blood, for stark madness or heresy; so miser-

ably have we remembered him, that of all people we are most blind. And this doth follow upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law: and therefore surely, except we repent shortly, God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues: as sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

"But I know the craftiness of them herein (I thank God) which will say, 'Where went he to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors that studied all their life!' And lo, they say that it is good hay: although we smell it musty ourselves, yet must we believe it is sweet; and then pay them well for their so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir! be ye wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghost? What! wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach; or have ye set it lower in hell than ever Christ durst to venture? For it is some strange learning, belike, that Christ and his apostles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift; for, peradventure, they will not be ashamed to say, that Christ, coming on his Father's message, did forget half his errand by the way. For I dare say, the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ: yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it: so Romishly hath antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre's sake.

"Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes said unto you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart-root in Christ, to consider your own soul's health is offered you; do not cast it off; we have not long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world's treasure? I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers that lived thus? God forbid that we should condemn any that did according to their knowledge: but let us take heed that they condemn not us, for if they had heard the word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they shall be our condemnation, if we do not embrace this grace offered us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those shall we never see, nor have any part among them: for our disobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse his mercy offered more largely to us than to them,

even according to Christ's promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek him from country to country, and find him not: 'Yet shall the gospel,' saith he, 'be preached in all the world, and then shall the end come.'

"And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered: for surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. Oh remember Lot's wife. God must needs punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they shall persecute his church and his true servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this my simple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be so knit in faith and trust in God's word and promises here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I would seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make some my friends which now, peradventure, are jealous over me amiss: but, I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their consciences, and they have no just cause so to do. Nevertheless I would they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the even balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy patriarchs, and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy apostles. And then, I doubt not, but our matter shall be ended with peace and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy's sake. Amen.

"Your own child,

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN,

Prisoner for the truth in Westgate, 1555."

A letter to his brother, Walter Sheterden.

"I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the same. It is showed me, my brother, that ye willed me by a letter made to a friend of yours to persuade with me, that I should be ruled by mine uncle, which saith, he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I should not stand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good brother, I trust ye do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet, I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but a heap of dung, in respect of the treasure hid within; yet I do esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counselled and ruled by

him or you, or any other my friends, I do not, neither have refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortal men. But, if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God only, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe, (I trust in God,) shall get it of me, nor yet the angels in heaven.

"For though I be not learned, (as the vain men of the world call learning,) yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christ's passion and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together; so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my faith, I must say thus: 'I believe as holy church believeth.' If he ask me what is the order of that faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments! If I should so monstrously utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which were first, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my faith were sound?

"For some affirm that Christ did not give to his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal and glorified body, so that he should have a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism; and then they may as well say, he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised; and that were even right antichrist, to turn all things backward, and then say, 'Oh! ye must believe, for God is almighty, he can do all things,' &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died: for God's omnipotency doth not stand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time; neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, nor yet the fruit to come before the blossom; and yet is he nevertheless almighty.

"But if, peradventure, ye shall think with yourself, Why they are learned; it were marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others which never kept no such study, &c.: to that I answer that if they had studied God's word, the Author of truth, as they have done logic and Duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in bald reasons.

But thus hath God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, which would not believe nor walk in his truth.

“And again: this is a good cause to make us think surely, that this was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles’ time, by little and little, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth now among us a few years, because we did not obey unto it, we see what a sudden change God hath brought upon us for our sins’ sake. And why should not we think that this and such-like disobedience was the cause that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings be to Christ’s and his apostles: and that seen, either we must judge Christ’s doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they be the very antichrists, which should come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

“By your brother, NICHOLAS SHETERDEN,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate.”

Another letter to his brother.

“God, which is the giver of all goodness, and that freely for his love to us, (not only without our deserts, but contrary to the same,) grant you, my brother, such increase of godly knowledge and love unto the virtues thereunto belonging, as may give you such a taste in heavenly things, that all treasure of earthly things may savour to you, as indeed they are, most vain and uncertain; so shall ye never take them for no better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we shall know ourselves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treasure of his word, we shall not only enrich ourselves against the time of need, but also arm ourselves against the battle with weapons and harness which is invincible, and clothe ourselves against the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feast, and blown the trumpet to prepare the battle. Let us know the time of our visitation, lest the Lord, sitting on his mount, bewail our destruction, which he desireth not, but because he is just to punish such as continue in sin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for so is God, that cannot deny himself.

“Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to-day, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts by resistance of his will, lest he swear in his wrath, that we shall not enter into his rest. Let us count it sufficient, that we have spent the time past, as St.

Peter saith, after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonness, and in abominable idolatry, &c. And now let us essay a new life, and trade our members in virtue another while, lest, peradventure, we might run past any return in the contrary. But, if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us such certificate of conscience, as shall kindle our consolation in him, so that all treasure shall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear brother, my heart’s desire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliss of eternal inheritance by one spiritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joined by nature. But, alack, the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me—I will not say of you, for I had rather ye should accuse yourself—for no doubt the best of us both hath not sought for wisdom in God’s word, as some in the world whom we know have sought for money: therefore they shall be our judges, if we do not learn by them. Yea, the very emmet, as Solomon saith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for she provideth in summer against winter.

“This is the best token I have for you now, which, though it be simple, yet shall it declare partly my heart’s desire to you-ward, which is even as mine own soul. Let nothing dismay you for my cause: but be ye sure I shall have victory in the truth, which truth is stronger than kings, wine, or women. For, as Zerubbabel saith, Wine is unrighteous, the king is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, yea, all the children of men are unrighteous; but the truth endureth, and is always strong, and conquereth for ever without end. Therefore this is to desire you, and all other my friends that wish me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his truth, as he hath begun; which prayer, if it be of such a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, shall be to me the greatest pleasure under heaven; for I desire nothing in comparison of God’s truth. I thank him of his mercy, which so hath wrought; for I take it as a sure seal of the endless joy which shall hereafter follow—which God bring us unto, when his will and pleasure is; Amen.—From Canterbury.

By yours,

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.”

Another letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his mother, written the day before his death.

“O my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favourable blessing and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you. O my good mother, in few words, I wish you the same salvation, which I hope

myself to feel, and partly taste of before this come to you to read; and in the resurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together for ever; and in that day God grant you to see my face with joy: but, dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry, and blasphemous mass. O let not that be your god, which mice and worms can devour. Behold, I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no god, yea, the fire that consumeth it, and the moistness that causeth it to mould; and I take Christ's Testament to witness, that it is none of his ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and a snare to catch innocents' blood; and now that God hath showed it unto you, be warned in time. O give over old customs, and become new in the truth. What state soever your fathers be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection; read it with obedience; let it be your pastime: but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things; so shall we meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore. O farewell my friends and lovers all: God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.—From Westgate, the eleventh of July, 1555.

“Your child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood, Nicholas Sheterden, being appointed to be slain.”

The copy of a letter written to his wife.

“I wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treasure, willing you to entreat Esau, the elder brother by nature, gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and say, they be Jacob's, and are sent for a present to my Lord Esau; but he will not take it, &c. Now, my beloved, ye know the blessing of our Father is, that the elder shall serve the younger, and Wisdom, our mother, hath taught us the same; and I know ye do complain of your servant the Flesh, that he is rebellious, disobedient, and untoward; unruly and crookedly, ye think, he doth his service: but yet behold, how shall ye plead your cause before an indifferent judge? For if it be true that his service be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in servants; yet, I say, can you show your cause to no indifferent judge, but he shall object against you that he is not kept like a servant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other necessities meet and due for a servant: so shall ye take more shame of your own complaint, than remedy or vantage against your servant; and it shall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward service, because ye have misused him.

“And therefore my sentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in small faults, and amend your own great faults, as oppression, cruelty, and covetousness, requiring more than a servant can do, specially being tired with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with stripes. And these things amended, if he do his service negligently, (as, no doubt, sometimes he will,) yet then ye may boldly correct him with discretion; and sometimes if he do not his task, ye may make him go to bed supperless: but yet beat him not with durable strokes, neither withhold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually, but let him have something to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a stranger in the life that is in God, yet be good to strangers; for we were all strangers in darkness, and captives in sin, as well soul and spirit, being in Egypt, as now the flesh is yet unbaptized with the terrible Red Sea of death; and remember that one law abideth for the stranger,—I mean, one reward abideth both for body and soul in the land of everlasting rest. And therefore entreat him gently, and deal with him justly now: for the time will come that the yoke of bondage shall be taken from his neck, and he shall be a fellow heir with your younger brother.

“Circumcise him, therefore, but do not misuse him, nor keep him from his own; but deal mercifully with the stranger, that he may say, ‘Oh! of what understanding heart is this people: who hath God, or where is God, so high as to these?’ God make you wise and politic in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nations with a rod. But kill not the Gibeonites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw water and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for labourers. And be glad because your disease is so remedied; for it is better and easier for a thirsty labouring man to drink, than for a drunken man to tell a sober-wise tale. Yea, it is a token that ye have earnestly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad, I say, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven: yea, blessed shall she be, that in this your zeal shall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging yourself upon that churlish Nabal: which thing I hope to do now with these sweet raisins and frails of figs. I, being of one house with your servant Nabal, I dare say to you that Churlishness is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord shall do it in his due time. Farewell, mine own heart.

“Yours in bonds at Westgate,
NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.”

The next day after the condemnation of these aforesaid, which was the twenty-sixth day of July, were also condemned for the same articles, William Coker, William Hopper of Cranbrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, William Stere of Ashford. But because the execution of these martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the month following of August.

Nicholas Hall and Christopher Wade, martyrs.

The same month of July, next after the suffering of the Kentish-men above named, followed the death and martyrdom of Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Wade, of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs before specified, the brief sum whereof were these.

"First, That they were Christian men, and professed the catholic determinations of our mother holy church.

"2. That they which maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.

"3. That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ. And that the said very body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.

"4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the mass, as it is now used in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.

"5. Item, that they have been and be, amongst the people of that jurisdiction, vehemently suspected upon the premises, and thereupon indicted," &c.

Their answers.

"To these articles they answered, as commonly others used to do, which stand with Christ and his truth against these pretended catholics, and their sinister doctrine.

"First, granting themselves Christian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Christ,—save that Hall denied to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word, 'mother,' in the Scripture.

"To the 2nd they granted.

"To 3rd article, as touching the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance, they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and in the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of

Christ's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, that whereas, before, he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now, he said, that therein is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christ's institution, &c.

"And concerning the mass in the 4th article, to be abominable, Christopher Wade with the other answered, that as they had confessed before, so would they now not go from that they had said.

"To the 5th article, for the people's suspicion, they made no great account nor sticking to grant to the same."

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men: which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the bishop against them, the copy of which sentence, as it runneth much after the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ; so the same being exemplified before in the story of Master Rogers, shall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but rather may be referred over to the place above noted.

Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the nineteenth day of July. Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Wade, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, bishop aforementioned, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol of Rochester, and Margery Polley: of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation, here followeth in story.

Margery Polley, widow, wife some time of Richard Polley of Pepenbury, was accused and brought before the said Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June: which bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair of his majesty, in the high swelling style, after his ordinary fashion, to dash the silly poor woman, began in these words:—

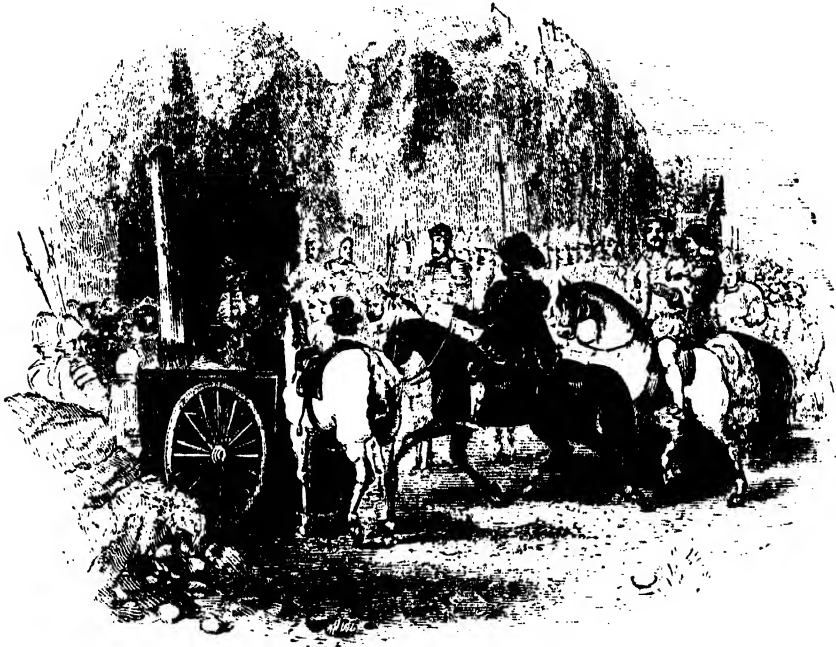
"We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepenbury, of our diocess and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given," &c.

Thus the oath first being ministered, and the articles commenced against her, which articles were the same that were ministered to Nicholas Hall

and Wade before, she so framed her answers again, especially answering to the 3rd and 4th articles, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For the which, sentence was read against her about the beginning of June, and she condemned for the

same. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place and time, first setting down in order of history the execution of Christopher Wade above-mentioned.

The execution and martyrdom of Christopher Wade.



Christopher Wade of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was, betimes in the morning, carried out of the town, in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimpt, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood: unto which place resorted the people of the country in great numbers, and there tarried his coming, insomuch that thither came divers fruiterers with horse-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten of the clock cometh riding the sheriff, with a great many of other gentlemen and their retinue appointed to assist him therein, and with them Wade, riding pinioned, and by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge: both singing of a psalm: which Margery, as soon as she

espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully, "You may rejoice, Wade, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day."

And so, passing by the place, which joined hard to the highway, they were carried straight down to the town, where she was kept until the sheriff returned from Wade's execution. And Wade, being made ready, and stripped out of his clothes in an inn, had brought unto him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, he was led up on foot again to the foresaid place. And coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch-barrel, which was taken from the beacon, being hard by. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and, with two staples, made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheer-

ful and loud voice, the last verse of Psalm lxxxvi.: Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed; because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me. Near unto the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four staves, quadranglewise, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into the which place, as Wade was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Wade espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days; whom the sheriff, thus speaking to the people, often interrupted, saying, "Be quiet, Wade! and die patiently." "I am," said he, "I thank God, quiet, Master Sheriff! and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Wade very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew himself out of the place immediately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being set about him, Wade pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard, which they perceiving that were his tormentors, always cast faggots at the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, "Lord Jesus! receive my soul;" without any token or sign of impatency in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to speak, still holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted; as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them.

This sign did God show upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, showed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And this was the order of this godly martyr's execution: this was his end; whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

The apprehension, examination, condemnation, and burning, of Dirick Carver and John Launder, who suffered martyrdom for the testimony of Christ's gospel.

The twenty-second day of this month of July, was burned at Lewes, within the county of Sussex, one Dirick Carver, late of the parish of Brighthelmstone in the same county. And the next day, (being the twenty-third day of the same month,) was also burned at Stenning, another named John Launder, late of Godstone in the county of Surrey: which two men were, (with others,) about the end of the month of October, A. D. 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-house of the said Dirick; and by him were sent up unto the queen's council, who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, bishop of London. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Winchester, now lord treasurer) they were brought by the keeper of the prison the eighth of June next after, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereunto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. To whom Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory at Paul's, the tenth day of the same month next following; which articles and confession, with the aforementioned letter, do here ensue.

A letter sent from the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, unto Bonner, bishop of London, touching the examination of the said prisoners.

"After my right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, I shall not forget your livery of black against this time; no more I shall Master Dean, to whom I wrote to make the sermon, who must now assuredly do it; for my Lord of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now sent, and your Lordship must command the sextons of your church to

be in readiness for ringing-in the time of service. And if ye be not furnished with black apparel for the altar, and for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, I must have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the queen's stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertised.

"And ye have sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of heresy before you: but, as I perceive, ye have not sent me a *significavit*, and therefore you must send me one, that I may proceed with him; and that I shall do, as soon as I am answered of you.

"There be divers like prisoners that came from Sussex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which must be examined by you, since they be come to London; and so I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow; which I shall do, thanking your Lordship heartily for my conies, trusting to recompense your Lordship again shortly with twice as many.— From my house this seventh of June, 1555.

"Your loving friend,

WINCHESTER."

The confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner, bishop of London.

"Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brightelmstone, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelled by the space of eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke, forty years of age, (or thereabout,) and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallow's day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith, that he hath, and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"Item, Being examined concerning the mass in Latin now used in the Church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the said mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a Christian man, except it should be said in the mother-tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a Christian man.

"Item, Being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, that he hath and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a Christian man's sal-

vation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

"Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the Church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used, in the said Church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he saith, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good Christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as he believeth; and saith, that they did shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he saith and believeth.

"And further, being examined, he saith that since the queen's coronation he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brightelmstone divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate: but the keeper, hearing thereof, did take them away; and saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers.

"And further saith, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examine in his house at Brightelmstone, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallow day last past, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate."

The confession of John Launder, before Bonner, bishop of London.

"John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone aforesaid, being examined, doth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallowntide last past, this examine, and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with divers other persons to the number of twelve, (being altogether in their prayers, and saying the service in English, set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brightonhamstead in Sussex,) were apprehended by one Master Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he, with his said other fellows, hath ever since remained in prison.

"And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brightelmstone was upon certain business there to

be sped for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examinee did resort to his house and company, (whom before that time he did never see or know,) and by reason of that his resort, he was apprehended as before. And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world; and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, viz. the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord: and whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England, (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which have been used after the same manner,) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

"Also he doth confess and believe, that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, viz. that when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and, so receiving it, he doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood by faith, and none other ways, as he believeth.

"And moreover he doth confess, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith, that albeit the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass, be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other things that be naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught also; as he believeth.

"Also he doth believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins. And also believeth that the right and true way, (according to the Scripture,) after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to

Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more: and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, either to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith," &c.

Articles objected by Bonner, bishop of London, against Dirick Carver and John Launder.

"First, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the said prison of Newgate, and within the said city of London, are of my jurisdiction, (being bishop of London,) and subject unto the same, offending and trespassing within the said prison and city in matters of religion, and concerning the catholic faith and belief of the church in any wise.

"2. Item, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, since your first coming and entering into the said prison, and during your abode there, both there and in sundry places within this city and diocese of London, have holden, maintained, and defended sundry opinions against the sacraments of the church, especially against the sacrament of penance, and also against the sacrament of the altar.

"3. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have (as concerning the sacrament of the altar) holden, maintained, and defended, to the best of your power, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, but that in the sacrament there is only the substance of natural bread and wine, and no other substance.

"4. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church, and the sacrifice of the same, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said mass is not good, nor profitable, and that there is no sacrifice in the same.

"5. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the places, have, concerning the ceremonies of the church, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said ceremonies are not profitable to a Christian man, but hurtful and evil.

"6. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the sacrament of penance, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that auricular confession, (being a part thereof,) albeit it may be made

unto a good priest for counsel, yet the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, and doing as is now usually done in the church, is nothing profitable to any man's salvation; and that therefore ye neither have been confessed to the priest after the usual manner of the church, nor yet received the said sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen's Majesty, which is more than the space of one year and a half.

"7. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all or some of the said places, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, used, and believed in the church of this realm of England, and the doctrine of the same, have holden, believed, and said, that it is not agreeable to God's word, but clean contrary to the same.

"8. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have believed, spoken, and said, and to your power upholden, maintained, and said, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which of late within this realm were burnt for heresy, were good Christian men, in speaking and holding against the said sacrament of the altar; and that they did preach nothing but the true doctrine of Christ, shedding their blood for the maintenance of the said doctrine.

"9. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, have earnestly laboured and travailed, to the best and uttermost of your power, to have up again the English service, and the communion in all points, as was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England.

"10. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, have thought and do think firmly and stedfastly, and so have and do believe, that the faith, religion, and doctrine, set forth in the said time of the aforesaid King Edward, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true faith and religion of Christ, in every part.

"11. Item, I do likewise object and say, that ye, and every of you, (for your mischief, offence, transgression, and misbehaviour in the premises, and for that also you would not come to your several parish churches, and hear your divine service there, as other Christian people did and do, but absent yourselves from the same, and have your private service in your houses, especially in the house of Dirick Carver,) were sent up unto the king and queen's Majesty's privy council, and by them or some of them sent afterward into the prison of Newgate aforesaid, having there, by their authority, remained as prisoners during all the time ye have been there.

"12. Item, I do likewise object and say, that I

the said bishop of London was commanded, by the authority of the said council, to make process against you, and every of you, so that it was not my procuring or searching that ye should be commanded or called before me in this matter of heresy, but partly your own demerits, and partly the said commandment, enforced me to call and send for you to make answer herein; and hereof to show you the said letters."

Upon Monday, being the said tenth day of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the bishop's consistory (as it was before commanded) at one of the clock in the afternoon; where the bishop, first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be openly read unto him, (which order he kept at the condemnation of every prisoner,) asking him whether he would stand to the same. To whom the said Dirick answered, that he would: "for your doctrine," quoth he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say, that you can make a god: ye can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison:" with divers other such words.

The bishop, seeing this constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, as well towards this Dirick as also upon the said John Launder, although severally: who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy, as did the other, and therefore were both delivered unto the sheriffs, who were there present; but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who had assured them to a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches, as with his spiritual treasures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true professing of Christ (the Lord by his grace so working in him); of the which, there was such havoc made by the greedy ravens of that time, that his poor wife and children had little or none thereof. During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in years, (and, as it were, past the time of learning,) yet he so spent his time, that being at his first apprehension utterly ignorant of any letter of the book, he could,

before his death, read perfectly any printed English: whose diligence and zeal is worthy no small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to let it pass over in silence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

Moreover, at his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the like faith. And when he came to the sign of the Star, the people drew near unto him, where the sheriff said, that he had found him a faithful man in all his answers. And as he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and when he had stript himself, (as a joyful member of God,) he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as ever he came in, he took up the book, and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded, in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again. And immediately that faithful member spake with a joyful voice, saying:

"Dear brethren and sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true. It is unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes and in all places of England, and now it is not. And for because that I will not deny here God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation; and, except the great mercy of God, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Immediately the sheriff spake unto him, and said, "If thou dost not believe on the pope, thou art damned body and soul." And further the sheriff said unto him, "Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now; or else to strike me down to the example of this people." But this faithful member said, "The Lord forgive you your sayings."

And then spake he again to all the people there present, with a loud voice, saying,

"Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you, for the Lord's sake, to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you which have offended me in thought, word, or deed."

And he said further in his prayer as followeth:

"O Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake wife, children, house, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou, Lord, knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee: Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit; and my soul doth rejoice in thee."

These were the last words of that faithful member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me;" and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and so ended.

Thomas Iveson, or Ererson, apprehended with Dirick and others, and suffered at Chichester.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, carpenter; whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, (forasmuch as it was at one time and in one form with Dirick Carver and John Launder,) I do here omit, referring the reader to their history and process before mentioned; saving only this his several confession and private answers made before Bishop Bonner at his last examination in the consistory, I thought not to pretermitt, who, being examined upon the foresaid articles, answered as followeth.

"First, That he believed, that there is but one catholic, universal, and whole church of Christ through the whole world, which hath and holdeth the true faith, and all the necessary articles of Christian belief, and all the sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

"2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe and give credit, in all the said faith, articles of the belief, religion, and the sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

"3. Item, That that faith, religion, and administration of sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth in this our Church of England, is not agreeing with the true faith of Christ, nor with the faith of the said catholic and universal church of Christ.

"4. Item, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, he believeth, that it is a very idol, and detestable before God, as it is now ministered.

"5. Item, That the mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ; but that it is of man's invention. And being demanded whether any thing used in the mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

"6. Item, That he had not received the sacrament of the altar, since it had been ministered as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any

time within these seven years; nor hath he heard mass by the same space.

"7. That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to a priest; for that he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins.

"8. Item, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and none otherwise; and he believeth that his sins are not washed away thereby, but his body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christ's blood.

"9. Item, That there be in the catholic church of Christ only two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and no more; which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore he unprofitable.

"10. Item, He believeth, that all the ceremonies now used in the Church of England, are vain, superfluous, superstitious, and naught."

Furthermore, the said Iveson being earnestly travailed withal to recant, said in this wise, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to the same: and that I have said, I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven, to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." Which answer thus made, he was condemned as a heretic, and with the same persons was committed to the secular power, (as they term it,) and at the place above-mentioned was burned; persevering still in his constant faith unto the end.

John Aleworth.

In the latter end of this month of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel: whom, although the catholic prelates (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude out of their catholic burial, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbes, a martyr of blessed memory, suffering for the true cause of Christ's gospel.

Among many that travailed in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, who through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had

another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hopton; who, examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speech, at the last the said poor James did yield and relented to their naughty persuasions; although his conscience consented not thereto.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the bishop, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either forty-pence or twenty-pence, whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the bishop, his conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their beastly illusions: in which combat with himself, (being piteously vexed,) he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his said money, which he had received at his hand, and said, it repented him that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in taking of his money.

Now this being done, the bishop with his chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them all, although he had played Peter before, through infirmity, but stood manfully in his Master's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the consuming of his body into ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the second day of August, A. D. 1555.

A discourse of the apprehension, examination, and condemnation of John Denley, gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Puckingham: martyred for the testimony of Christ's gospel.



N the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, who, though they were not spiritual

men, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, and, as one would say, to heap up more coals to this furious flame of persecution, whether of a blind zeal or a parasitical flattery, I know not: amongst which one was Edmund Tyrrel, esq., and at that time a justice of peace within the county of Essex, an assister (as it seemeth) to cruel murderers of God's saints, who, as he came from the

burning and death of certain godly martyrs, met with Master John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman, (both of Maidstone in Kent,) travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly friends as then they had in the county of Essex. And upon the sight of them, as he yet braggeth, first upon suspicion apprehended and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the queen's commissioners, directing also unto one of the same commissioners these his favourable letters in their behalf. The copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

"Sir, with most hearty commendations unto you, these shall be to advertise you, that I have received a letter from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and others of the king and queen's Majesty's commissioners, by a servant of the king and queen, called John Failes, for certain business about St. Osith's, the which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a letter from the council, to assist the sheriff for the execution of the heretics, the one at Raileigh, and the other at Rochford, the which was done on Tuesday last.

"And as I came homeward, I met with two men: even as I saw them I suspected them, and then I did examine them, and search them; and I did find about them certain letters which I have sent you, and also a certain writing in paper, what their faith was. And they confessed to me that they had forsaken and fled out of their country for religion's sake; and, since, they have been in many countries, by their confession, which I have sent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have understood) to send them to you, whereby you and others of the king and queen's commissioners there, might try them so that their lewdness might be thoroughly known; for I think these have caused many to trouble their consciences. So this hath been some let to me, wherefore I could not go about those matters expressed in your letters; but, to-morrow at noon, I intend by God's grace to accomplish your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the Holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beseech you to be so good, master, to discharge these poor men that bring these prisoners up, as soon as may be. And thus most heartily farewell.—From Ramsdon Park, the twelfth of June, 1555.

"By yours assured to command,

EDMUND TYRREL."

Forasmuch as in this letter mention is made of a

certain writing in paper, found about them of their faith; what this writing was, and what were the contents of it, the copy thereof here ensueth.

"Christ is in the sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

"The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say, that Christ is corporally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

"For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"My belief in the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ.

"As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament, and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plenteously shed, for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you. In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

"I do understand, spiritually, that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting; and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, monisheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

"And thus we there have Christ present: in the

inward eye and sight of our faith we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

"Christ's body and blood are not contained in the sacramental bread and wine, as the papists have said, and as some yet do say, as ye read in these scriptures following: first read in Matt. ix.; Luke v.; Matt. xxiv. and xxvi.; Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xiii.; Luke xxiii. in the end; John xiv. xv. xvi. xvii.; Acts i. iii. vii. ix.; Rom. viii.; Psalm viii.; 1 Cor. x. xi.; Exod. xii.; Col. i.; Ephes. i. iv.; Phil. i. ii.; 1 Thess. i. iv.; Heb. i. v. viii. ix. x. xii.; 1 Pet. iii.; Psalm xi. xlvii. cliii. x.

"Christ's material body is not in all places, as these scriptures do testify hereafter.

"First read St. Matthew the last, Mark the last, Luke the last, John xi. xx. xxi. These places of the Scripture do plainly declare, that his body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the sacrament; nor in all places, as the papists have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

"Therefore, whosoever they be that do worship the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as these scriptures hereafter do testify; first in Exod. xx. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.; Lev. xix.; Deut. iv. vi. xxxii.; Psalm lxxx.; Isa. xlv.; Mal. ii.; Matt. iv.; Luke iv.; Acts xiv.; Rev. xiv.; Psalm xcvi.; 1 Cor. viii.; Ephes. iv.; 1 Tim. ii.; 1 John v.; Rev. xix. xxii.

"JOHN DENLEY."

Now to return to the commissioners again: they, receiving these prisoners afore-mentioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them unto Bishop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion; which how discreet and favourable it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequel of this, doth manifestly declare; for the twenty-eighth of June then next following, he caused the said Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber, within his house or palace, there examining them upon their confessions, (which Tyrrel had found about them,) objecting also unto them certain other articles of his own. To the which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others; and therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, and in no part

differing from the others, except that Packingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the rest had not.

This done, the bishop used with them his accustomed persuasions, to the which Master Denley said, "God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count heresy, I take to be the truth:" and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the fifth of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where these articles were objected against them.

"First, That the said N. now is of the diocese of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth.

"3. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this Church of England is any part or member of the said catholic church.

"4. That the said N. hath believed, and doth believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word; and therefore he (the said N.) hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

"5. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular confession, used now in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

"6. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that absolution, given by the priest hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

"7. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that christening of children, as it is now used in the Church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it: likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and even-song, anointing or aniling of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

"8. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

"9. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

"10. That thou, Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at the least, being within the house of the bishop of London at Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said twenty-third day of June, the year of our Lord 1555, didst unreverently stand in the said chapel

having thy cap on thy head all the mass while ; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread."

The answer of John Denley and the rest, to the articles objected.

"To the 1st article I answer, it is very true.

"To the 2d article I answer, that it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the Head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth preach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments ; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

"To the 3d article I answer, that I do believe, that this Church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of anti-christ, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof ; for it is plain that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies: for Christ's testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, and also it appeareth by St. Paul, for he saith, that he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort ; he that speaketh with the tongue, profiteth himself ; he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation. Also he saith, Even so likewise when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken ? for ye shall but speak in the air ; that is as much to say, in vain. Also he saith, Thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all : yet I had rather in the congregation to speak five words with understanding, to the information of others, than ten thousand words with the tongue. Also he saith, Let all things be done to edification. Also it is written in the Psalms, For God is King of all the earth : O sing praises unto him with understanding, &c. So it doth appear, that this Church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words be true, and also the Psalms : therefore this church is not builded upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

"To this 4th article I answer, and I do believe (as I have afore said) that the mass, now used in this

realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word ; for Christ, in his holy supper, instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and make an idol of them : for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath : thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. So it appeareth by this commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry ; for he saith, no similitude : therefore thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making curtesy, with other like superstition ? You would make men to be so blind, that this is no worshipping. Peradventure you will object and say, You do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie ; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words be true, as undoubtedly they are : for he saith, But this man, after he hath offered one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his footstool.

"Also he saith, For Christ is not entered into holy places that are made with hands, which are similitudes of true things, but is entered into very heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us, &c. Also, But our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ, &c. For they themselves show of you, what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye returned to God from images, to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus which delivered us from the wrath to come, &c. Also, I went out from the Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father, &c. Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. And these places of the Scripture, with other more, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine ; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, &c.

"To this 5th article I answer, that I do believe as I have afore said, that auricular confession is not

good, as it is now used. Touching my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof, for our Saviour Christ saith, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden: I will ease you, &c. The riotous son saith, I will arise and go to my father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and I am no more worthy to be called thy son, &c. I said I will knowledge mine offences, and accuse myself unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest me the wickedness of my sin, &c. But I will reprove mine own ways in his sight: he shall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him. The son of Sirach saith, Who can be cleansed of the unclean? And there was but one of the ten lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks: he asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour: and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation; and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as a heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but unto such time as I do openly, in the congregation, acknowledge my fault. Then the minister hath power, by the word, to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, (chap. xiii.) and Matthew, (chap. xviii.) Other confession I know none.

"To this 6th article, I (the said John Denley) have answered in the fifth.

"To the 7th article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him,—and others, also, which came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth in Matt. iii., Mark i., and Luke iii.: and in Acts viii., the chamberlain said, See here is water: what letteth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said, Here is water. We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor yet crysom, nor salt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water—and the water was not conjured, but even as it was afore. Also, Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized? &c. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the

night, and washed their wounds; and so was he baptized, and all they of his household straightway: where ye see nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

"To the 8th article I answer shortly, that there be sacraments no more but two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,—except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

"To the 9th article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already, for it was found about me when I was taken; and also ye know my mind in the 4th article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

"By me,

JOHN DENLEY."

The first day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the consistory in Paul's church, where he proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and answers; and then, tempting them, sometimes with fair promises, otherwhiles with threatenings, which were always his chiefest arguments and reasons to persuade withal. In the end, seeing their unmovable constancy, upon the fifth of July he condemned them as heretics, and gave them unto the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; which was for Master Denley, Uxbridge; where, the eighth day of August, he was burned. And being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sung in it a psalm.

Then cruel Dr. Story, being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, whereupon, being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his singing, and clapt both his hands on his face. "Truly," quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, "thou hast marred a good old song."

The said John Denley, being yet still in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at the last his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the martyrdom of Master Denley, at Ux-

bridge, which was the eighth of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham at the same town of Uxbridge, about the twenty-eighth of the said month. This Packingham was charged of Bonner (as ye heard in the tenth article before) for his behaviour showed in the bishop's chapel, who, at the mass time there standing, would not put off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. The said Packingham also, being much laboured by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth.

The story of John Newman, martyr.



JOHN Newman first was apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton, suffragan, and others, at Ten-

derden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with Master Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But, because his examination and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first, what his answer was by writing to the said suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow :

"It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation nor corporal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual

prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but, if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it; and, if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's Grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and no other; and by their diligent setting-forth of it by the king's commandment, and the whole consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful Highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion nor violence; because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

The examination and answers of John Newman, martyr, before Dr. Thornton and others.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench, (either the archdeacon or Fancet, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express,) beginneth, asking in this wise.

Doctor.—"How say you to this, This is my body which is given for you?"

Newman.—"It is a figurative speech; one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith, I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone, &c. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

Doctor.—"This is no figurative speech. For he saith, This is my body which is given for you; and so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech."

Newman.—"Christ saith, This cup is the new testament in my blood: if ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor.—"Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, 'Drink a cup of drink,' and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman.—"Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other."

Doctor.—"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, 'Drink a cup of ale or beer;' and therefore it is no figurative speech."

Newman.—"The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wheresoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor.—"Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye by the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman.—"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth."

Doctor.—"Why, how then doth it feed?"

Newman.—"I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins.—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

Newman.—"I grant it to be true; but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins.—"Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ; but it was to his damnation."

Newman.—"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had both the devil and Christ in him at one time."

Collins.—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman.—"Yea, and before too. What do ye think? Had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins.—"Well, put case it be so: what say you to that?"

Newman.—"Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins.—"We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman.—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton.—"Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell? and ye will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him."

Newman.—"Christ would not suffer Mary

Magdalene to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

Thornton.—"Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, he is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

Newman.—"Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places."

Thornton.—"No? do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Newman.—"I do believe that God is almighty, and may do all that he will do."

Thornton.—"Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

Newman.—"I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled."

Thornton.—"What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; we speak but of things that God doth."

Newman.—"Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is?"

Thornton.—"Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him."

Newman.—"I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God; for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye will say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity, and so ye will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a body indeed."

Thornton.—"Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is; but, if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity."

Newman.—"I promise you, that it seemeth to me as great a heresy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man; and that were against all the Scriptures."

Thornton.—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother not opening the matrix. Do you believe that Christ rose from death and came through the stone?"

Newman.—"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say."

Thornton.—"Lo! how say you? he doth not

believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other."

Newman.—"The Scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angels of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men."

Thornton.—"Ah! fool, fool; that was because the woman should see that was risen again from death."

Newman.—"Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too."

Thornton.—"Well, let us not stand any longer about this: back again to the real presence. How say ye, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

Newman.—"I have answered you already."

Thornton.—"Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?"

Newman.—"No, I believe it not."

Thornton.—"Well, will ye stand to it?"

Newman.—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth."

Thornton.—"Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

Newman.—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, (God I take to witness,) but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my conscience; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man else: therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

"Thornton had many other questions which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest: as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength."

The Arguments of John Newman.

"If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body.

"The wicked receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not really in the sacrament."

Argument.

"They which eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.

"The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.

"Ergo, the wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ."

Argument.

"They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit: He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit.

"The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness.

"Ergo, They have not Christ's body dwelling in them."

Argument.

"Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.

"Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, Do this in remembrance of me, &c.

"Ergo, Christ's body there, is imported to be absent."

"Marry they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them."

And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

The faith of John Newman, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, who was by occupation a pewterer.

"The Lord is the protector of my life. The just shall live by faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

"My faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible. And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden. He gave to Adam his commandments and precepts, and said, Whosoever thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die the death. Yet did man, for all this, disobey God his Creator, and after his sin, he fled from God, hid himself, and was in a miserable desperate case. But God, seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all posterity should not continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's seed should break the serpent's head; whereby is meant, that

the Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, which by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the servant of righteousness, through the faith which he had in the promise of the woman's seed : so did Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, with faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's time. As St. Paul saith, They did eat all of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink : they did drink of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ that saveth us. And when the time was full come, God sent his Son, made of woman, that is, he took flesh of the Virgin Mary, and became man ; not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, as some falsely feign, but a very natural man in all points, sin only excepted, which God and man is Christ, the promised woman's seed. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of thirty years and more ; and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us the mystery of our redemption, that we, through faith, should eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith, to the end of the world. After this, Christ offered up his body on the cross to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thralldom of the devil, in the which we were, through sin original and actual. And with that one sacrifice of his body once offered on the cross, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified. He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his disciples for the space of forty days after he rose from death. Then, in the sight of all his disciples, he ascended into heaven : and as his disciples stood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into heaven, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven ? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come even as ye have seen him go into heaven. St. Peter also saith, that the heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began, be restored again ; which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"I do believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is a holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, which holy church or congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in

the secret places, whereof Christ warneth us ; but as St. Paul saith, in heaven, where he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. They set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on the earth ; for they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God : and when Christ, which is their life, shall show himself, then shall they also appear with him in glory.

"I believe that there is a communion of saints, even the fellowship of the faithful people which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mind. They follow Christ their Head ; they love one another as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ ; which church or congregation hath forgiveness of sins through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory : for as Christ, being their Head, hath entered pure and clean, so they, entering by him, shall be like him in glory.

"And I am certain and sure that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead ; at whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings. He shall separate the good from the bad ; he shall say to them which are his elect, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning ; but to the others that have always resisted his will, he shall say, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.

"Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all, if I were in doubt of it. This faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praise God for his gifts !"

And thus have ye the martyrdom with the confession of this blessed man, and witness of the Lord's truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Likewise Richard Hook about the same season, and for the same matter, gave his life at Chichester.

The examinations, answers, and condemnation of six martyrs, in Kent, viz., William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere, before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Mention was made a little before in the story of Master Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish men, who being, the same time with them, called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover, Nicholas Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins ; yet notwithstanding, be-

cause the condemnation and execution of them were deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August, (coming therefore now to the time of their suffering,) we will briefly touch some part of their examinations and answers as we find them in the registers. The names of these were William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. What the articles objected to Master Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which articles they answered for themselves severally, in effect as followeth.

First William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it; and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the eleventh of July.

William Hopper first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the catholic church. After calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the sixteenth of July.

Henry Laurence examined the said sixteenth of July, and partly deferred to the second of August, answered to the articles objected against him, first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament, "because," saith he, "the order of the Holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament."

Moreover, the said Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and did reverence to the same: the said Laurence answering in these words, "What!" said he, "ye shall not need to put off your cap: for it is not so holy that you need put off your cap thereunto."

Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, &c.: adding, moreover, that as he had said before, so he saith still, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion; and contrary he knoweth not. At last, being required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, "Ye are all of antichrist, and him ye fol." And here his hand was stayed to write any further: belike he would have written out "follow," &c.: And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the second of August.

Richard Colliar above mentioned, having the

sixteenth of August to appear, examined of the sacrament of the popish altar, answered and said, that he did not believe, that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine; and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked, to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he condemned the sixteenth of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm: wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright the same place and day, being the sixteenth of August, appearing, and required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered again, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid.

William Stere of the aforesaid parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said sixteenth day of August, where he, in the said chapter-house of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, that he should command his dogs, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no authority to sit against him in judgment, and asked where his authority was. Who then showed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he said. William Stere, denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick said also he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alleging that the archbishop of Canterbury (who then was in prison) was his diocesan, urged him to show his authority from the archbishop, or else he denied his authority to be sufficient. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not (he said) in the Scripture; and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

And moreover the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he said that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the judge that he was a bloody man, &c.) the sentence was pronounced against him; after which sentence being read, he said that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was, &c.

And thus these six heavenly martyrs and witness-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan and the archdeacon of Canterbury, Master Collins and Master Faucet, were burned all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes and one fire, about the latter end of August.

The copy of their sentence condemnatory, you may find above in the story of John Rogers; for the papists, in all their condemnations, follow one manner of sentence of course, commonly, against all that be condemned through their unmerciful tyranny.

The persecution of ten martyrs together, sent by certain of the council to Bonner to be examined.



AFTER the burning of these six above named, next followeth the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord; not such saints as the pope maketh, or

which are mentioned in *Legenda Sanctorum*, or in *Vitis Patrum*, or in the fabulous book *De Vita Sanctorum Wallensium*, &c.; but such as are spoken of in the holy *Apocalypse*, of whom it is written, These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb, &c. Thus these saints be not of the pope's making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the pope's making; of the pope's making (I say) in this respect, not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the pope: so, as by afflictions of Satan, Job's patience was proved; by Pharaoh, God's power declared; and by Salinator, Tarentum was won (as Tully writeth); for except he had lost it before, Quintus Fabius could not have recovered it: so, in like manner, unless by antichrist good men had been destroyed, otherwise they had not been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these ten martyrs, sent by the commissioners, were, Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be replenished with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make ready despatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named to be sent with their letter directed to Bonner, bishop of London, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Essex; Thomas Fust, hosier; Robert Smith, painter; Stephen Harwood, brewer; George Tankerfield, cook; Elizabeth Warne; Joan Lashford of London, sacramentaries; all which we desire your Lordship to examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws: praying your Lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hand. And thus most heartily fare your Lordship well.—From London this second of July.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,

Nich. Hare.

Rich. Rede.

Will. Roper.

Will. Cooke."

The history of Elizabeth Warne, widow; burnt at Stratford Bow.

Now severally to prosecute the stories of these ten martyrs aforementioned, first we will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, who in this month of August was burnt at Stratford Bow, nigh unto London, widow, late the wife of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who also was burned in the end of the month of May last past, as before in his story is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow Churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Compter, (as is also above specified,) where she lay as prisoner until the eleventh day of June; at which time she was brought into Newgate, and remained there in the like case unto the second day of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners unto Bonner, bishop of London, who, the sixth day of the same month, caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace; and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as of common order be ministered unto the poor saints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chiefest ground and profitablest foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, for despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, "Do what ye will; for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer, she was, the twelfth day of the same month of July, adjudged and condemned as a heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the clergy's appointment) put to death, which thing was accomplished in her the same month above mentioned.

The chief procurer of this her death was Dr. Story, being (as it is thought) of some alliance either to her, (the said Elizabeth,) or else to her late husband: who, though he was, at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman, a very earnest suitor for her deliverance to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commissioners in matters of religion, (himself being as yet not made commissioner,) and had by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present, as Dr. Martin himself (the author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Story, obtaining now the room of one of the commissioners, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that devout catholic and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred, nor any other consideration, could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or else rid his poor church from such a hydra, as, thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

George Tankerfield, a faithful martyr and witness of the gospel, constantly suffering for the testimony of the same.

George Tankerfield of London, cook, born in the city of York, about the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, was in King Edward's days a very papist, till the time Queen Mary came in; and then, perceiving the great cruelty used of the pope's side, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case, at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or not: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which, ac-

cording to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same. And so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry; and so he came no more to their doings. And not only that, but also this lively faith, saith he, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to convert and turn to the truth with him; and thus he began to be smelled out among them, till at last he was sent for as followeth.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick; and, on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to see the shooters. In the mean season came Beard home to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a banquet at the Lord Paget's. The wife, because of his apparel, (which was very brave,) took him to be some honest gentleman, and with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband, having a good hope he should now earn some money: and, lest this gentleman should be annoyed with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion to set him soft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband: who, when he heard it, said, "A banquet, woman! Indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh: but God's will be done." And, when he came home, he saw who it was, and called him by his name; which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, she, like a tall woman, would play Peter's part, and instead of a sword, took a spit, and had run him through, had not the constable, which Beard had sent for by his man, come in withal, who rescued him; yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, anno 1555, by the said Beard, yeoman of the guard, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, constable of St. Dunstan's in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley, knight, and by Dr. Martin.

Tankerfield, thus being brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the other above named, was brought to his examination before Bonner; who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and positions unto him; the copy and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may read above expressed.



"To these articles, as above rehearsed, he answered again, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, &c. : First, that he was not confessed to any priest five years past, nor to any other but only to God ; and further denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any priest, for that he found it not in Christ's book, and took it only to be a council.

"And concerning the sacrament, commonly called, here in England, of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ : because that the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father.

"And moreover he said, that the mass now used in the Church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God ; affirming also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism and the supper of the Lord, &c. And to these assertions, he said, he would stand : and so he did to the end."

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his professed opinion, (which they called damnable and heretical,) he, notwithstanding, resisted all contrary persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form of words : "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my Lord, can repel them by Scriptures ; and I care not for

your divinity, for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner then used (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover, that the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church : and adding thereunto, and pointing to the bishop, spake to the people, saying, "Good people, beware of him, and such as he is ; for these be the people that deceive you," &c.

These, with other words more, he spake ; whereupon the bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

And so this blessed servant of God was had to St. Alban's, and there with much patience and constancy ended his life, the twenty-sixth day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victory.

Certain notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer martyrdom at St. Alban's.

"Imprimis, he was brought unto St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, Master Edward Brocket, esquire, and one Pulter of Hitchen, which was under sheriff.

"Item, their inn was the Cross-keys, where there was great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner : among the which multitude some were

sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned ; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise some there were which said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions : and others, both old women and men, cried against him ; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting of their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

"Item, there came unto him a certain school-master, which retained unto Sir Thomas Pope, knight. This man had a certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming towards St. Alban's, as touching their sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion : but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will ; so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors ; so again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, &c. And so he departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

"Item, when the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it ministered unto him by others in such manner as Christ commanded ; and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him. And after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, 'O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word,' &c. And when he had spoken these and such-like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

"Item, when some of his friends willed him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which

should do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

"Item, he prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber : he had so, and then he, sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame ; and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another way. The flesh said, 'O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needest not ?' The spirit said, 'Be not afraid, for this is nothing, in respect of fire eternal.' The flesh said, 'Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing.' The spirit said, 'The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly friends.' The flesh said, 'Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer.' The spirit said, 'This life is nothing unto the life in heaven, which lasteth for ever,' &c. And all this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day ; and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly entreated of his host ; and, considering that his time was short, his saying was, that although the day was never so long, yet at the last it ringeth to even-song.

"Item, about two of the clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place nigh unto the west end of the abbey church : unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

"Item, while the faggots were set about him, there came a priest unto him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said, 'I defy the whore of Babylon ; I defy the whore of Babylon : fie on that abominable idol. Good people, do not believe him ; good people, do not believe him.' And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and said,

'Good brother, be strong in Christ : ' this he spake softly ; and Tankerfield said, ' O sir, I thank you, I am so ; I thank God.' Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him ; the most part did so. And so, embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain," &c.

After the martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old women who did blasphemously say, that the devil was so strong with him and all such heretics as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, not yet be sorry for their sins.

The history and examinations of Robert Smith, constantly maintaining the truth of God's word, and suffering for the same in the month of August.

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the fifth of November, in the first and second year of the king and queen, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard, of the queen's side, by the commandment of the council. This Smith first gave himself unto service in the house of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provost of Eton : from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pound a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which, many times, rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre, he did practise and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth ; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at the coming of Queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

The first examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Bonner, &c.

" About nine o'clock in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house ; and I, first of all, was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name."

Bonner.—" How long is it ago since the time that ye were confessed to any priest ?"

Smith.—" Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God, to come to show my faults to any of that sinful number, whom ye call priests."

Bonner.—" Thou showest thyself, even at the first chop, to be a rank heretic, which, being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy."

Smith.—" Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet, I praise God, I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same, but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit."

Bonner.—" How long is it ago since ye received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same ?"

Smith.—" I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace ; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withal."

Bonner.—" Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration ?"

Smith.—" I showed you before, it was none of God's ordinances, as ye use it ; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid : yet, nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be the body that ye spake of by the word, I will believe it ; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol ; not God, but contrary to God and his truth."

" Then, after many raging words and vain objections, Bonner said there was no remedy but I must be burned."

Smith.—" Ye shall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good ; for your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision ; so that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame."

" Then, after much ado, and many railing sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination, ' Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shriven, I will tear this paper in pieces.' To which I answered, It would be too much to his shame to show it to men of discretion.

" After which answer I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined ; and then, being

again brought up before the said bishop, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these articles following."

Bonner.—"What say you to the catholic church? Do ye not confess there is one in earth?"

Smith.—"Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apostle saith, is builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone; which church, in all her words and works, maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority; and without, it doth nothing, nor ought to do; of which I am assured I am by grace made a member."

Bonner.—"Ye shall understand, that I am bound, when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation. Now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?"

Smith.—"It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to congregate in houses and privy places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God: and, seeing they had their matters redressed, being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?"

Bonner.—"Yea, their church was known full well; for St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife; whereby we may well perceive it was a known church, but yours is not known."

Smith.—"Then could you not persecute it as ye do: but as ye say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which ye persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know, their truth and conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season."

Bonner.—"Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when Paul wrote unto them; and so will I put in writing, shall I?"

Smith.—"I do marvel greatly, my Lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me: first, to make me confess that the Church of England is not the church of Christ: secondly, to say it is not known: thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop: for if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him."

"Well, friend," quoth one of my Lord's chaplains, "you are no innocent, as it appeareth."

Smith.—"By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain."

"Well," quoth my Lord, laughing, "tell me, how sayest thou of the church?"

Smith.—"I told you whereupon the true church is builded, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also *in omnem terram*, as it is written, Their sound is gone forth into all lands; and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more, which also communicate in that holy Spirit."

Bonner.—"What call ye catholic, and what call you church?"

Smith.—"Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity."

"Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake all one thing: whereof I praised God, and was sent again to a garden, where after a while, as my brother Harwood and I had been together, cometh one of my Lord's chaplains, that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were not a prisoner."

Smith.—"I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus."

Doctor.—"I do much desire to talk with you, lovingly, because ye are a man that I much lament," with many other sweet words.

"To which I answered, *Sub melle latet venenum*. And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught. To which the doctor answered, 'What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spat in his face?'"

Smith.—"If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we, being his friends, throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then, by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall have a most plentiful salvation."

"Then started the doctor away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between our soul and the body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, the doors being shut?"

Smith.—"Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to

prove, that the doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the door: for that mighty God that brought the disciples out of prisons, which yet, when search came, were found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him; and so can we not say ye do, neither is he in more than in one place at once.' At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my Lord's hall, where we were baited of my Lord's band, almost all the day, until our keeper, seeing their disorder, shut us up all in a fair chamber, while my Lord went into his synagogue to condemn Master Denley and John Newman. Then brought they up my Lord Mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I, first of all, was called into the chamber, where my Lord intended to sup; where my Lord Mayor, being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was walking on every side: I, standing before them as an outcast. Which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt. But, after my Lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I said not as was written?"

Smith.—"That I have said, I have said; and what I have said, I do mean utterly."

Bonner.—"Well, my Lord Mayor, your Lordship hath heard somewhat, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death: yet nevertheless, forasmuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me 'Bloody Bonner,' whereas God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have stayed him from the consistory this day, whither I might have brought him justly; and yet here, before your Lordship, I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed despatch him out of trouble; and this I profess before your Lordship and all this audience."

Smith.—"Why, my Lord, do ye put on this fair visor before my Lord Mayor, to make him believe that ye seek not my blood, to cloak your murders through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his body? And not only of him, but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the queen's Majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints ye have showed so little mercy, shall it seem to my Lord and this audience, that ye show me more favour? No, no, my Lord. But if ye mean

as ye say, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to answer you unto?"

Bonner.—"Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?"

Smith.—"I have answered, that it is none of God's order, neither any sacrament, but man's own vain invention;" and showed him the Lord's institution.

"But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc est corpus meum*, to lay in my dish, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life; at which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my Lord's mouth, saying, 'I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things showed, that is to say, his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding.'"

Smith.—"Ye falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the showing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Saviour saith, So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me. And St. Paul saith, So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come. And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread."

"Then up rose my Lord, and went to the table, where my Lord Mayor desired me to save my soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried. At this I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the rest of my friends were examined; and so were we sent away with many foul farewells to Newgate again, my Lord Bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo."

Another examination of Robert Smith before the said bishop, &c.

"Upon Saturday at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth:—"

Bonner.—"Thou, Robert Smith, &c., sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth."

Smith.—"Ye have heard me both speak the

contrary, and ye have written as a witness of the same."

Bonner.—"Yea, but I must ask thee this question: how sayest thou?"

Smith.—"Must ye of necessity begin with a lie? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same: but there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if ye will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven; and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus."

Bonner.—"Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be shriven of the priest?"

Smith.—"It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday: but if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain."

Bonner.—"Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed so to say?"

Smith.—"I speak by experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For, first, it hath been, we see, a bewrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who, being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls' health."

"And, for ensample, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was some time a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience, through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave unto Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him; the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the council, how, by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Master Gresham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said, 'By the mass, if the queen's Majesty were of his mind, I should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied

unto the same, and so should be thrown into the water.'

"To which I answered again, saying, 'I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation: for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly; record of Master Hun, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and said the same Hun to have hanged himself: and also a good brother of yours, a bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom because he saw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be snarled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers, and, bringing him before the people, said the rats had eaten him. Thus, according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.'

Bonner.—"Ah! ye are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths."

Smith.—"Yes, my Lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification; and this is no lie." Then made he his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such sums as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in Master Mordant, knight, and sat down to hear my examination. Then said my Lord, "How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of," &c.

Smith.—"I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church; but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them."

Bonner.—"Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?"

Smith.—"First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order."

Bonner.—"By the mass, this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard speak."

Smith.—"Well sworn, my Lord; ye keep a good watch."

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee."

"By my troth, my Lord," quoth Master Mordant, "I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my Lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disalloweth therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no Christian man will deny."

Smith.—"That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants."

Bonner.—"I believe (I tell thee) that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned."

Smith.—"Ye shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my Lord, show me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?"

Bonner.—"By both."

Smith.—"Then the water died for our sins; and so must ye say, that the water hath life; and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my Lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?"

Bonner.—"Why, how understandest thou the Scriptures? Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And again, Suffer, saith our Saviour, these children to come unto me: and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou letteth them to come unto Christ."

Smith.—"Whereas ye allege St. John, Except a man, &c., and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins, I will send you to St. Paul, which asketh of the Galatians, Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith? And there concludeth, that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now, if baptism preach to me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher, and not a Saviour. And whereas ye say, I let the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words, that ye let them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessity of water. For he saith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water; and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And so brought I out many other ensamples, to make manifest, that Christ hath cleansed original

sin, bringing in ensamples out of Scriptures for the same."

Bonner.—"Then thou makest the water of none effect: and then put away water."

Smith.—"It is not," saith St. Peter, "the washing-away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience consenteth unto God. And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in Acts viii., that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism, it is written that John had the Holy Ghost in his mother's womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the queen of Candace's servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghost before baptism. Yea, and although your generation have set at nought the word of God, and like swine turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and, to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked."

Mordant.—"By our Lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned."

Bonner.—"Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Master Mordant."

Smith.—"Well, my Lord, such catholic, such salvation."

Bonner.—"Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?"

Smith.—"Ye may call it the sacrament of mis-orders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my Lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not so disfigure yourself as ye do."

Bonner.—"Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself, to anger thee withal:" and so sent for his barber, who immediately came. And before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went to answer to these articles.

Bonner.—"What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?"

Smith.—"I say, they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse." Then went away Master Mordant, and my Lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to assay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, "Where were all

you, in the days of King Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?"

Doctor.—"We were in England."

Smith.—"Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John. Ye show yourselves now as full of malice as ye may be; for ye have for every time a visor; yea, and if another King Edward should arise, ye would then say, 'Down with the pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels.'"

"Then was I all-to reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again to come before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession? To whom I answered, 'Look in mine articles, and they shall show you what I allow.'"

Doctor.—"Your articles confess, that you allow not auricular confession."

Smith.—"I allow it not, because the Word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it."

Doctor.—"Why, it is written, Thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences."

Smith.—"No more do I, when I confess them to Almighty God."

Doctor.—"Why, ye cannot say that ye can hide them from God; and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them."

Smith.—"Ye have made a good answer: then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him; for I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if ye confess you to the priest, and not unto God, ye shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them."

Doctor.—"What did they that came to John to be baptized?"

Smith.—"They came and confessed their sins unto Almighty God."

Doctor.—"And not unto John?"

Smith.—"If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove, yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation."

Doctor.—"Why, John was alone in the wilderness."

Smith.—"Why, and yet the Scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as ye say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, be-

cause he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confession, ye never heard it allowed by the word; for the prophet David maketh his confession unto God, and saith, I will confess my sins unto the Lord. Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the forefathers, did even so. For the Lord hath said, Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, seek, with such-like; and this is the word of God. Now bring somewhat of the word, to help yourself withal." Then they raged, and called me dog, and said I was damned.

Smith.—"Nay, ye are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men; for here I have been baited these two days, of my Lord and his great bulls of Basan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the rest of his band."

"With this came my Lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him?"

Smith.—"Forsooth, ye are even as wise as ye were before ye were shaven."

Bonner.—"How standeth it, Master Doctors, have ye done any good?"

Doctor.—"No, by my troth, my Lord, we can do no good."

Smith.—"Then it is fulfilled which is written, How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

Bonner.—"Nay, naughty fellow; I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ."

Smith.—"Such gentlemen, such Christs; and as truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ."

Bonner.—"Well, wilt thou neither hear them, nor me?"

Smith.—"Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you."

Bonner.—"Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn."

Smith.—"And ye shall burn in hell, if ye repent not. But, my Lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not, with your doctors, come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace; for I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass."

"Then, after many railing sentences, I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it; that ye may see how the Lord hath, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard."

The last examination of Robert Smith, with his condemnation in the consistory.

"The twelfth of July I was with my brethren brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants; to which I answered, as followeth:"

Bonner.—"By my faith, my Lord Mayor, I have showed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company."

"At this word, which he coupled with an oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, said, 'My Lord, it is written, Ye must not swear.'"

Bonner.—"Ah, Master Comptroller, are ye come? Lo, my Lord Mayor, this is Master Speaker," pointing to my brother Tankerfield, "and this is Master Comptroller," pointing to me.

"And then, beginning to read my articles, he persevered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my Lord Mayor, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, 'No.' To whom I answered: 'My Lord Mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it and I told it, and then shall you hear the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is untrue.'"

Bonner.—"How say you, good Master Mordant, spake he not this here, as it is written? were ye not by?"

Mordant.—"Yes, my Lord; that it is: I heard him say it."

Smith.—"How heard ye me say it, and were not present when I spake it? Should such a man make a lie? It is manifestly proved that the prophet saith: Even as the king saith, so saith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again."

"And so was brought out my jailer for trial thereof, who there openly professed, that neither Master Mordant, nor the doctors before mentioned, were present when I spake it. At which Master Mordant, with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read and heard me affirm the same; which was also not true.

"Then proceeded my Lord, with the rest of mine articles, demanding of me, if I said not as was written. To which I answered, 'No:' and turning to my Lord Mayor, I said, 'I require you, my Lord Mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here, before your presence, answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have the probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said, or will say, be to be proved (as my Lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave

to the truth, but also recant wheresoever ye shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same."

Mayor.—"Why, Smith, thou canst not deny, but this thou saidst."

Smith.—"Yes, my Lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from, the same: but what I have spoken, I will never deny."

Mayor.—"Why, thou spakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar."

Smith.—"I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same; and if my Lord here, or any of his doctors, be able to approve either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error."

"Then spake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of those things, which they called heresy: to the which the bishop answered, 'By my troth, Master Speaker, ye shall preach at a stake.'"

Smith.—"Well sworn, my Lord, ye keep a good watch."

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, I am no saint."

Smith.—"No, my Lord, nor yet good bishop; for a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a dedicate vessel unto God. And are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?"

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, ye are faultless."

Smith.—"My Lord Mayor, I require you, in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many of innocents that are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, which being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who, being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. For a city, saith our Saviour, that is builded on a hill, cannot be hid: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light; for all that well do, come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light."

"Then my Lord Mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried, with the bishop, Away with me.

"Thus came I in before them four times, desiring

justice, but could have none: and at length my friends, requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had sentence; and then, being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man severally given. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, 'My Lord, ye fill the people's ears with phantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but, if ye were a true bishop, ye should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.'

Bonner.—"Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Master Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath here with great disdain forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?"

Smith.—"My Lord, if your chancellor shall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that ye have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon."

"Then began the sentence, *In Dei nomine*. To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience's sake. To the which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, 'Away with him.' Then I turned me to the mayor, and said, 'Is it not enough for you, my Lord Mayor, and ye that are the sheriffs, that ye have left the straight way of the Lord, but that ye must condemn Christ causeless?'"

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, now ye cannot say but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now I pray thee, call me 'bloody bishop,' and say, I seek thy blood."

Smith.—"Well, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation, do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden."

Bonner.—"Away with him! away with him!"

Woodroffe.—"Away with him! take him away!"

Smith.—"Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my Lord Mayor, forasmuch as here ye have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, that shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will."—And then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried away to Newgate.

"Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England! requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and spirit of boldness; who hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the eighth of August, by God's grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you.

"ROBERT SMITH."

Thus hast thou, good reader, not only to note, but also to follow, in this man, a singular example of Christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Master's cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so was he no less comfortable also in the prison among his fellows; which also is to be observed no less in his other prison-fellows, who, being there together cast in an outward house within Newgate, had godly conference within themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they, to their great comfort, used in that house together; amongst whom this foresaid Smith was a chief doer: whose industry was always solicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to dehort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his religion. Divers letters he wrote there in prison to sundry his friends, partly in metre, and partly in prose. And first in metre as followeth.



“O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil.”

**“The God that giveth life and light, and leadeth into rest,
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out the poor that are oppress,
And keepeth mercy for the meek, his treasure and his store.
Increase thy life in perfect love, both now and evermore.
That as thou hast begun to ground in faith and fervent love,
Thou may’st be made a mighty mount, that never may remove.
That thine ensample may be showed among all thine increase;
That they may live and learn the like, and pass their time in peace.**

**Thy salutations that were sent, I heartily retain;
And send thee seventy times as much, to thee and thine again.
And now because I know the gold is fined in the fire,
I send thee here a paper full, that thou dost most desire,
In hope thou wilt accept it well, although it be but small,
Because I have none other good, to make amends withal.
For all thy free and friendly facts, which thy good will hath wrought,**

**I send thee surely, for a shift, the thing that cost me nought.
Abstain from all ungodliness, in dread direct your days,
Possess not sin in any wise, beware of wicked ways.
Hold fast your faith unfeignedly, build as you have begun,
And arm yourself in perfect faith, to do as ye have done,
Lest that the wicked make a mock, that ye have taken in hand,
In leaving of the perfect rock, to build upon the sand.
Beware these filthy Pharisees; their building is in blood:
Eat not with them in any wise; their leaven is not good.**

**Their salt is all insavoury; and in lar good intents
They maintain all their knavery, and murder innocents.
They seek to sit in Christ his seat, and put him out of place;
And make all means that may be made, his doings to deface.
They keep him down with bills and bats, that made the blind
to see :**

**They make a god for mice and rats, and say the same is he.
They show like sheep, and sweat like wolves, their baits be all
for blood :**

**They kill and slay the simple souls, and rob them of their good,
The dark illusions of the devil have dimmed so their eyes,
That they cannot abide the truth to stir in any wise.**

**And if ye keep the perfect path, (as I have hope you do,)
Ye shall be sure to have such shame, as they may put you to.
For all that lead a godly life, shall surely suffer loss;
And eke the world will seek their shame, and make them kiss
the cross.**

**Ye shall be killed all, saith Christ, your sorrows shall not cease:
And yet, in your afflictions, I am your perfect peace.
For in the world ye shall have woe, because ye are unknown;
And for because ye hate the world, the world will love his own.
Be fervent therefore to the death, against all their decrees;
And God shall surely fight for thee against thine enemies.
Commit your cause unto the Lord: revenge not any evil,
And thou shalt see the wicked want, when thou shalt have
thy will.**

**For all afflictions that may fall, that they can say or do,
They are not sure of the wealth, we shall attain unto.
For I have seen the sinners spread their branches like a bay,
And yet, ere one could turn his head, were withered clean away.**

Beware that money make ye not in riches to arise
 Against the goodness of the Lord, among the worldly wise.
 For many mischiefs it hath made, that may not be exprest;
 And many evils it hath begun, which may not be redrest.
 For money maketh many a one, in riches to rebel;
 And he that maketh gold a god, he hath a soul to sell.
 It maketh kings to kill and slay, and waste their wits in war,
 In leaving of the wolf at home, to hunt the fox afar.

And where they should see justice done, and set their realm
 in rest;

By money they be made a mean to see the poor oppress.
 It maketh lords obey the laws, that they do ill and naught;
 It maketh bishops suck the blood, that God hath dearly
 bought;

And where they should be faithful friends, and fathers to their
 flock,

By money they do turn about, even like a weathercock.
 The priest doth make a money mean, to have again his whores,
 To put away his wedded wife, and children out of doors.
 It holdeth back the husbandman, which may not be forborne,
 And will not suffer him to sow, and cast abroad his corn.
 In like case it doth let again, when that the seed they sow;
 It choketh up the corn again, so that it cannot grow.

The husband he would have a wife with nobles new and old:
 The wife would have the husband hanged, that she might
 have his gold.

It maketh murderers many a one, and beareth much with
 blood:

The child would see the parents slain, to seize upon their good.
 And though it be a blessed thing, created in the kind,
 It is a necessary evil, annexed to the mind.

For whose playeth with the pitch, his fingers are defiled;
 And be that maketh gold a god, shall sorely be beguiled.
 Be friendly to the fatherless, and all that are oppress:
 Assist them always out of hand, and see them set at rest.
 In all your doings and your deeds let mercy still remain;

For with the measure that ye mete, shall ye be mette again.
 Be always lowly in your life, let love enjoy her own:
 The highest trees are seldom sure, and soonest overthrown.
 The lions lack and suffer sore, in hunger and in thirst;
 And they that do oppress the poor, continue still accurst.
 The bee is but a little beast in body or in sight,
 And yet she bringeth more increase, than either crow or kite.
 Therefore beware in any wise, keep well your watch always:
 Be sure of oil within your lamp, let not your light decay.
 For death despiseth them that lack, and hateth them that have,
 And treadeth down the rich and poor together in the grave.
 Exhort your children to be chaste, rebuke them for their ill,
 And let them not at any wise be wedded to their will.

Laugh not with them, but keep them low; show them no
 merry cheer,

Lest thou do weep with them also; but bring them up in fear,
 And let your light and living shine, that ye be not suspect,
 To have the same within yourself, for which they are correct.
 Be meek and modest in a mean: let all your deeds be done,
 That they which are without the law, may see how right ye run.
 Keep well the member in your mouth, your tongue see that
 ye tame;

For out of little sparks of fire proceedeth out a flame.
 And as the poison doth express the natures of the toad,
 Even so the tongue doth manifest the heart that feareth God.
 For therewith bless we God above, and therewith curse we
 men:

And thereby murders do arise, through women now and then.
 And seeing God hath given a tongue, and put it under power,
 The surest way is for to set a hatch before the door.

For God hath set you in a seat, of double low degree:
 First unto God, and then to man, a subject for to be.

I write not that I see in you these things to be suspect;
 But only set before your face, how sin should be correct.

For flesh and blood I know ye are, as other women be;
 And if ye dwell in flesh and blood, there is infirmity.
 Receive a warning willingly, that to thy teeth is told:
 Account the gift of greater price than if he gave thee gold.
 A wise man, sayeth Solomon, a warning will embrace:
 A fool will sooner (as saith he) be smitten on the face.
 And as your members must be dead from all things that are
 vain,

E'en so by baptism ye are born, to live with Christ again.
 Thus farewell, free and faithful friend: the Lord that is above
 Increase in thee a perfect faith, and lead thee in his love.

And as I pray with perfect love, and pour out bitter tears
 For you and all that are at large abroad among the briers:

E'en so I pray thee to prefer my person and my bands,
 Unto the everlasting God that hath me in his hands.

That I may pass out of this pond, wherein I am oppress;
 Enclosed in a clod of clay, that here can have no rest.

That as he hath begun in me his mercies many one,
 I may attain to overtake my brethren that be gone.

That when the death shall do his worst where he shall point a
 place,

I may be able like a man to look him in the face.

For though he catch away my cloak, my body into dust,
 Yet sure am I to have a soul, when death hath done his worst.

And though I leave a little dust dissolved out of blood,
 I shall receive it safe again, when God shall see it good.

For my Redeemer, I am sure, doth live for evermore,
 And sitteth high upon the heavens, for whom I hunger sore:

Even as the deer with deadly wounds escaped from the spoil,
 Doth haste by all the means he may, to seek unto the soil.

Of whom I hope to have a crown, that always shall remain;
 And eke enjoy a perfect peace, for all my woe and pain.

The God that giveth all increase, and seeketh still to save,
 Abound in thee that perfect peace, which I do hope to have!

And I beseech the living God to hold thee in his hands;
 And wish thee, e'en with all my heart, the blessing of my

bands;

Which I esteem of higher price than pearl or precious stone,
 And shall endure for evermore, when earthly things are gone.

For though the fire do consume our treasure and our store,
 Yet shall the goodness of the Lord endure for evermore.

And where thou art a friend to him that is to me full dear,
 That God of might make thee amends, when all men shall

appear,

That hath showed mercy to the meek, and rid them out of pain;
 And thus the Lord possess thy spirit, till we do meet again.

"If thou wilt have a recompence,
 Abide still in obedience."

*The exhortation of Robert Smith unto his children,
 commonly set out in the name of Master Rogers.*

"Give ear, my children, to my words, whom God hath dearly
 bought:

Lay up my law within your heart, and print it in your thought.
 For I your father have foreseen the frail and filthy way,

Which flesh and blood would follow fain, even to their own
 decay.

For all and every living beast their crib do know full well;
 But Adam's heirs, above the rest, are ready to rebel.

And all the creatures on the earth, full well can keep their
 way,

But man, above all other beasts, is apt to go astray.

For earth and ashes is his strength, his glory and his reign,
 And unto ashes, at the length, shall he return again.

For flesh doth flourish like a flower, and grow up like a grass,
 And is consumed in an hour, as it is brought to pass

In me the image of your years, your treasure and your trust,
 Whom ye do see before your face, dissolved into dust.

For, as you see your father's flesh converted into clay,
Even so shall ye, my children dear, consume and wear away;
The sun and moon, and eke the stars, that serve the day and
night,

The earth and every earthly thing, shall be consumed quite.
And all the worship that is wrought that have been heard or
seen,

Shall clean consume and come to nought, as it had never been.
Therefore, that ye may follow me, your father and your friend,
And enter into that same life, which never shall have end,
I leave you here a little book, for you to look upon,
That you may see your father's face, when I am dead and
gone;

Who, for the hope of heavenly things, while he did here
remain,

Gave over all his golden years, in prison and in pain.

Where I, among mine iron bands, enclosed in the dark,
But a few days before my death, did dedicate this work
To you mine heirs of earthly things which I have left behind,
That ye may read and understand, and keep it in your mind:
That as you have been heirs of that which once shall wear
away,

Even so ye may possess the part which never shall decay,
In following of your father's foot, in truth and eke in love;
That ye may also be his heirs for evermore above.

And, in example to your youth, to whom I wish all good,
I preach you here a perfect faith, and seal it with my blood.

Have God always before your eyes in all your whole intents:
Commit not sin in any wise, keep his commandments.

Abhor that arrant whore of Rome, and all her blasphemies;
And drink not of her decretals, nor yet of her decrees.

Give honour to your mother dear, remember well her pain;
And recompense her in her age, in like with love again;

Be always aiding at her hand, and let her not decay:

Remember well your father's fall, that should have been her
stay.

Give of your portion to the poor, as riches do arise;

And from the needy naked soul turn not away your eyes.

For he that will not hear the cry of such as are in need,

Shall cry himself, and not be heard when he would hope to
speed.

If God have given you great increase, and blessed well your
store,

Remember ye are put in trust, to minister the more.

Beware of foul and filthy lust; let whoredom have no place;

Keep clean your vessels in the Lord, that he may you embrace.

Ye are the temples of the Lord, for ye are dearly bought,

And they that do defile the same, shall surely come to nought.

Possess not pride in any case, build not your nests too high,

But have always before your face, that ye be born to die.

Defraud not him that hired is, your labours to sustain,

But give him always out of hand, his penny for his pain.

And as ye would that other men against you should proceed,

Do ye the same again to them, when they do stand in need.

And part your portion with the poor, in money and in meat,

And feed the fainted feeble soul, with that which ye should eat.

That when your members lacketh meat and clothing to your
back,

Ye may the better think on them, that now do live and lack.

Ask counsel also at the wise; give ear unto the end;

Refuse not you the sweet rebuke of him that is your friend.

Be thankful always to the Lord, with prayer and with praise;

Desire you him in all your deeds, for to direct your ways;

And sin not like that swinish sort, whose bellies, being fed,

Consume their years upon the earth from belly unto bed.

Seek first, I say, the living God; set him always before;

And then be sure that he will bless your basket and your store.

And thus if you direct your days according to this book,

Then shall they say, that see your ways, how like me you do
look.

And when you have so perfectly, upon your fingers' ends,
Possessed all within your book, then give it to your friends.

And I beseech the living God, replenish you with grace,

That I may have you in the heavens, and see you face to face.

And though the sword have cut me off contrary to my kind,

That I could not enjoy your love according to my mind,

Yet do I hope, when that the heavens shall vanish like a scroll,

I shall receive your perfect shape, in body and in soul;

And that I may enjoy your love, and ye enjoy the land,

I do beseech the living God to hold you in his hand.

Farewell, my children, from the world, where ye must yet
remain:

The Lord of hosts be your defence, till we do meet again.

Farewell, my love, and loving wife, my children and my friends:

I hope to God to have you all, when all things have their ends.

And if you do abide in God, as ye have now begun,

Your course I warrant will be short; ye have not far to run.

God grant you so to end your years as he shall think it best;

That ye may enter into heaven, where I do hope to rest."

Written at the request of a lady in her book.

"If you will walk the way that Christ hath you assigned,

Then learn this little verse, which I have left behind.

Be fervent in the truth, although it bear the blame;

And eke apply your youth, to stick unto the same;

That when the age is come, and death begins to call,

The truth may be your staff to stay you up withal.

And though it bring rebuke, and cause you kiss the cross,

Yet is it a reward, to all that suffer loss:

For here we do lay out the things that be but vain,

But we are sure to reap the things that do remain.

For all that ye do lose is but a sinful slime,

And like unto a rose, that carrieth but a time.

But if ye carry Christ, and walk the perfect way,

Ye shall possess the gold, that never shall decay;

And all your father's goods shall be your recompence,

If ye confess the word with double diligence,

Not only for to bear his pure and perfect word,

But also to embrace the fire, and eke the sword.

And if ye keep this path, and do not run a-crook,

Then shall ye meet the man that writ this in your book,

In that eternal joy that always shall remain.

Thus, farewell faithful friend, till we do meet again."

Legem pone.

"Teach me, O Lord, to walk thy ways, my living to amend,

And I shall keep it all my days, even to my life's end.

Give me a mind to understand, so shall I never start;

But I shall keep all thy precepts, even wholly with my heart.

Make me to go a perfect pace in that I have begun;

For all my love and my delight, is in thy ways to run.

Incline my heart unto thy ways; set thou thereon my thought;

And let me not consume my days, to covet that is naught.

O quicken me in all thy ways, the world for to despise;

And from all fond and foolish toys, turn thou away mine eyes.

O plant in me thy perfect word, which is to me so dear;

Lay up thy laws within my heart, to keep me still in fear;

And rid me of that great rebuke which I do fear full sore,

For all thy judgments and thy laws endure for evermore.

Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts, is all my whole delight:

O quicken me in all thy ways, that I may walk aright.

To his brother.

"As nature doth me bind, because thou art my blood,

According to my kind to give thee of my good,

That thou may'st have in mind how I have run my race,

Although thou bide behind but for a little space.

I give thee here a pearl, the price of all my good,

For which I leave my life, to buy it with my blood;

More worth than all the world, or aught that I can note,
 Although it beyclad in such a simple coat.
 For when I had obtained this pearl of such a price,
 Then was I sure I gained the way for to be wise.
 It taught me how to fight, my flesh for to despise,
 To stick unto the light, and for to leave the lies:
 In sending out my seed with bonds and bitter tears,
 That I might reap with joy in everlasting years,
 And have, for all my loss, my travail, and my pain,
 A thousand times and more of better goods again.
 And for because the good that hath been got and gained,
 And that the Lord's elect hath evermore obtained,
 Is closed in this book which I do give to thee,
 Wherein I have my part, as thou thyself may'st see,
 In which I hope thou hast a stock also in store,
 And wilt not cease to fail till God hath made it more—
 I will thee to beware; be sure thou keep it well;
 For if thou do it lose, thy part shall be in hell.
 And here I testify before the living God,
 That I detest to do the things that are forbode.
 And as, in judgment, is my body to be brent,
 My heart is surely set therewith to be content.
 And sith it is his will to put in me his power,
 Upon his holy hill to fight against this whore,
 Full well I am content, if he allow it so,
 To stand with all my might the whore to overthrow.
 Even with a willing mind, the death I will outface:
 And as I am assured, the battle do embrace;
 That they which hear the truth, how I have past the pike,
 May set aside their youth, and learn to do the like.
 And though it be my lot, to let her suck my blood,
 Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good:
 For she is set to kill the things she thinks accurst,
 And shall not have her fill of blood until she burst.
 And when that thou shalt see, or hear of my decease,
 Pray to the living God, that I may pass in peace.
 And when I am at rest, and rid out of my pain,
 Then will I do the like for thee to God again.
 And to my woeful wife, and widow desolate,
 Whom I do leave behind in such a simple state,
 And compassed with tears, and mournings many one;
 Be thou her staying staff, when I am dead and gone.
 My mouth may not express the dolours of my mind,
 Nor yet my heaviness to leave her here behind.
 But as thou art my bone, my brother and my blood,
 So let her have thy heart, if it may do her good.
 I took her from the world, and made her like the cross;
 But, if she hold her own, she shall not suffer loss:
 For where she had before a man unto her make,
 That by the force of fire was strangled at a stake,
 Now shall she have a King to be her helping hand,
 To whom pertain all things that are within the land.
 And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
 To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C:
 That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod,
 To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.
 And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,
 That thou art left behind a father in my stead.
 And thou, my brother dear, and eke my mother's son,
 Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done;
 And God shall be thy guide, and give thee such increase,
 That in the flames of fire thou shalt have perfect peace,
 Into eternal joy, and pass out of all pain:
 Where we shall meet with mirth, and never part again.

"If thou wilt do my daughter good,
 Be mindful of thy brother's blood."

"To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his gospel, and to persevere in his truth unto the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"Be not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein, by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness is broken loose, and rageth in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist: against whom, see that ye be strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the truth's sake; knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are ye, that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet therefore yourselves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom ye suffer: for unto you do remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wise. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets do record, that in the sight of the Lord, precious is the death of his saints. Watch, therefore, and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now shall it appear, whether ye have builded upon the fleeting sand, or upon the unmovable rock Christ, which is the foundation of apostles and prophets, whereon every house that is builded, groweth into a holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that ye show yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your Captain, and ye be his soldiers, whose cognizance is the cross, to the which he willingly humbled himself even unto the death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here do remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body. It behoveth therefore every one that will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as ye have him for an ensample: and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, ye have his promise in Matt. xxviii. He will

go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality, and ye, brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the Head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the most danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.

“Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when ye shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you; for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth which was sent from the heavens to teach us: he shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us: what is he, then, that shall be able to confound us? nay, what tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not, with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell-fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the counsels of the ungodly to nought. He shall take them in their own net: he shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner shall they know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. Work they never so craftily, build they never so strongly; yet down shall their rabble fall, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God. The just shall see this, and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord, that so marvellously hath dealt with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then shall the fearful seed of Cain tremble and quake: then shall the mocking Ishmaelites be cast out of door: then shall the proud Nimrod see his labour lost: then shall the beast of Babylon be trodden under foot: then shall the scribes and Pharisees for madness fret and rage: then shall their painted wisdom be known, for extreme folly: then shall the bloody dragon be void of his prey: then shall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance: then shall they scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot, whom they now serve for filthy lucre, when no man

will buy their wares any more: then shall the popish priesthood cry weal away with care, even when the Lord shall help his servants; which day is not far off, the day wherein the kingdom of antichrist shall have an end, and never rise any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and sure hope, cleaving unto the promises of God, which in their own time shall be fulfilled.

“Acquit yourselves like men, against the enemies of God, in all humbleness of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting, and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus once offered for all and for ever; who now sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time occupieth that blessed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be closed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from thence till the last hour. And as he never ceaseth to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not; so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not; and his manly shape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions except sin.

“And what he took of his blessed mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There were they coupled together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a wafer-cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven a very man, one only mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the propitiation for our sins. Be bold therefore to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of

men; gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing; and not by deserving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witness.

"This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth have all the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel can ye then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readiest way to life. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now let, but that ye go forward as ye have begun? nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way; look not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God; and so run, that ye may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly pelf, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own selves: and in respect of that heavenly treasure ye look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile, in comparison of everlasting life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain that findeth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that man any thing, which of his carnal father and mother is forsaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, for mortal immortal, for transitory things permanent, is great gains to a Christian conscience?

"Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not, my brethren, mistrust not God, be of good comfort, rejoice in the Lord, hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow him which is your loadsman, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, yea, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the world, to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience,

so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments of the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive, in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?

"Be strong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you be none, but the enemies of the cross of Christ, as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that searcheth the hearts of men, he hath found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison, proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apostles, call them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine, beasts; teaching us thereby to understand what their natural inclination is: to deceive, poison, and destroy, (as much as in them lieth,) the faithful and elect of God. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, which have conspired against him. He hath numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God shall be glorified in his saints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme: let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by these fruits shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheep's skins. For as he that in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a mean the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannously entreat his people; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, as also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon: where, when the people of God were in most extreme thral-

dom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire: this shall be their final reward. Our duty is, the mean while, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

"Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed, to the great slander of his gospel, whereby the name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies: for the which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we should not be damned with the world. By this means seeketh he his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way seeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, this way useth his godly wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and ourselves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his name therefore. And as for these Balaamites which now do molest us, commit them to the hands of God; give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate; for he is in heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in heaven that made the seas calm, when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us: let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us: he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.

"Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be his: then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, which, with their pretended holiness, deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's Highness to espy them out what they be, and so to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poison the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's Highness, and this her church and realm, from these proud

prelates, which are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of conies.

"To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are, both body and soul; whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word: God will not be mocked; nay, they that dissemble with him deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as play on both hands, such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such, with their partakers, shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned unto joy."

Another letter sent to his wife.

"The God and Father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and all thy parents and friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better than worse; looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks, therefore, desiring thee, of all loves, to stand in that faith which thou hast received, and let no man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands of everlasting life, which shall ever abide when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble, which is momentary and light, and, as St. Paul saith, not worthy of the things which shall be showed on us; that we, patiently carrying our cross, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I trust) find a mean for you, if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spake at our departing, that as God hath found us and also elected us worthy to suffer with him, we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and in especial to

your parents, keeping your matter close in any wise.

"Give most hearty thanks to my friend, which only for our cause is come to Windsor. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of gold for a token, and most entirely desire you to send me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours. Amen.

"From Newgate, the 15th of April.

"By your husband here and in heaven,

ROBERT SMITH."

This foresaid Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner, there bishop, the twelfth day of July, and suffered at Uxbridge the eighth day of August; who, as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before, to all them that were in prison with him, so now, also, being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body, dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life: "and," said he, "I doubt not but that God will show you some token thereof." At length, being well-nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so, bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

A sententious letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his wife, full of godly instruction.

"Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour.

"Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

"Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

"In hearing of good things join the ears of your head and heart together.

"Seek unity and quietness with all men, but specially with your conscience; for he will not easily be entreated.

"Love all men, but especially your enemies.

"Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

"Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

"Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

"Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

"Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of that he himself is faulty in, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs for himself.

"Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare, and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

"Show mercy unto the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners, visit your own soul: for it is enclosed in a perilous prison.

"If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

"Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

"Your husband,

ROBERT SMITH."

"If ye will meet with me again,
Forsake not Christ for any pain."

Another letter sent to his wife, Anne Smith.

"The grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, strengthen, and stablish you in all things, that what his blessed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own salvation, and the good ensample to our posterity.

"I have received your letter, and, I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if God's marvelous goodness had not brought it to my hands by Peter the keeper, there might have risen a great trouble upon the same; for well ye know George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God, and, if he had gotten it, the council sure had seen it; but Peter, like an honest man, never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane-end, to my sister Tankerfield, that she may deliver them safe

into my hand. We are very straitly kept, I praise God of his mercy: nevertheless Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you that ye wrote for. The two nutmegs that should have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I send now, and desire them to accept them as a poor prisoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveson sendeth you a penny; I pray you give him thanks for the same, and Dirick also. I have sent you, of that little that I have, two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and send you good speed. In any case keep yourself close: I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and desire them with you to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer; pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his sword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the epistle and exhortation; I have written all this fortnight for my Lady, yea, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the prison. The Holy Ghost keep you; I would ye could make a means, for your money, to send a cheese to Peter, for I find much kindness at his hands. Ye shall always hear of me at Tankerfield's house. All the congregation salute you. Fare you most heartily well.

"I have not yet (tell my brother) spoken with the person. There hath come so strait a commandment, that no man might come to us, because Tooley cursed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

"Yours, and ever yours,

ROBERT SMITH."

Another letter sent to his wife.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and prevent your ways through his Holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works please God, and eschew evil, to his honour and your salvation, that they which see your conversation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly. Amen.

"I sent you by Master Alexander a purse with money. I have certain tokens for you, sent by my prison-fellows to you, that is, from Master Hawkes twelve pence, from Master Simson twelve pence, from his wife four pence, from Master Wats five new groats, from Master Ardeley twelve pence, from Master Bradford twelve pence, which men be all gone to death, except Master Bradford; he

abideth still. There are also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Osmond, William Bamford. There are also condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, John Launder; and William Vassay is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his people, and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for God's sake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katherine in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but, like a good matron, keep your vessel in holiness. The peace of God rest with you for ever. Amen.

"My brother Iveson sendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three pence. John Launder sendeth you a piece of Spanish money. Father Herault, a piece of six pence. W. Andrews sendeth you a rase of ginger, and I send your mother one, and a nutmeg. I send Katherine comfits, for a token, to eat. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.

"Your husband,

ROBERT SMITH."

A letter sent to a friend.

"The eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well-doing, and in perfect knowledge of Christ, that ye may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he so doth, but also teacheth others, that it is un hurtful to go to all the abominations, which now stand in the idol's temples. Nevertheless, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow sinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Christ: but look that, by going into the idol temple, ye defile not the temple of God; for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do; for if not going to church were without persecution, they would not learn you that lesson. But all things that are sweet to the flesh, are allowed of the fleshly. The Lord shall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity, and he that by the fleshly man is led in the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give thee his Holy Spirit. Amen.

"I have sent thee an epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

"Seek peace, and ensue it. Fear God; love God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

"Thy friend and all men's in Christ Jesus,

ROBERT SMITH.

"Scribbled in much haste from Newgate the twelfth of May."

Robert Smith to all faithful servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under persecution.

"Content thyself with patience,
With Christ to bear the cross of pain,
Which can and will thee recompense,
A thousand-fold with joys again.
Let nothing cause thy heart to quail;
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy sail,
Put from the shore:
And be thou sure thou shalt attain,
Unto the port that shall remain
For evermore."

The burning of Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust, martyred for the testimony of the gospel.



ABOUT this time died also by cruel fire these two martyrs of God; that is to say, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fust at Ware; which both two, as they

were about one time burned with the forementioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in sundry places, so were they also examined and openly condemned together with them. Their process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and others of the said company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous again to repeat the same; save that of Thomas Fust this is to be added, that whereas he, in his last appearing the twelfth of July, was moved by the bishop to revoke his opinion, thus he answered: "No," said he, "my Lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in God's book? I speak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I speak." This answer of him only I find noted by the registrar; although how slenderly these registrars have dealt in uttering such matters, (that is, in omitting those things which most worthy were to be known,) by their doings it is easy to be

seen. But to be short, after their answers made, both he and Thomas Fust were, for their faithful perseverance, condemned together by the bishop in his accustomed pity, as heretics to be burned, and so (as before ye have heard) finished they their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of August and year abovesaid.

The constant martyrdom of William Hale, burned at Barnet.

Of the same company of these ten above recorded, which were sent up to Bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale of Thorp in the county of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest the twelfth of July, received with them also the sentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers-on: "Ah, good people," said he, "beware of this idolater, and this antichrist;" pointing unto the bishop of London. And so was he delivered to the sheriffs as a heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of August, he most constantly sealed up his faith with the consuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, and William Andrew, who all sickened in prison, and were buried in the fields.

Ye heard before of ten sundry persons sent out of Newgate by Master Hare and other commissioners, to be examined of Bonner, bishop of London. Of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been showed; whose names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, and there departed, and were cast out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it. The last that remained of this foresaid company was Joan Laysh or Layshford, the daughter-in-law to John Warne, and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs: but because she was reprieved to a longer day, her story and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

The like catholic charity was also showed upon William Andrew of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, A. D. 1555, by John Motham,

constable of Maldon in Essex. The first and principal promoter of him was the Lord Riche, who sent him first to prison. Another great doer against him also seemeth to be Sir Richard Southwell, knight, by a letter written by him to Bonner, as by the copy hereof appeareth.

"Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that the Lord Riche did, about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the council one William Andrew of Thorp, within the county of Essex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth, and, as I am informed, hath infected a number in the prison with his heresy. Your Lordship shall do very well, if it please you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your Lordship, but, by occasion of other business, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore, knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with these few lines. And so, referring the rest to your virtuous consideration, I remain your good Lordship's to command, this twelfth of June, 1555.

"RICHARD SOUTHWELL."

This William Andrew, being twice brought before Bonner to examination, there manfully stood in the defence of his religion. At length, through strait handling in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life there, which else his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so, after the popish manner, he was cast out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

The martyrdom of Robert Samuel, preacher, suffering for the true defence of Christ's gospel.

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock in the county of Suffolk, and a little from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, did not only not cease day nor night to study how to bring those in thrall and captivity, that were honest and godly inclined to religion; but also, whatsoever they were that once came in his claws, they easily escaped not without clog of conscience, or else loss of life, so greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in King Edward's days a very godly and right faithful preacher of God's word, who, for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold in Suffolk,

where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At the last, being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice, (as many other good pastors were beside,) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly be suffered so to do; at what time order was taken by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had married in King Edward's days, putting their wives from them, should be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This decree would not Samuel stand unto, for that he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife still at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At last Master Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in those quarters, fore-slacked no time nor diligence, but eftsoons sendeth out his espials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they, bringing word to the officer, came immediately flocking about his house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night season, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did nothing withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried, through the malice of the wicked sort, to Norwich, where the said bishop, Dr. Hopton—whether he, or Dr. Dunning, his chancellor—full like unmerciful prelates, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were men, in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for straitness and cruel tormenting the bodies of the saints among all the rest beside, and specially through the procuring of Dunning. For although the others were sharp enough in their generation: yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no further. Neither did I ever hear of any besides these, which so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such

sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuel, as he had done with the other before, kept him in a very strait prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tiptoe he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saying that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to further torment, than that they would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose stomach, though it had been made of adamant-stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature? &c.

At the last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, who ministered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee; for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty." Which thing came even to pass accordingly; for speedily after he was burned, and from that time till he should suffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he to the end, as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions, he could utter, he said, besides this, but that shamefacedness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I would he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the Holy Scriptures already.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be

noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward heaven; of the which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and then the death of two honest women, which were brought forth, and suffered in the same town anon after.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck and kissed him, who, being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after, to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me: howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God; so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife, but both together now espoused to a new Husband, Christ.

With these two was this maid aforesaid very familiar and well acquainted, who, on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's unjust proceedings, had this answer at her hands again: "I know well," saith she, "that it is lawful enough to fly away; which remedy you may use, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have besides a sort of young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly wives, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and had both into prison together, who, as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison: and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity; so at the length they both suffered after Samuel, in 1556, February the nineteenth, as shall be, by the Lord's grace, declared hereafter. And these, no doubt, were those two ladders, which, being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed

Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the thirty-first of August, anno 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine in the eyes of them that stood by, as bright and white as new-tryed silver, as I am informed by some which were there and did behold the sight.

A letter or exhortation of Robert Samuel to the patient suffering of afflictions for Christ's cause.

"A man knoweth not his time, but as the fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare, even so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near. Better it were to die (as the preacher saith) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woeful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, with 'seest me?' and 'seest me not?' yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesites, now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messias, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils, seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his holy word, the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

"O perilous abundance of goods, too much saturation of meats, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed, with so many souls, those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, so long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God without reprehension; but, brought once to wealth and prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater. And what made the covetous young man so loth to follow Christ, when he was bidden to forsake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be unto these

false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the high-ways of confusion and perpetual perdition!

"We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance; yea, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these our troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that a remnant God hath in all ages reserved, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomit. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his, as St. Paul saith. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith. With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all and for ever.

"Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy you, both bodies and souls? Think you to be more sure than under your Captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God, and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable and brainless souls, which would, for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the devil, who is their

god and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us which be of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the Cretians, Epicures, and such other beastly Belials and carnal people, pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: Yet shall they once, as the kingly prophet saith, run about the city of God to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect; but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

"Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and be celestial. We must be here, saith Paul, not as inhabitants, and homedwellers, but as strangers: not as strangers only, but, after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed of our Governor to fight against the governor of the darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith; In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish: but as for you, (meaning the wicked,) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? For the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us say with Hezekiah, Play the men, and shrink not. Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is, saith he, with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you: and again, When you forsake him, he will forsake you.

"Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be sad, but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (Paul meaning the body) be destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have a building of God not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ; esteemed they cannot be: wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abide in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present

and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries; and, after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with poor Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend unto the kingdom of God his Father. But an unwise man, saith the psalmist, comprehendeth them not; neither doth the foolish understand them: that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they might be cut down and cast into the fire for ever. For, as Job saith, Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye, and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance, (as in Mark is said,) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

"Let us therefore, good Christians, be constant in obeying God, rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity, yet they cannot do it, but by God's sufferance and good-will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the gospel shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others more. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, which sit in the chair of perverse, pestilent scorners? to whom, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone, whereat they now, being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

"These are the days of vengeance, saith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And surely it shall be no less than a huge storm of evils that shall come upon us, because that a long and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of hosts; who, so many times and so many ways, have been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience and long-suffering, to amendment, and have nevertheless condemned the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's majesty unto anger.

"Now therefore, saith God, by the mouth of his prophet, I will come unto thee, and I will send my wrath upon thee. Upon thee, I say, O England! and punish thee according to thy ways, and re-

ward thee after all thine abominations. Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and hast stirred up the coals: for thou wast once lightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God; yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas, O England! thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst nothing thereafter: Thou must therefore, saith he, suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and in the coals that thou hast kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, saith the Lord, namely, that thou shalt sleep in sorrow; yea, even so thou shalt. The plain truth telleth the tale; the immutable justice of the ever-living God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirm the same. The joy of our heart, saith Jeremy, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas, and weal away, that ever we sinned so sore: woe worth all abominations and wickedness; woe worth cloaked hypocrisy; woe worth our carnal liberty; woe worth our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, saith the Lord, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

"Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all hellish furies, and clean without hope at God's accounting day, which know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They must, saith St. John, needs abide and perish with their sins in death, and in eternal damnation. But we be the children of saints, as the elder Toby did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them which change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ye Christian afflicted brethren; for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weathercocks, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, My sheep hear my voice; I know them; they hearken unto me, and to no strangers; and I give them everlasting life, for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands: no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and stout brags, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have more pleasant and effectuous than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the

world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so can it neither harm nor hurt any one of his children, without his goodwill. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

"Let us therefore, with an earnest faith, set fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be sundered from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us his faithful soldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us. It is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy; and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. Oh! that happy and merry last day, (I mean to the faithful,) when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit in seat with him, as he hath ascended and sitteth on throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then be with Christ glorified: now in the butcher's hands, as sheep appointed to die; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children, where we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, saturity of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys, and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. O happy souls! O precious death, and evermore blessed! right dear in the eyes of God: to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then, as saith Isaiah, The redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord; and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished. Yea, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

Another letter written to the Christian congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declar-eth the confession of his faith.

"The belief of the heart justifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe."

"Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool; but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation.

"Considering with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the unconstant and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and false slander of God's most holy word, these urgent causes in conscience do constrain me to confess and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience; that when they backbite you as evil-doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ."

"As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles. For it were not only sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, belie, or betray, the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to the defence of the same, seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles, to be sufficient and absolutely perfect to instruct and teach me and all the holy church, of our duties towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

"First and principally I do assuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or Divine essence, and infinite substance; which is both called, and is indeed God everlasting, unbodily, unpartible; unmeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, as well visible as invisible: and yet there be three distinct persons, all of one Godhead or Divine being, and all of one power, coequal, consubstantial, co-eternal—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as Holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first person in the Trinity, first cause of our salvation, which hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ; which hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated us

and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesu; in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary; so that there be in him two natures, a Divine nature, and a human nature, in the unity of one person inseparable, conjoined and knit in one Christ, truly God and truly man, the express and perfect image of the invisible God, wherein the will of God the Father shineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought to do, that he may please God the Father.

"Born of the Virgin Mary; truly suffering his passion; crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice, host, and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Christ Jesus.

"The same Christ went down to the hells, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, that he might there still reign, and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence shall come, &c.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and false doctrine, the devil, and all power of sin: which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, that she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true pastor Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congregation of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and in deed.

"I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; who is made unto us, of God, that only sacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be sanctified.

"I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby

in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly establish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of Christ our Saviour, and first-fruits of the dead. Now that Christ our Head is risen, we, being his body and members, must follow our Head. Death, hell, and sin cannot sunder nor pluck us from him; for as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look, saith St. Paul, for Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body, by the same power and virtue wherewith he is able to subdue all things: even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first putrefied and brought as into a thing of nought, yet, after that, it springeth up freshly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty than it had before. The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour.

"Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe, the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, saith Christ, he that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life. It is Christ that died once for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die. It is he that swallowed up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing else, but for a little time separate our precious souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and so send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity, and joys eternal.

"As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which be in number two, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord: I believe them to be as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

"The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirmation of our acceptance into the grace and favour of God for Christ's sake. For

his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is ours, given us of God; and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his, whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

"Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we should die continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness.

"The other sacrament, which is the supper and holy Maundy of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe, so this sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to condemn the world for the life to come, when Christ shall appear, which now is in heaven, and no where else as concerning his human body.

"Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For, as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the minister, This is my body which is given for you; when I hear (I say) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth, I look not upon, neither do I behold, bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be rapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imaginations of our gross, fleshly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth; but with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, a hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind, do fully embrace, behold, and feed and look upon, that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and

faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion, fully digested into the bowels of my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings, and troubles; my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge-sake of Christ Jesu my Lord and Saviour.

"Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for, through faith in Christ and for Christ's sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Thus am I assured and fully persuaded, and on this Rock have I build-ed, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen.

"Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

The martyrdom of William Allen, September, 1555.

Next after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walsingham, labouring man, servant some time to John Houghton of Somerton. He, being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, answered, that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go on procession.

Then, being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church, he answered, that he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For the which, sentence of condemnation was given against him the twelfth of August, and he burned at Walsingham

about the beginning of September, who declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his upright and well-tryed conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to the suffering, and there, being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

The martyrdom of Roger Coo, of Melford in Suffolk, shearman: first examined before Hopton, the bishop of Norwiche, and by him condemned, August 12, anno 1555.

Roger Coo, being brought before the bishop, first was asked why he was imprisoned.

Coo.—"At the justice's commandment."

Bishop.—"There was some cause why."

Coo.—"Here is my accuser; let him declare."

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament. Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a law. But Coo answered that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was? He answered how he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

"No," said his accuser, "nor will not. My Lord, ask him when he received the sacrament."

When Coo heard him say so, he said, "I pray you, my Lord, let him sit down and examine me himself."

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, "Coo, why? will ye not receive?"

Coo answered him, that the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine, instead of the gospel and the belief of the same.

Bishop.—"How prove you that?"

Coo.—"Our Saviour said, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him; and the bread and wine doth not so."

Bishop.—"Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and break it, and say, This is my body?"

"Yes," said Coo, and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

Bishop.—"You have said the truth."

Then Coo replied further, and said, "Christ willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said."

Bishop.—"How prove you that?"

Coo.—"It is written in the second of the Acts."

Then the bishop's chaplain said, it was true.

The bishop asked him if he could say his belief.

Coo answered, "Yea," and so said part of the Creed, and then after he said, he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bishop.—"Is not the holy church to be believed also?"

Coo.—"Yes, if it be builded upon the word of God."

The bishop said to Coo, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo.—"Have ye so, my Lord? Then if ye go to the devil for your sins, where shall I become?"

Bishop.—"Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?"

Coo.—"It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, there shall come a people with the prince, that shall destroy both city and sanctuary. I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the king's laws.

Coo.—"As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them."

Bishop.—"Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel."

Coo.—"If Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God."

Then the bishop told him, that these twenty-two years we have been governed with such kings.

Coo.—"My Lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?"

Bishop.—"I durst not for fear of death."

"And thus they ended. But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever! Amen."

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A. D. 1555, in the month of September.

Thomas Cob, butcher, of Haverhill in Suffolk, martyr.

Over and besides this foresaid Roger Coo, William Allen, James Abbes of Stokenneyland, Robert

Samuel, and others, in the same year, upon the twelfth of August, was also with them condemned Thomas Cob, of Haverhill, butcher, executed in the month of September aforesaid; who, being brought and examined by Michael Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no, he answered, that his body should be at the king and queen's commandment, so far as the law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, the said Thomas Cob, being condemned the same twelfth day of August, with the other his fellow martyrs, was burned in the town of Thetford, A. D. 1555, in the month of September.

The martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

Now from Norfolk and Suffolk, to return again into the diocese of Canterbury, we have to entreat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September was spilt for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel's cause; the names of the which five martyrs were these:—George Catmer of Hythe; Robert Streater of Hythe; Anthony Burward of Calet; George Brodbridge of Bromfield; James Tutty of Brenchley; who, upon the third day of August, were brought before Thornton, the foresaid bishop of Dover, and his complices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of their altar, auricular confession, and other such like.

To the which the said Catmer (being first examined) made answer on this wise: "Christ," quoth he, "sitteth in heaven, on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar. But he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol."

Next unto him was called forth Robert Streater, who, being also asked whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said that he did not so believe; "for you do maintain heresy and idolatry," quoth he, "in that ye teach to worship a false god in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church;

for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God."

The like objection was articulate also against Anthony Burward, who also said, that their sacrament was made an idol.

After him was George Brodbridge demanded what he said to those articles; who answered, that he would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. "Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do," quoth he, "utterly defy them."

And last of all, did also James Tutty make and confirm their said former answers. And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as heretics, and so were they all, in one fire at Canterbury aforesaid, about the sixth day of September then next following.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in Queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as

bath been partly already declared; yet, notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm, but some good martyrs or other there shed their blood. And first, to begin with the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, there we find these two to be condemned and also burned about the midst of the said month of September at the town of Lichfield; whose names were Thomas Hayward and John Goreway.

The persecution and trouble of Master Robert Glover, gentleman, and of John Glover his brother, in the diocese of Lichfield.



O this present time and month of September,* pertaineth also the memorable martyrdom of Master Robert Glover, gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and

* The following interesting extracts are from the preface to a Narrative of Glover, Mrs. Leves, and Augustine Bernher, by the able vicar of Mancetter, the Rev. B. Richings.

"It appears that the manor-house, with a considerable estate, was purchased by Mr. John Glover, and was the property and residence of the Glovers, from about the year 1550 to 1677. The house, though somewhat modernized, is the same building which stood in the reign of Edward the Sixth. It is constructed of a frame-work of wood, which has not undergone the slightest alteration. If the plaster were removed, its massive timber would now be seen, and would exhibit the simple architecture of the times in which it was built. The interior, also, it may be observed, has not been so much altered as might be supposed, considering the lapse of time. The old oak staircase, so often trod by the Glovers, and down the very steps of which Robert Glover descended, for the last time, in the custody of the officers, still remains; and, most happily for the lovers of antiquity, it has escaped the painter's brush. Not so, unfortunately, the oak panells with which the passages and the rooms were wainscotted, or those massy carved beams, which bisect each other, and attract the eye of every stranger.

"On removing to Mancetter, Mr. John Glover left a relative of his, in Baxterley Hall, which he had built, and which afterwards, for a century at least, was also a residence of the Glovers, who possessed large estates in that parish and neighbourhood. The names of "Hugo," who died in "1615," and "Hugo Glover, gentleman," who died in "1648," are recorded in Baxterley church; and from the same name, which may be seen on the tower of that church, with a shield, from which time has effaced the arms, we may conclude it to have been rebuilt by that family.

"Our martyr, Robert Glover, married a niece of Bishop Latimer, and had three sons and one daughter at the time of his apprehension. His eldest son, named Hugh, inherited the Mancetter property, as heir-at-law to his uncle, John Glover, who died at Mancetter, 1558.

"In the reign of Edward the Sixth, Baxterley Hall was built by Mr. John Glover, who, from the arms and badges carved upon the timber, was at that time a retainer to Lord Ferrers. He formerly held some official situation in Merevale Abbey; † to which house that famous assertor of the protestant religion, Bishop Latimer, resorted. As the journeys of this venerable old man were generally performed on foot, with few attendants, and in a plain dress—his New Testament fastened to his girdle, and his uncased spectacles suspended by a string of leather from his neck—we may imagine we see him entering the Abbey, ready prepared to open his Testament; that, from that sacred source, holding forth the word of life, he might make known that Saviour whose all-sufficiency was denied, and whose glory was obscured, by the idolatrous worship, the pagan ceremonies, and the antichristian tenets of popery. Bishop Latimer has been styled 'the apostle of England;' and his spiritual instructions so grounded Robert Glover in the truth of the gospel, that, rather than be moved away from it, he chose to lay down his life, and to suffer all the troubles and pains of a cruel martyrdom.

"It may be inferred, that not Robert only, but his brothers John and William also, were instructed by Bishop Latimer; and if but few sons could point to such a spiritual father, few fathers could boast of three such sons in the faith, or of three brothers more closely allied to each other, in their stedfast profession of the gospel.

"Robert Glover was burnt at Coventry on the fourteenth of September, 1555; and the venerable Bishop Latimer, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, at Oxford, ‡ on the sixteenth of October following; so that they nearly finished their course together; being called to endure the same sufferings, and to receive the same reward—even 'a crown of glory which fadeth not away.'

"But how soon are they forgotten on earth, whose 'names

† Founded by Robert, earl of Ferrers, A. D. 1148.

‡ With Ridley, bishop of London.



MANOR-HOUSE, MANCETTER, THE RESIDENCE OF GLOVER.

Coventry; of whose apprehension and troubles because I cannot well entreat, but I must also intermix some mention of his brother John Glover, forasmuch as this privy commission was chiefly sent down for the said John, and not for Robert Glover, (albeit it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended.) I thought therefore in one story to comprehend them both, in describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life. And first, to begin with John the eldest brother, who, being a gentleman born, and heir to his father, dwelling in the town of Mancetter,* was endued with fair possessions of worldly

are written in heaven! Though this pious family of the Glovers endured so much persecution for their profession of the gospel, yet in the History of Mancetter no mention is made of them, in their distinguishing character, as *suffering protestants* during the cruel and calamitous reign of Queen Mary. The martyrdom of Robert Glover is not recorded in that work;—an omission only to be accounted for on the supposition that the author did not know that such an event had ever occurred. 'Whilst we bestow the grateful suffrage of our praise and admiration on those who have signalized themselves by their courage in the field, or by their mental superiority in the cabinet; whilst the cherished names of our senators and patriots are held in perpetual veneration, and pointed out as the proudest ornaments of our national monuments; the martyrs of our religion are too frequently consigned to forgetfulness and neglect. Their names are excluded from the circles of modern taste; or, if breathed in 'ears polite,' they are pronounced with distrust, or heard with fashionable indifference.

goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues, which grace of God so working in him, he, with his two other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed, the same; much unlike unto our table-gospellers now-a-days.

And as touching this foresaid John Glover, it pleased God so to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward

Nevertheless, they were men who stood surety for our faith in the day of her battles; and in that cause, which they advocated and adorned, have transmitted to us a glowing record of their Christian fervour and heroic fortitude.—Whilst the prowess of the warrior has wrested the spear from political tyranny, the firmness of the Christian martyr has freed us from the still more oppressive grasp of spiritual despotism. It was *his* moral courage that first struck off the fetters of that blind superstition, which had so long shackled the minds and degraded the altars of our country; and it was *his* sufferings and death which paved the way for that blessed period from which we date the triumph of national freedom, and the ascendancy of the protestant faith.' "

* In Seeley's most valuable reprint, Manchester is made to have the credit of giving birth to Glover, but the Rev. J. Richings, the vicar of Mancetter, has satisfactorily proved that the scene of his own pastoral labours is the birth-place of the martyr.

fire, as his brother and other martyrs did, yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mind this man felt and suffered, and that of so long time, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the said Robert was speedily despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his spirit inwardly, he felt and sustained, no speech outwardly is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, whom partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses was left in him. And doubtless I have greatly wondered oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him, who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched servant so far worn, with some opportune consolation now and then betwixt, it could not possible be, that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight. But this we see common among holy and blessed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are so terrified and perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge mountains; whereas on the contrary, others there be whom most heinous and very sore crimes indeed do nothing touch or stir at all.

The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a wondrous sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon the occasion of these words written in Hebrews vii.; For it cannot be, that they which were once illumined, and have tasted the heavenly gift, &c.; upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned verily against the Holy Ghost; even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself, what terrors, boilings, and convulsions turmoiled in the mean time in his

woeful breast: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievousness thereof, unless he which hath experience of the like.

In comparing now the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, punishment, and flames, would not he willingly have suffered, to have had some refocillation and time of refreshing? who, in such intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation so long as he might, thinking with himself no less but that he must needs be thrown into hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Christ, he thought, did pity his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, because of the verity of the word, which said, It cannot be, &c.

And this I rehearse of him, not so much to open his wounds and sorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth alleviate the same, that we may bear it, but also turneth it to our further commodity than we can think: which well appeared in this good servant of God, (in no man more,) who, albeit, as we have said, he suffered many years so sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been seen, in such sort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead in this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celestial, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk any thing discrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his servants and officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of King Henry's reign, and continued a great part of the time of King Edward the Sixth.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforesaid, being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, oftsoons he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as might be. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all

things after his own secret pleasure, who, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God therefore, of his Divine providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so much overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his brother, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries, (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge,) should sustain that conflict; and even so it came to pass, as ye shall hear. For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Master John Glover, he sent forthwith a privy watch-word to the said John, to convey away himself; who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment.

But when the said John could in no place be found, one of the officers, going into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him incontinent brought before the sheriff; which sheriff notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet, nevertheless, being feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will, and so laid him fast while the bishop came. And thus much by the way of preamble, first, concerning the worthy remembrance of Master John Glover.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand, (that is, to consider the story and martyrdom of Master Robert Glover,) forasmuch as the whole narration of the same by his own record and testimony in writing was sent unto his wife, concerning the manner of his ordering and handling, it shall therefore seem best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit the said his own letter, the words and contents whereof here ensue as followeth.

“To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover,

“The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength,

and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and stedfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

“I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent unto me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice, (with tears, I say,) for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, a humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things; which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

“These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, which set more by their own pleasure and pelf in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others'. My prayer shall be, whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name; and, by the mighty power and inspiration of his Holy Spirit, so strengthen, stablish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together show forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen.

“So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting; forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we shall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never so many. And because God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do or not to do in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God; and that, as Christ saith, The word of God that he hath spoken shall judge in the last day: let your prayer be to this end specially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word,

and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof.

"And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time; call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you; endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry, (that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commandeth,) look not back (I say) nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

"They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, the church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

"Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples. Their church repelleth God's word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

"Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change, his blessed Testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture saith) with their own inventions, to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

"The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted; the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill, such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues never so excellent.

"Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people

leave to judge thereof by the same word, Search the Scriptures. But this church taketh away the word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

"The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.

"By these, and such-like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness, to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church, whether men will or no; and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.

"Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters. It is a fearful thing, as St. Paul saith, to fall into the hands of God. Remember the prophet Elias, Why halt ye on both sides? Remember what Christ saith, He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me. And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the forward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days, Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. Be afraid in nothing, saith St. Paul, of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting

salvation. Christ commandeth the same, saying, Fear them not. Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first, to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasure. But the Scripture saith, They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ. Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now-a-days be like to Æsop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant be they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which, being compared to it, be less in value than a barley-corn.

"If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, the foregoing of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment, before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

"But these and such-like, I thank my heavenly Father, (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Ghost, for his Son's sake my only Saviour and Redeemer,) prevailed not in me: but when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed; yet ere ever I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming unto me, 'What matter have you, Master Sheriff, to charge me withal?' He answered, 'You shall know when you come before the masters;' and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being showed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept for joy and gladness my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort: 'O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for thy gospel's sake?' And so, beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart; O Lord, thou showest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall let thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so ever thought I myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

"Not long after came unto me Master W. Brasbridge, Master C. Phineas, Master N. Hopkins, travailling with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: 'Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me withal, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds, as with bonds.'

"Secondarily, if I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise: I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

"And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Master Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took as it were a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so, when they had let their suit fall, my heart (methought) was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

"Afterward debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conscience (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to show themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth,

and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, He hath been a great boldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

"Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted, and persuaded all that professed God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist; so, the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the summer: who being examined, denied it before their faces, (as one of my friends told me,) saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day!"

But now, because mention hath been made of the elder brother, I thought good to speak something of him; as well for that the order of this tragedy so requireth, as because his virtues and qualities were such as I could in no ways commit them to silence. This man's name was John Glover, something elder than Robert; a gentleman born, and heir to his father; a man of fair lands, but not so abounding in worldly goods and possessions, as nourished with heavenly cogitations and virtuous doings; the which, many years, had professed and

acknowledged the blissful and gracious knowledge of the gospel, showing no less by his life and example the same: much unlike our gospellers, nowadays, which suppose the profession of the gospel to consist in words. But this man used another kind of professing of it far different, converting all his care that he might appear a gospeller, as well within as without; not so much that he should so seem before men, as that he might first frame his life correspondent and worthy his profession before God. He saw and perceived, as indeed it was, the sum of Christianity not to consist in stout disputations, contentions, reasonings, loud clamours, strong definitions, and ambitious pertinacity of mind, but rather in ordering and subduing affections in the quiet and silent mind, in good conscience and devout prayer; and laboured ever to this end, not so much to brag and talk of the gospel, as to show the same by example of his life: and therefore he gave not daily diligence to the reading of the gospel only, to collect thereof, as many do, common-places, but as well to be instructed, thereby, with good mind and conscience. He was a great student of divinity; the occasion whereof was not the desire of novelties, arguing and talking, or that he might seem the more learned to others, but that he himself might be the better for it; and also not so much to be the more instructed to the conflicts of idle contention, as to be the readier and meetest for the kingdom of Christ. To be short, he read the gospel of Christ, not so much to collect thereof any common-places, as to gather necessary matter of edifying, whereof he daily sucked those things which no less made for the confirmation of his faith and godly life, than for the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. And doubtless, by this his assiduous labour, he profited marvellously, as by the singular fruits and example of his life sufficiently is declared, whose mind was always upon our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his works; even so much, that he, contemning the world, and being all wholly possessed with the earnest zeal of godliness, was, in every place, as well abroad as at home, a lantern of godly living to all the rest; and also, being as one placed in heaven, and dead in this world, he both meditated and led a life altogether celestial; [it] being a world to see how that he abhorred the profane doings. No, nor yet his talk in any wise differed from his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed among his brethren, and committed the guide of the rest to his servants and officers, that the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath rest.

And besides these his great number of virtues, he was well learned, although his brother Robert was better seen in the literature which doth polish and bring a man to eloquence. But in those things which appertained to heavenliness and good conscience, he was far more exercised: like disposition and mind were in both; having wit and memory most happily grafted in them. And as concerning good zeal and love towards religion, whereunto they seemed by nature indifferently to be born, they were so matched and so like one to another, that a man could not tell who excelled the other; unless because Robert, as he was the bigger of stature, so he was a more earnest and mightier champion against the adversaries of truth: but yet John less feared peril, although this Robert suffered as a martyr; and was as much desirous of martyrdom as he, and more so. And, verily I cannot tell whether, in the case of felicity, John gave place to his brother Robert or no, who also might be counted a martyr, yea, and chronicled for a double martyr; for the said Robert was quickly, and out of hand, despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire. But this, the most blessed martyr of all, what more grievous passions, boiling heats of the fire of hell, so many years both in body and in soul he suffered and sustained, no tongue can express.

Being a young man I myself was once or twice with him; whom, as part by his talk I perceived, and part by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses, was left in him. And, doubtless, I have greatly wondered at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him; who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched sheep, so many times in distress, with continual consolation, it could not be possible that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments; and yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight.

But this we see commonly among holy and blessed men, that the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspect and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are pinched and vexed with very small sins as most grievous, when that (contrary) you may see very many whom the greatest crimes of the world do not once move or trouble. The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and then falling thence, as we commonly see, to his former trade of life, began to mistrust himself, as one that rashly and suddenly had forsaken his vocation, and there-

upon was in belief that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost.

But, thanks be to Christ our Lord, his continual Keeper, who suffereth not any man to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that not only they do not injure them, but oftentimes fall out to a further commodity than is looked for; which thing did appear as much in this John, as ever did in any one, who albeit, as we have said, suffered so many years sharp temptations, yet more happy were they to him than tongue can tell, which heaped so many and great virtues in him, with reconciliation of his tranquillity, and so vanquished him from all worldly affections of the same; insomuch that nothing could be more blessed and pure than his life, nothing more quiet or more fervent to Christ and his ways. Nor truly was it any marvel if this his ardent and vehement zeal toward the gospel of Christ, in this turbulent time of persecution, (as indeed it did not,) either could, or did, lie hid in him.

What needeth many words? As soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John so to be spread out of hand, he wrote to the mayor and officers to apprehend him as soon as might be: but it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, who disposeth all things according to his secret pleasure, and contrary to the expectation of man. And although this John took it more inwardly than any tongue can express, when he, being ever desirous of death, saw, in his stead, his brother to be carried to his death, yet doubtless it was provided by the singular grace and just providence of God; for he, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years, with so extreme and many torments, broken and dried up, would in no wise heap so many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch, neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been scorched and so consumed with the sharp sorrows of his mind, and had sustained so many darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God of his divine providence thought this too much, whose custom was never so to deal with his servants; and therefore he provided that Robert, either for his learning-sake or soundness of his strength, should stoutly suffer and sustain this conflict; and although there lacked no stomach in the other to suffer martyrdom, yet our Lord thought rather to use this man's stomach and knowledge in refuting the adversaries' arguments, and so to be more expedient to the cause of his salvation. But, howsoever the matter stood, Robert was taken in the stead of John, and that not without the singular will and love of God to either of them; for as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters, he sent forthwith a

private watchword to John, to convey away himself, who, with his brother William, was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in spite of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment; who when he could in no place be found, one of the officers, going up into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him brought before the sheriff. And although the sheriff, favouring Robert and his cause, would fain have dismissed him, saying that "he was not the man for whom they were sent," yet was he feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him about his staying till the bishop's coming, carried him away against his will, and laid him fast till the bishop came. And this so much concerning John: now will I return to Robert's letters, from whence I have made some digression.

Robert Glover's letter continued.

"The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Master Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief jailer to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Master Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

"And so he parted from me, saying, I needed not to fear, if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts: that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience's sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered; without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain, (as their right companion Epulo did,) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, asslaved, misers, and wretches.

"When I came before the bishop in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself. I said to him, 'I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?' He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, 'Smally learned.' Master Chancellor, standing by, said, I was a Master of Arts. Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church. Here

I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocess, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass. He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God."

Bishop.—"Who shall judge the word?"

Glover.—"Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul: methinketh ye should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had."

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him: but he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

"If you say black is white, my Lord," quoth Glover, "must I also say as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so?" Master Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop.

Glover.—"If you will be believed because you be a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Master Latimer, Master Ridley, Master Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?"

Bishop.—"Because they were heretics."

"And may not you err," quoth I, "as well as they?" I looked for learning at my Lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward's time?

"I desired him to show me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time."

Bishop.—"Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics."

Glover.—"You be not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time."

"My Lord making no answer to that, Master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying, he would,

at the end of his visitation of his diocess, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. 'Even where it pleaseth you,' said I to my Lord, 'I am content;' and so I was returned at that time to the common gaol again, from whence I came.

"On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure; which tidings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should, by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling, (which I looked for,) have died in the prison before I should come to my answer. But I rebuked immediately with God's word this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasy after this manner: 'What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshech, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithlers, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in life nor in death; neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor the devil himself: much less one of his ministers shall be able to prevail against us.' With such-like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort; so that, hearing one say that they could not provide horses enow for us, I said, 'Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list; I am well content, for my part.'

"Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to Master Mayor, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge: the contents of which letter were these.

"'I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the gaol, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of seven years and more; so that it is not like that I shall be removed without peril and danger of my life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge.

If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of person.

"'Your prisoner in the Lord,
always mindful of you in my poor prayer,
ROBERT GLOVER.'

"But I received no answers of my letters to nor fro. I conjectured that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me despatched privily in prison, than to come openly to my answer. The manner of entreating and using me at my first coming to prison, did partly declare the same.

"Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horseback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at: and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and annulling of, all such books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repose ourselves for our supper-time. We inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

"After supper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we entreated that upon sureties we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He was content at the first, as he seemed; but afterwards, whether it was by persuasion, or rather (as it seemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to stare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease ourselves withal, he revoked his promise; and so by consent we were had to the prison, the multitude wondering at us. I willed Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy that showed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand:—

"He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of rooms, strong of building, and very cold, with small light; and there allowed he me a bundle of straw, instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing else to ease myself

withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that, if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life; but Jephcot, and one Persey the bishop's man, which afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, 'This is a great extremity; God send us patience, and no more.'

"Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen, nor ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily stole in.

"Within two days after, Master Chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my Lord, and to the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own; belike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

"Now thus the second time I answered Master Chancellor to his exhortation, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

"He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church."

Glover.—"The church showeth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God. This is no good reason in learning," said I to Master Chancellor, "for it is like unto this: John showed the people who was Christ; ergo, John was above Christ. Or else, I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king: Am I therefore above the king?"

"Master Chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the space of eight days, and till the bishop's coming: in the which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever. Amen.

"The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them

that should suffer for Christ, or his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, *similiter obnoxii peccato*, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest; as Paul saith, Who gave first unto him? And also speaking to every man, What hast thou, that thou receivedst not? Likewise John, All have received of his fullness; they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. *Est Dominus omnium, dives in omnes et super omnes invocantes eum.* He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. *Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum:* God is near, he is at hand, he is with all; with all, (I say,) and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully, in true repentance, call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burden God (as it were) with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample wise and large manner, than he can well wish or dare desire. His word cannot lie: Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee; and thou shalt praise me.

"I answered the enemy also on this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of his truth. What then? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I also will be ashamed before my Father and all his angels. I might also, by like reason, forbear to do any of God's commandments.

"When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I

shall not pray : and so in like manner of all the commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

"At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a by-chamber next to my prison, to my Lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

"My Lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment : I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for our church, (as he called it,) it was not known, he said, but lately in King Edward's time.

"I profess myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone ; and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning, (said I,) though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted. My Lord, on the other side, contended that they were the church."

Glover.—"So cried all the clergy against the prophets at Jerusalem, saying, 'The church, the church.'"

"And always when I was about to speak any thing, my Lord cried, 'Hold thy peace ; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace : ' calling me a proud, arrogant heretic.

"I willed my Lord to burden me with some specialties, and then to convince me with some Scriptures and good learning.

"Then my Lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

"Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

"The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church ?

"The sacrament of baptism," said I, "and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper."

"No more ?" said he.

Glover.—"To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ—to such, ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins."

"Here, interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance ; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

"He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession ? I answered, No.

"Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

"I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, 'because,' said I, 'you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.'"

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and entreating in prison, and also of his conflicts had with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted him to finish that he intended ; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the records of his last examinations, wheresoever they are become.

Only this, which I could learn by relation of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report, that the said blessed servant of the Lord, Master Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpish, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness nor willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon, fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he

made his moan to this Austen, his friend above remembered, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him. Unto whom the said Austen, answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet, seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure; and therefore desired him, whensoever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should show some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same; and so departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Austen, and saying in these words, "Austen, he is come, he is come," &c., and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the mar-

vellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.*

Cornelius Bungey, fellow martyr with Master Robert Glover.

In the same fire with him was burned also Cornelius Bungey, a capper of Coventry, and condemned by the said Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. As concerning the articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

Articles objected to Cornelius Bungey.

"First, It was articulate against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

"Secondly, That by baptism sins be not washed away; because he said, that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

"Thirdly, That there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism and the Lord's supper.

"Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar, was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

"Fifthly, That he, within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, &c.

* The following is a copy of each of the monuments erected recently in Mancetter church, to the memory of Glover, and of Mrs. Lewes.

TO THE SACRED MEMORY
OF
ROBERT GLOVER,
Martyr:

A Gentleman whose Family, for more than a CENTURY, resided in the manor-house of MANCETTER, and possessed extensive property in this Parish. But, above all, this pious Family were rich in Grace, and in the Knowledge and Love of CHRIST; and were well known for their devotedness to the PROTESTANT FAITH, when nothing awaited the profession of it but bonds, imprisonment, and death. What Persecutions befell his Brothers John and William, cannot be here recorded. ROBERT alone was called to endure the Sufferings and to receive the Crown of MARTYRDOM; and was burnt at COVENTRY A. D. 1555. For some days before his execution, this faithful witness for CHRIST was in great heaviness, fearing that the LORD had forsaken him; but the Promise, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," was so fulfilled to him, that, as he drew near to the stake, he was on a sudden so mightily replenished with holy comfort and heavenly joy, that, clapping his hands, he exclaimed to a Christian Friend, "HE IS COME—HE IS COME," whose coming gave him "the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

"THE NOBLE ARMY OF MARTYRS PRAISE THEE.
THOU ART THE KING OF GLORY, O CHRIST."

TO THE SACRED MEMORY
OF
MRS. LEWES,
Martyr:

A Lady who, having witnessed in the presence of her Persecutors a GOOD CONFESSION, sealed the truth with her Blood, and was burnt at LICHFIELD A. D. 1557. First led by the cruel Persecutions of the CHURCH OF ROME, to doubt whether it could be the CHURCH OF CHRIST, she was afterwards indebted to the pious Family of the Glovers for that more perfect knowledge of the Truth, which became dearer unto her than LIFE itself. Her love to CHRIST enabled her to bear with patience a very long and severe imprisonment; yea, she was not only willing to be bound, but also to die for the NAME of the LORD JESUS; meekly desiring that all the circumstances of her death might be so ordered, that her Friends might be comforted, her SAVIOUR glorified, and HIS enemies confounded. When chained to the stake, she manifested a cheerful serenity, and a countenance so unchanged as to astonish all who beheld her; and when the flames burst around her, standing unmoved, she only lifted up her hands towards Heaven, whither her triumphant spirit speedily ascended, entering into the presence and joy of her LORD.

"BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH, AND I WILL
GIVE THEE A CROWN OF LIFE."

"Sixthly, That he was of the diocess and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, &c.

"Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about," &c.

His answers to the articles.

"Unto the which articles he answered again : to the first he granted, and to every part thereof ; meaning after the popish manner of absolution.

"To the second he granted first, and afterwards revoked the same.

"To the third also he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

"To the fourth, touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

"To the fifth, concerning the pope, likewise.

"Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh."

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, the said Radulph the bishop read the sentence, and so committed him also, after condemnation of Master Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this foresaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same stake with the Christian martyr Master Robert Glover at Coventry, about the twentieth day of September.

Here followeth the story how John Glover and William Glover were excommunicate and cast out after their death, and buried in the fields.

Now that we have discoursed the story of Master Robert Glover, something also would be touched of his other two brethren, John and William Glover ; who, albeit they were not called to finish their course by like kind of martyrdom in the fire, as the others did, yet, because for their constant profession of God's gospel unto the latter end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the story to be joined together, who, in one cause and the same profession, were not sundered one from the other.

And first concerning Master John Glover, the eldest brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, partly ye heard before described : now what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared ; whose rage and malice, although God so restrained that they could little prevail against him so long as

his life endured, yet, after his decease, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand.

After the martyrdom of Master Robert Glover, although John Glover, seeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life for the great sorrow of his heart wherewith he was sore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, showing that in so doing he might entangle himself, but should do his brother no good : he thus in great care and vexation endured, yet, notwithstanding, rubbing out as well as he could, till at length, about the latter end of Queen Mary, there was a new search made for the said John Glover.

Whereupon the sheriffs, with their under-officers and servants, being sent to seek him, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in his chamber by himself, the officers, bursting into the house and searching other rooms, came to the chamber-door where this John Glover was, who, being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door, amongst whom one of the said officers having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

In the mean time another coming by, (whose voice he heard and knew,) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Whereupon they, departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon, not long after, he left his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for.

Thus, by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befell after his death, both to him and William his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembered ; who, after that he was dead and buried in the churchyard without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway : the parson again answered that he had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the savour of him. "Well," quoth Dr. Dracot,

"then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones, (for then the flesh will be consumed,) and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them; and then will I come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried." This was recorded by the parson of the town, who told the same to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Findern in Derbyshire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whose credible information we received the same.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these catholic children of the mother church, upon the body of William, the third brother; whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body unto the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the said church, (and yet is, as I hear say, to this day,) to stop the burial thereof, rode to the bishop, named Radulph Banes, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one Richard Morice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Wem, with others more, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary example of good Tobit, for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man putteth religion in not burying the dead: so that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the foresaid Bernard the curate with the bishop's letter,

the contents of which letter, being copied out word for word, here follow.

"Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all rites belonging to a Christian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that he should not be buried in Christian man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, nor speak, to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem, in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending, and letting, and procuring, that he be not buried either in the church, or within the wainables of the churchyard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril.

"At Eccleshall, this 6th of September, anno 1558.

"By your ordinary,

RADULPH, Coventry and Lichfield."

By the virtue of this foresaid letter, so it fell out, that they which brought the corpse thither, were



fain at their own charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that scarcely any man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there was he buried.

The witnesses of the godly end of the said William Glover, dying in the true faith and confession of Christ, were Master Nowell, dean of Lichfield, George Wilestone and his wife, Thomas Constantine, Roger Wydhouse, John Prynne, George Torpelley, &c.

The like example of charitable affection in these catholic churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Master Edward Burton, esq., who in the same diocess of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church, (which was St. Chad's in Shrewsbury,) so that no mass-monger should be present thereat; which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, named Sir John Marshall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate, being therewith offended, said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of his friends, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, that God would judge him in the last day, &c. Then the priest: "Judge God," saith he, "or devil; the body shall not come there." And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine of the parish of Whitechurch, was burned in Haverfordwest, Sir John Ygone being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of King Henry the Eighth: whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocess of Coventry and Lichfield.

The martyrdom of William Wolsey, and Robert Pygot, painter.

After the suffering of Master Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed martyrs, which were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxton, his suffragan, Robert Steward, dean of Ely, John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October the ninth, A. D. 1555; the names of which martyrs were

William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach, which William Wolsey being a constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the town of Wells, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed for those days, who extremely handled the same William Wolsey, and bound him to the good abearing, causing him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions holden within the isle of Ely: and so the said Wolsey, being despatched of his office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling-place, coming to dwell in the town of Wisbeach. Then being called again at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at the length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the jail at the assizes holden at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter week following, there repaired to confer with him, Dr. Fuller the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Young, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such a layman as he was to do. The said William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise: "Good Master Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, written in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites, for ye shat up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in."

"Yea," saith Dr. Fuller, "you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and Pharisees."

"Nay, Master Doctor," saith Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be."

"Away, Master Doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man." "Yet," saith Dr. Fuller, "I will leave thee a book to read, I promise thee, of a learned man's doing;" that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing, who was then bishop of Lincoln.

Wolsey, receiving the same book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifestly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At the length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller, resorting again to the prison-house to confer with the said Wolsey, did ask him how he did like the said book (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same): who answered him and said, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it."

Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the book rased with a pen by the said Wolsey. The which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, "Oh! this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes holden at Wisbeach drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolsey, and speaketh unto him on this manner: "Thou dost much trouble my conscience; wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee; and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

"Master Doctor," quoth Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law; and by a law I will be delivered."

Then, being brought to the sessions before named, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, thinking to him and all his friends, that he should have suffered there at that present time; but it proved nothing so.

Then Robert Pygot the painter, being at liberty, was there presented by some evil-disposed persons (sworn men, as they called them) for not coming to the church.

The said Pygot being called in the sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before Sir Clement Higham, being judge, who said unto him; "Ah! are you the holy father the painter? How chance ye came not to the church?" "Sir," quoth the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

"No, sir," said the judge: "this is no church; this is a hall." "Yea, sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God."

"Ah, sirrah!" said the judge, "you are too high learned for me to talk withal; wherefore I will send you to them that be better learned than I;" straightways commanding him to the jail where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being broken up and ended, the said Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

In the mean time certain of their neighbours of Wisbeach aforesaid, being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came thither also a chaplain of Bishop Goodrike's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said unto the said Wolsey and Pygot, "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner

here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you. I promise you, not to pull you from your faith; but I both require and desire in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word; and I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus, with many other like words, he made an end, causing all that were there present to water their checks, contrary to the hope they all had in him; God be praised therefore.

Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the ninth day of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ were not present really in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereupon they would stand. Then said the doctors, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, "Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man."

"Ah," said Wolsey, "are you become a new man? Woe be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee."

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, "This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent, (as far as I perceive,) and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any evil opinion I find in him."

Then Christopherson called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following: "I, Robert Pygot, do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the self-same that was born of the Virgin Mary;" and reading it to the painter he said thus, "Dost thou believe all this according as it is written?"

"No, sir," said the painter, "that is your faith, and not mine."

Christopherson.—"Lo, Master Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go; he is as much a

heretic as the other." And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die: which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to the prison, where they did lie till the day of their death. At which day, one Peacock, bachelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chapter v., of one that had lived inordinately, by abusing his father's wife; likening the said Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, oftentimes saying, that such members must be cut off from the congregation; most maliciously reporting the said Wolsey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the Scripture.

So, his sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolsey being brought to the place of execution, and so bound to the stake with a chain, thither cometh one Sir Richard Collinson, a priest, at that time destitute of any biding-place or stay of benefice, who said unto Wolsey, "Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the Holy Scripture: wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do err or find fault."

Wolsey.—"I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the Holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians, to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report by me, God forgive them there-for." With that cometh one to the fire with a great sheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. "Oh," said Wolsey, "give me one of them;" and Pygot desired another; both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying Psalm cvi., desiring all the people to say Amen; and so received the fire most thankfully. The witnesses and informers hereof, were, Robert Scottred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Best, &c.

Concerning the story of William Wolsey, I received moreover, from the university of Cambridge, by a credible person and my faithful friend, William Fulke, this relation, which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the reader, in order and form as followeth.

"There were burned at Ely two godly martyrs, the one called Wolsey, the other Pygot. In these two appeared divers opinions of one spirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his persecutors, if they

could persuade him by the Scripture. The other (Wolsey) was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having *πληροφορίαν* of the Spirit, and detested all their doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world; and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderful sore tormented in the prison with the toothache, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

"This Wolsey being in prison at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hodilo, beer-brewer in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed, as he appointed, part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six shillings eight pence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, smith, dwelling at Wellney in Cambridgeshire, within the jurisdiction of the isle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him [Wolsey] the book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth; desiring him to make haste after, as fast as he could.

"This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of money to one Master Laurence, preacher in Essex, (which then resorted often to his house,) to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings eight pence was delivered to Richard Denton with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this: 'I confess it is true, but alas I cannot burn.' This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cause of Christ, was afterward burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tuesday, being the eighteenth of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life, with two others that were in the same house.

"Witnessed by

Thomas Hodilo and William Fulke."

Not much unlike to this, was also the example of Master West, chaplain to Bishop Ridley, who, refusing to die in Christ's cause with his master, said mass against his conscience, and soon after died.

Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, both bishops, preachers, and martyrs of Christ; with their doings, conferences, and sufferings described.



HE same year, month, and day, which the fore-said two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely, which was A. D. 1555, October sixteenth,

followed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, Master Ridley, bishop of London, and Master Hugh Latimer, bishop sometime of Worcester, of whose famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can witness sufficiently; so it needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only to comprehend briefly, in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serveth to the due instruction of the reader, and maketh to the use of this present history, in declaring first their beginning and bringing up; then their studies and acts in the university; their preferments also by their studies to higher dignity; at last their trouble and travail in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of Master Ridley, whose story here ensueth.

Among many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred, for the true gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr. Ridley, I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beseeching thee (gentle reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire, who, being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the

university of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who, at his return, was made chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and so from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London, in King Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he so travailed and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocess. Every holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business; to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life, (declining from all evil desires and concupiscences,) that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Now will I speak something further, particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very

kind and natural to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that they, doing evil, should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him; and they to be his brother and sister, which used honesty, and a godly trade of life.

He, using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation; for duly every morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there, upon his knees, prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study, if there came no other business to interrupt him, where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts, talking, or playing at the chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read, a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially Acts xiii., reading also unto his household oftentimes Psalm ci., being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr.

Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr. Bonner. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, "Go for my mother Bonner;" who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, as divers times they were, "By your Lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said Dr. Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shippside her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side, Bishop Bonner, being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of Bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother Bishop Ridley, but also curiously, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had.

And yet, being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid Shippside, saying, that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, then the bishop of Worcester.

Hereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the disposition of these two natures; whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and spiteful disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treatises, it may appear that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of

Bertram's Book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with Bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm in that behalf: who now, by the grace of God, being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of King Edward,) and so long did much good, while authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the church, and proceedings of the gospel. But after that it so pleased the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of that stay, and call from us King Edward, that precious prince, as the whole state of the Church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies' hand; so this Bishop Ridley, after the coming in of Queen Mary, eftsoon, and with the first, was laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed: first in the Tower, then after, translated from thence with the archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer to Oxford, was with them enclosed in the common gaol and prison of Bocardo, while at length, being diservered from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till the year 1555, and sixteenth day of October.

Furthermore, as touching his disputations and conflicts had at Oxford, and also of his determination had at Cambridge, also his travails in persuading and instructing the Lady Mary before she was queen, his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board, enough hath been said already. Beside this, other conferences he had in prison both with Dr. Cranmer and Master Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

A conference had betwixt Master Ridley and Master Latimer in prison, upon the objection of Antonian; meaning, by that name, some popish persecutor—as Winchester: alluding thereby to the History of Victor, Book III. on African Persecutions.

Ridley.—“In writing again ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day; for I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach; for surely except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his

service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.—Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephe with his warriors shall assault me; wherefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephe's or Antonius' soldiers.”

Antonian.—“All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea, of the queen herself.”

Ridley.—“Because no man that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the self-same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is, that the truth of the gospel might remain with us uncorrupt. And again, If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser. This is also another cause: lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-stock unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh! it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea.”

Latimer.—“Except the Lord help me, ye say. Truth it is: for without me, saith he, ye can do nothing; much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by travailling thus with me: you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge.”

Antonian.—“What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? and from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say mass yourself?”

Ridley.—“I confess unto you my fault and ig-

norance ; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence : for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear, what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word, and they be these : the strange tongue ; the want of the showing of the Lord's death ; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion ; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord ; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified ; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins : to be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same."

Latimer.—"Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much ; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying. though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given : for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say : We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Be ye stedfast and unmovable, saith St. Paul : and again, *Persistite*, Stand fast : and how oft is this repeated. If ye abide, if ye abide, &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not ? so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men."

Antonian.—"But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatian, and of the heretics called Catharists, that they would not communicate with the church."

Ridley.—"I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft-frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably de-
cluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause

they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but, turning away their eyes from themselves, where-with according to St. Paul's rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they always reproved something for the which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing."

Latimer.—"I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort, with this saying of Hilary ; 'The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair ; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's ?' I would you had that little book ; there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, joineth strait withal, according to Jesus Christ—no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. 'Yea, sir,' quoth I, 'but in verity, not in popery. Better is diversity, than a unity in popery.' I had nothing again but scornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower."

Antonian.—"But admit there be in the mass, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better ; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault : if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain ? do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds ?"

Ridley.—"If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same,) yet, for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But, forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them ; and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves or upon the church instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel."

Latimer.—"The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal : so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For, if you take

away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For, if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them, as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass: from thence groweth the grief."

Antonian.—"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity: without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough, He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover, Without the church, saith St. Augustine, be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."

Ridley.—"The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the Creed; this church I do reverence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon Israel which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: the sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that the church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. 'In times past,' saith Chrysostom, 'there were many ways to know the church of Christ; that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the Scriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.' And in the end concluded, 'Wherefore only

by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church.' To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we, being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed; for we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented."

Latimer.—"Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clancular mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the queen's proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thyself from them that are such, saith St. Paul. From whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other doctrine, &c., he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations: but wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses: 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing; for they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ."

Antonian.—"That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, *Dic ecclesia*, i. e. Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church if a man cannot tell which it is."

Ridley.—"The church which I have described

is visible, it hath members which may be seen ; and also I have afore declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the true church ; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet, in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness : Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps."

Antonian.—"The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world ; this church is the great house of God ; in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff ; it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes : this church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it ; that he will be with it unto the end of the world ; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth ; this is it for the which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. 'Therefore, &c.'"

Ridley.—"I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But, as St. Paul saith of the Jew, Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c., neither yet all that be of Israel, are counted the seed ; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the Head, standeth only of living stones, and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But, forasmuch as this church, (which is the second taking of the church,) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same, outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church, (which St. Augustine calleth the mingled church,) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church : so that the rule of Tichonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place ; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof ; that is, either for

the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed ; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church ; of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the Scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such time as the people would have stoned him) ; of Elias, of Jeremy ; in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles ; in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, what Lyra writeth upon Matthew ; 'The church,' saith he, 'doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God.' Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. 'Evil men' (as it is in a gloss of the Decrees) 'are in the church in name, and not in deed.' And St. Augustine, contra Cresconium Grammaticum, saith, 'Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it ; which church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness.' All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books ; wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God : for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know, with Paul, Christ and him crucified. 'The Lord grant

me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c., make me ever to forget that. Amen, amen."

Latimer.—"I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine, 'I would not believe the gospel,' &c., was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon; but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect; 'The church is not a judge, but a witness.' There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency; in the which after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first Christ ruleth; in the latter the devil beareth the swinge—and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter shall our Six Articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men, or no? St. Paul saith, The Lord knoweth them that are his. What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we knew, as well as he, who are his? Well, thus is the text: The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England which depart from iniquity? how many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy? how many of the rich men, or merchants? how many of the queen's councillors? yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small a room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine

own, well grounded, (as they say,) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way."

Antonian.—"General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used: therefore, &c."

Ridley.—"Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whosoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then, undoubtedly, councils, gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and Belial; so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, (that is, in spirit and truth,) can never agree together. But ye will say, Where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices,) what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better."

Latimer.—"As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say, than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have there seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the Six Articles; for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterwards the more part did repel the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same Articles now again, alas! another great but worse part hath restored. Oh, what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of

mind? Therefore is death the best physician but unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted."

Antonian.—"If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude, (I mean of them which ought to give voices,) then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined: but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard."

Ridley.—"Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his spouse the church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments; and further, not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he willeth his church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also at the Gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in the which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his word written: so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? saith Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, Search the Scriptures. I remember a like thing well spoken of Jerome: 'Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors.' And in another place, as I remember, in the same author: 'The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life.' But now methinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to show, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the Holy Scripture is of force

to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. Whatsoever things are written, saith Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God."

Latimer.—"There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer: neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But, in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this saying oft in their mouths: 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And 'it is the property of a wise man,' saith one, 'to dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.' In which sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things: seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kind of speeches mean: I speak after the manner of men; Ye walk after the manner of men; All men are liars: and that of St. Augustine, 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.'"

Antonian.—"If ye say, that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? for that councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church."

Ridley.—"From 'may be,' to 'be indeed,' is no good argument; but from 'being,' to 'may be,' no

man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometime erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the east parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council; and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name, (as they thought,) 'Homousians.' Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much mislike! But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now, seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many. 'Who knoweth not,' saith he, 'that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when by some experience of things either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known.' Thus much out of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called the Bishop's Book, made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err. But methinketh I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, 'These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics.' I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? 'Because,' saith

he, 'they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion.' The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right so to be called. But, if it be so that all councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godliness, forasmuch as the mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God; forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such councils, as have approved such masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth.

"Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, 'without which neither can the councils,' saith he, 'be lawfully gathered, neither, being gathered, determine any thing concerning religion.' But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expulsed and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth, *De utraque potestate*, (that is, of both the powers,) doth clearly show. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevis, in the which St. Augustine was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea."

Antonian.—"St. Augustine saith, 'the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good.' Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be evil."

Ridley.—"I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife shall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake: there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places; that is,—if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."

Antonian.—"It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is contrary! But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ,

and of the apostles, is clean contrary: therefore, &c. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus: In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; Paul, after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can show, that either the prophets, or Christ and his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' law."

Ridley.—"I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles; yet, notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved: for ye ought to have proved that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be showed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews, (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*,) although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and the bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit. Of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the

man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy? which plagues king Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill-altars? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word; for what was so much as that was, wherefore the false prophets ceased not to malign the true prophets of God? Therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c. How else, I pray you, can you understand that St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, (saith the Lord,) and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea, and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we do praise, saith St. Augustine, the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the laws of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, &c. But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully."

Latimer.—"Who am I that I should add any thing to this which you have so well spoken? Nay, I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be a helper unto me in time of need."

Antonian.—"Seeing you are so obstinately set

against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, (I cannot tell what,) therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ, I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism, also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me, how were you baptized? or whether will ye, (as the Anabaptists do,) that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?"

Ridley.—"Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue for the people's sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet, notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's supper is, and ought to be, given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's supper; of the which there is sufficient declaration made before."

Latimer.—"Where you say, 'I would wish,' surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, It is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue."

Antonian.—"Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately, bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means, can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which, in like cases, was wont to be the only

remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons, that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

Ridley.—"O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen."

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he, which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, 'He that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law.' But these things ought to take place against him which refuseth to do that is right and just according to true godliness, not against him, which cannot quietly bear superstitions and the overthrow of Christ's institutions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God."

"To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken: for a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as be not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever love their country in truth, (that is to say, in God,) they will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man be then contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than

man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the stay only of their country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c.

“‘But this is the readiest way,’ ye say, ‘to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth: therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws.’ Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers: for so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, Art thou he that troubleth Israel? The false prophets, also, complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? did they not, at the last, cry, If you let this man go, ye are not Cæsar’s friend? The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high deputy? We have found this man, saith he, a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world, &c. But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you, but because they reprov’d before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation do well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, which professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince; but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God,

doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and a helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the prince what is the prince’s, and to God what is God’s. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: ‘Set him,’ saith he, ‘in the bishop’s seat, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.’ Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, &c., he answered with a mild spirit, ‘We are taught,’ saith he, ‘to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God: but such honour as is not contrary to God’s religion.’”

“Hitherunto ye see, good father, how I have in words only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to be in use with armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tynedale where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hand, (you call them northern-gads,) especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their country. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers’ sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith, and Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed? ever looking when our adversary, which like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour, shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore: for if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief should come he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Resist the devil, saith St. James, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully; and taking the cross upon our shoulders,

let us follow our Captain, Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever; Amen, Amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, methinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetic countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words: 'Trust not, my son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and beloved of you): trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speak: for it shall be given you even in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind, may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of a horse, &c.: but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy. I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, through his gracious aid, being not overcome, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

"Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now: blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing,

I think, to join with you, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper, I give you good leave."

Latimer.—"Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armour, but also well-buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confusion in memory; and if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when and where occasion were given, and matter came to mind: for the law shall be their sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy, (namely now, when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roost,) but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, good my Lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal: neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them; when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; else ye know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies: you know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true: therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton, (as many men thought,) after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled: if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency, is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, 'Peace, all things are safe,' when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread: but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort yourselves one another with these words.

"Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me; pray for me, I say; pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their racking, writing, wringing, and monstrously injuring of God's Holy Scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law: but I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be you stedfast and unmovable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel; and again, Harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life, saith the Lord."

THE LETTERS OF THE REVEREND BISHOP AND
MARTYR, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

A letter sent from Bishop Ridley and his prison-fellows, unto Master Bradford and his prison-fellows, in the King's Bench in Southwark, anno 1554.

"Well-beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all, with one heart, wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly-beloved companions which are

in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren, and of their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was to us all to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c., I assure you, it is hard for me to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity.

"As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and therefore, with God's grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than ye say ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by God's grace, continue, &c. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumours is or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you, and all the rest of our foresaid companions, well in Christ.

"It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of Master Hooper's matter; but of the rest never a deal. We long to hear of Father Crome, Dr. Sands, Master Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our entreating doth change as sour ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiff's servant sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as Master Bailiffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumour in the town and country about, that we should have broken the prison with such violence, as that, if Master Bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made a scape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields; but now both they and we are restrained of both.

"My Lord of Worcester passed by through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the

mayor's commandment, as the bailiffs did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us: afore, they might, that would see us upon the wall; but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, &c. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merry in God; all our cure and care is and shall be (by God's grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, nor any scholar, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of *Quondams*. For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good, and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall, by God's grace, one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come; for, before that day come, I fear me the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown, and trodden under foot; righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that love truly the truth.

"We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as ye know did visit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkinson and Mistress Warcup have not forgotten us, but, ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lack (for God be blessed, he ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us); but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.

"Yours in Christ,

NICH. RIDLEY."

A letter of Ridley, sent to a cousin of his.

"God's Holy Spirit be with you now and ever; Amen.—When I call to remembrance, beloved consin, the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and are assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pitiful, (without speedy repentance,) that I

tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but only lamenting the state of those, whom I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instruction. But alas! instead thereof we have persuasions to follow (I lament to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts; Amen. Commend me, &c.

"Yours,

NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

A worthy letter of Ridley to Master Bradford.

"Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner, and his cross, against our ghostly enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan, methinketh I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his gospel, and his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts, and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this Satanical synagogue. These two, sir, are they, in my judgment: the one, his false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two, Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by these two he driveth down mightily (alas, I fear me) the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonous rotten posts he had so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect God. Wherefore John saith, not without great cause, If any know not Satan's subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withal.

"Sir, because these be his principal and main posts, whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little, God knoweth, that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease

to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford! let the wicked surmise and say what they list; know you for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's gospel's cause, against and upon the aforesaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother; and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord.—From Bocardo.

"Yours in Christ,
NICH. RIDLEY."

Another letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford, and other his prison-fellows, anno 1555.

"Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace.

"According to your mind, I have run over all your papers, and what I have done (which is but small) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much ado to read that was written in your great leaves, and I ween some where I have altered some words, because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall be best done with these things, now ye must consider; for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father, and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it; for as you have been partner of the work, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Dr. Taylor, not for my earthly country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, and for Christ's sake, whom, I heard say, he did so stoutly in time of peril confess, and yet also for our country's sake, and for all our mother's sake; but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in our company, such blessed fruits of boldness in the Lord's cause, of patience and constancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all,

perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come; Amen.

"As yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleased will and pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands: except, I say, it please our Father, it please our Master, Christ, to suffer them, they shall not stir one hair of your heads.

"My brother Punt (the bearer hereof, and Master Hooper's letters) would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind; that is, not to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent judges. We are, as ye know, separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the bailiffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongst us: and yet, as we hear, the scholars bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause.

"Now as concerning your demand of our counsel, for my part I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are minded to do; for I look for none other. But, if ye answer afore the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I think, that occasion afterwards may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise.

"Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able; but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This letter must be common to you and Master Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow, good Father Crome, I bless God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our Master, Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable service, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy, and all manner of true godliness. But what shall I need to say to you? Let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although, I said, the bailiffs and our hostess straitly watch us, that we

have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us instead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you all: Amen, Amen.

"As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money, and shirts, not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

"And yet I pray you do so much as to show them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do; for I know they be of Master Hooper's and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crazed; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

"NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

Another letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford.

"O dear brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling: Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

"O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom, where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives. Oh! what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and which shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall

understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

"We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother! blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

"Your brother in Christ, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

"Brother, farewell."

To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons: but knit together, in unity of spirit and holy religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.

"Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren; namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who, notwithstanding the rage of Satan that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; ye remain yet still unmovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan, by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh even the very stars out of heaven, whiles he driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and sheweth and offereth to others the pleasant baits of the world, namely, riches, wealth, and all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication; yet blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in

the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can condemn as well all the terrors, as also the vain flatterings and allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought: who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so stedfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

"In this faith stand ye fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived: such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth unto us that, for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened. In the mean season, abide ye and endure with patience as ye have begun: 'Endure,' I say, 'and reserve yourselves unto better times,' as one of the heathen poets said; cease not to show yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailling faith of the gospel.

"Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promises, for yet a very little, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry: and the just shall live by faith; but if any withdraw himself my soul shall have no pleasure in him, saith the Lord. But we are not they which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul. Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Fear not them which kill the body; the rest ye know: for I write not unto you as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth; and to this end only, that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to condemn our life, or shed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a

more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, either can we, receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. This is life eternal, saith St. John, that they know thee to be the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ. If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

"Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be ye not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your Captain, Christ; trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God there-for) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written, until of late years past.

"Let us be hearty, and of good courage therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when ye are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed there-for: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.

“On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified: for what can they else do unto you, by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing that while, for Christ's cause, they vex and persecute us, they are like mad-men, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they, acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us, confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in Spirit and verity: Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ: Amen.

“Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.”

A letter of Bishop Ridley, wherein he confirmeth the brethren in captivity; translated out of the Latin.

“To the brethren which constantly cleave unto Christ, in suffering affliction with him and for his sake.

“Grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you: Amen.

“Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this present any news to send to you; yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby ye might understand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Christ's cause, ye have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by

deed and by your example, to stablish and confirm that thing, which when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine; that is to say, holding fast the word of life, ye shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and profit of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth and busily laboureth to darken the light of the gospel.

“And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardness, of the godly, and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

“Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath ingrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another; whereby also, being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us; whereby moreover he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body hath given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies: those, I say, were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language, so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the people redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

“Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are ac-

according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together: but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute beast?

"Finally, I hear say, that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. O devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth; now he rageth. But what else do they, brethren, which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the gospel: Woe unto you which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them! you yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter to come in.

"And from whence shall we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit? Now, even now, out of doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

"Ye therefore, my brethren, which pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads; that is to wit, are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us is stronger than he which is in the world, and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the world; and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all, who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death

for us all; and therefore how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who then shall condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather, which is risen again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? The rest ye know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore: Amen."

A letter of Bishop Ridley, answering to a certain letter of one Muster West, sometime his chaplain.

"I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded, that this world is but transitory, and, as St. John saith, The world passeth away, and the lust thereof. I am persuaded Christ's words to be true, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: and I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should let me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed sir, now it is time so to do; for, so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the loss both of body and soul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to

awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws. You say, you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

"You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so I assure you I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest, as you say, yet in the margin you write 'warily,' and in this world 'wisely;' and yet methought all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

"To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me: for this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methinks I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mer-

cies is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house; which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power (but alas, now, when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away): this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

"This conscience doth move me also now to require both you, and my friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting-forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other, (I exhort you as my friends,) but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both, in God's name, Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St. John is true, All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth as is now, alas! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said, Christ yesterday and to-day; the same is also for ever.

"When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that the Common Prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you I never found man, (so far as I do remember,) neither old nor young, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? for what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse: for he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his word.

"I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, so long as I live! And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore, bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord, (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God,) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either, for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostata, indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all, my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say; for this may be the last time, peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

"From Bocardo in Oxford the eighth day of April, 1555."



aster Grindal, now archbishop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the city of Frankfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley, then prisoner, a certain epistle,

wherein, first, he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant: secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the magistrates and rulers there towards them: thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certain other treatises and his disputations; whereunto Bishop Ridley answereth again in order, as followeth:

An answer of Bishop Ridley to Master Grindal's letter sent from Frankfort.

"Blessed be God our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

"Dearly-beloved brother Grindal, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my reverend fathers and concaptives, (which undoubtedly are the glory of Christ,) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father, for his boundless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth cease to multiply his mercies, to strengthen us; and I trust, yea, by his grace I doubt nothing but he will so do for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Zurich, Frankfort, and elsewhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here, that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I assure you, it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory, and Cox, &c. Oh!

that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but, I trust in God, they be all well. And sir, seeing you say, that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now, therefore, care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us: for whensoever God shall call us home, (as we look daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, come,) you, blessed be God! are enough, through his aid, to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies, ye say, ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except ye have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

"As for the treatise in English, 'Contra Transubstantiationem,' vix possum adduci ut credam operæ-pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid sit, nullo modo velim ut quidquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus, constituerit fieri, vobis prius certo constiterit; and thus much unto your letters. Now, although I suppose you know a good part of our state here, (for we are forthcoming, even as when ye departed, &c.,) you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close prisoner, and, after that, had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year; and then, because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in prison again.

"The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, Master Bradford, and I, were put all together in one prison, where we remained till almost the next Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, Master Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following, were our disputations at Oxford, after the which all was taken from us, as pen, ink, &c. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

"Blessed be God, we three, at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched, for we were all three on one day, (within

a day or two of our disputations,) of Dr. Weston, being the head commissioner, condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I do not doubt but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord! Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preserved above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered to the secular power, and writs, as we have heard say, given out for his execution, and called in again.

"Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea, not for the fear or pains of death. The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these: Ferrar the bishop of St. David's, Hooper the bishop of Worcester, Rogers, (thus olim comprehendarius,) Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Master Saunders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now, this last day, Master Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

"West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, alas, hath relented, as I have heard; but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon after he died, and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he escaped not without some becking or bowing, alas, of his knee unto Baal.

"My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull-head in Cheap, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.

"Of all us three concaptives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty, vel quia viro, in cujus ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit prefectus civitatis)—mulier vetula, morosa, et supersticiosissima, quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori verò plusquam obsequens. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidianâ consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere,

quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum malâ muliere in conjugio collocari. Rectè ergo sapiens dixit, Uxor bona donum Dei; et iterum, Mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia à magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum: idque illi, si quando de meâ nimîâ servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

“At Cambridge (as I hear say) omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum Præfecti qui sinceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt; et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod et de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam idem passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero: and to tell you much naughty matter in few words, papismum apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

“The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, alas, we did not serve him nor render unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold, and bare too much, alas, with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same. The people in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways which so wholly have displeased his sacred Majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

“My daily prayer is, (as God doth know,) and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you, my dear brethren, that are fled out of your own country, because you will rather forsake all worldly things than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God, for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting-forth of his glory and of his gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same;

that there arise no root of bitterness among you that may infect that good seed which God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally, that your life may be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake; and so, both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven. N. R.”

To Augustine Bernher.

“Brother Augustine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Christ, specially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battle against his adversaries, and hath endued them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospel's sake, to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father, for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord, I perceive, calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he, for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously, hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey; that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the highway, *et sic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium*. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr, Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher of London. And now, because Grindal is gone, (the Lord, I doubt not, hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him,) I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church, to suffer for Christ whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper, I was constrained thus to write.”

Besides these letters of Bishop Ridley, divers

other tractations also were written by him, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely, among certain others, there remain in my hands certain notes answering to the two notable sermons of Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, &c.

Here beginneth the life, acts, and doings of Master Hugh Latimer, the famous preacher and worthy martyr of Christ and his gospel.



ow consequently after the life of Bishop Ridley, with other his letters, which partly we have expressed, and partly we have deferred to our latter Appendix, follow likewise

the life and doings of the worthy champion and old practised soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer; of whose acts and long travails even from his first years and tender age, to begin here to entreat, first, he was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years, or thereabout; at which time his parents, (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters,) seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years he was sent to the university of Cambridge; where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water: and moreover that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar; with divers such superstitious fantasies. And in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as both his oration made, when he proceeded bachelor of divinity, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other works, did plainly declare. But especially his popish zeal could in no case abide in those days good Master Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge; most spitefully railing against him, and

willing the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the professor of the gospel and true church of Christ, he was at length himself, by a member of the same prettily caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Master Thomas Bilney, (whose story is before described,) being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Master Latimer to have a zeal in his ways, (although without knowledge,) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might best win this zealous ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Master Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the school-doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with Master Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the Paternoster, doth confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Master Bilney and others, and came also to Master Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor, to the rest of his brethren within the university, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom to begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his impious imps to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that Master Latimer made about Christmas 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the university of Cambridge, to envy against him, for that Master Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the fifth,

sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the chief trump in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better learn their duties as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas day: on which day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day; *Tu quis es?* &c. In delivering the which cards (as is above said) he made the heart to be trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best coat card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c.; meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c.; so that all these either were needless, where the other is present, or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

The tenor and effect of certain sermons made by Hugh Latimer in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1529.

"Who art thou? These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because

they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not; wherefore they said unto him, Who art thou? Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

"Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ; and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo. By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, Who art thou? shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

"Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, Who art thou? This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, 'What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of, by thyself?' Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise: I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell; except I have better help of another, than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthriftly state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following:

“Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's Grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of a simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's Grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasy: and, for because the king's Grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

“This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will but be content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms; and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alone by the negligence of this captain.

“Now the king's Grace, hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puiſſance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he, being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds of possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly: the said captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So, likewise, it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given alone unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, Paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, i. e. the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so he brake

his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

“Now then the King, seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for, likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again, we lost the same.

“The heirs of the captain of Calais, could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father, in the thousand pounds of possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice. Let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in Paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! for he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in Paradise, into this corrupt world amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, inasmuch that this evil nature is so diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our forefather Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves

the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, Who art thou?

"And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven, perceiving the frail nature of man, that he, by himself and of himself, could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so, at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind; and so left behind for our safeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelies, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, Who art thou? than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be thy answer of this question, Who art thou?

"The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned; which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a Christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule: for likewise as he is a good Au-

gustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good Christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

"Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas: I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And whereas you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend, by God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the trump, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; inso-much that there is no man that is willing to play at this trump with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

"Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the trump; you must mark also that the trump must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then, take ye this first card, which must appear and be showed unto you as followeth: you have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you of the new law, saith Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

"Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms, how they be spoken, and to what purpose; let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

"Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect all these four parts be but one com-

mandment, that is to say, Thou shalt not kill. Yet nevertheless, the last three parts do show unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet, for all Christ's exposition, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt, the Jews understood Christ well enough, when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue. Wherefore, seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we, in like manner, may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin, first, with the first part of this card, and then, after, with the other three parts: you must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, Thou shalt not kill, was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge, not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon; and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbours, so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

"Now, as touching the three other sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences: to be angry with your neighbour; to call your neighbour 'brainless,' or any such word of disdain; or to call your neighbour 'fool.' Whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly, one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother ire or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

"Now, to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour 'brainless,' or some other like word of displeasure—as a man might say in a fury, 'I shall handle thee well enough,' which words and countenances do more represent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that

was but angry, and spake no manner of word nor showed any countenance to declare his ire. Wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth that in him is, to kill his neighbour's soul in moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himself; and so this man is in danger of council.

"Now to the third offence, and last of these three: That man that calleth his neighbour 'fool,' doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that calleth his neighbour but 'brainless,' or any such words moving ire: for to call a man 'fool,' that word representeth more envy in a man, than 'brainless' doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you may understand now these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other.

"Now peradventure there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man 'brainless,' and to call his neighbour 'fool;' truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names; which offences must needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults, to have three degrees of punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire: these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences. Judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance. Council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour 'brainless,' or any such word, that declareth his ire and malice; wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his

neighbour 'fool,' by reason that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it; that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

"Now you have heard that to these divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees; for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain shall be according: if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think, because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell. No doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient, enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with another. Yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms of judgment, council, and hell-fire. Whereas you might say, What was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them: these terms were natural and well-known amongst the Jews and the Pharisees; wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine. And these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of enquirance, the sessions of deliverance, and the execution-day. Sessions of enquirance is like unto judgment; for when sessions of enquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance, the judges go among themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon: execution-day is to be compared unto hell-fire, for the Jews had amongst themselves a place of execution, named 'hell-fire;' and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms.

"These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine, to thrust down these Turks and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bond and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards, who shall have the better. Let us play therefore on this fashion with this card.

Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, 'Who art thou?' The answer is, 'I am a Christian man.' Then further we must say to ourselves, 'What requireth Christ of a Christian man?' Now turn up your trump, your heart, (hearts is trump, as I said before,) and cast your trump, your heart, on this card; and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a Christian man, not to be angry, ne moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome him by true and lawful play. But, alas for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by these false Turks, the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

"The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that Christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed; which murder and killing one of another is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example, as thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of the father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames: if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants, and apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them; and so this way is a great number of Christian lineage murdered and spoiled.

"The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain; which is on this fashion: Although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well-disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces,

and do not use due correction according unto their offences. The master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the other, of his faculty, doth admit him; or that he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay, if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering them.

"Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend. Every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teaching according to it, rebuking and punishing vice; not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God. You ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness: if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof. And so you may perceive that there be many a one that breaketh this card, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and playeth therewith oftentime, at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers. But who be those, now-a-days, that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own children unto their damnation; unless the great mercy of God were ready to help them when they repent there-for.

"Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalene; and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven; as appeareth by this example following:

"Christ when he was in this world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon; this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner. Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner, named Mary Magdalene. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she con-

ceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee, seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, 'If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him.' Christ, understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said unto him, 'Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee.' 'Say what you please,' quod the Pharisee. Then said Christ, 'I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both: which of these two debtors ought to love this man most?' The Pharisee said, 'That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him.' 'Likewise,' said Christ, 'it is by this woman; she hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her; she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me. And thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins: therefore, because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven.' So this proud Pharisee had an answer to delay his pride. And think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk, and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalene, their poor neighbour, with a high, disdainous, and solemn countenance. And being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalene under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that those Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

"I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalene. I doubt not but we be all Magdalenes in falling into sin, and in offending: but we be not again Magdalenes in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalenes, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, 'Who art thou?' to the which we might answer, that we be true Christian men and women: and then, I say, you should understand, and know how you ought to

play at this card, Thou shalt not kill, without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks; and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory: Amen."

It would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men-at-arms.

First came out the prior of the Black Friars, called Buckenham, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*, who thinking to make a great hand against Master Latimer, about the same time of Christmas, when Master Latimer brought forth his cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quatre*; meaning by the *cinque*, five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the *quatre*; by which his *cinque quatre*, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example, the ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God, might peradventure, hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he heareth that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These with others more this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Master Latimer, hearing this friarly sermon of Dr. Buckenham, cometh again in the afternoon, or shortly after, to the church, to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham, the foresaid friar, prior of the Black Friars, with his Black-friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Then Master Latimer, first repeating the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckenham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the friar; so answered to his objections; so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back,

and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear; well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least this requiring, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that neither the ploughman durst look back, nor the baker should leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the Scripture: which phrases, he said, were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonly used and known: "and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech," saith he, "hath its metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls and in houses."

As for example, (saith he, looking toward the friar that sat over against him,) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation, lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, Friar Buckenham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against Master Latimer.

Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a Grey Friar and a doctor, an outlandish man, called Dr. Venetus, who likewise, in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against Master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the people not to believe him, &c. To whom Master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, Thou shalt not kill, &c. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, (or any other like words of rebuking, as *brainless*.) shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the life of our neighbour: with heart, when we be angry with him: with word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitely revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any opprobrious and unseemly thing,

whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (said he) or brainless, or such like, which are guilty of council: words of spite or reviling are, when we call him fool; which Christ saith is guilty of hell-fire, &c.

Thus Master Latimer, in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christ's words and the explaining of the same he had sufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wisdom; out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this world commonly are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of God's word, which count them here as mad-men, fools, brainless, and drunken: "so did they," said he, "in the Scripture call them which most purely preached and set forth the glory of God's word. But," said he, "what will be the end of these jolly fellows, or what will they say in the end? 'We mad-men, we mad fools, we, we ourselves,' &c. And that will be their end, except they repent." And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but also clean out of the university.

But what should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching likewise and barking against him? amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's College, whose scholar Latimer had been afore; Dr. Notaries, master of Clare-hall; Dr. Philo, master of Michael's-house; Dr. Metecaffe, master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe of the King's-hall; Dr. Bullock, master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe of Clement's hostel; Dr. Donnes of Jesus College; Dr. Palms, master of St. Nicholas's hostel; and Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelor of divinity, all three of St. John's College: also Brikenden, bachelor of divinity of the same house, and scholar sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were heads there of houses, so many impugnors did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Master Latimer at Barnwell Abbey, forbade him, within the churches of that university, to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Master Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the church by, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being upon Christmas even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and were com-

menced against him by Master Tyrell, fellow of the King's-hall, and so by the vice-chancellor presented to the cardinal, as in his story before hath been declared.

This Master Latimer, as you have heard, being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding and mangre the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the space of three years together, with such favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself, coming in and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same. So Master Latimer, with Master Bilney, after this, continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he with the said Bilney used much to confer and company together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretics'-hill. The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of Master Bilney.

In a place of his sermons, Master Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two, and a certain woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembered. The history is this: it so chanced, that after Master Latimer had been acquainted with the foresaid Master Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and stedfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus: a child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption; which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial: but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced, with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and Master Latimer, by earnest inquisition of conscience, thought the woman not guilty. Then, immediately after, was he called to preach before King Henry the Eighth at Windsor, where,

after his sermon, the king's Majesty sent for him, | Master Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, and talked with him familiarly. At which time | opened his whole matter to the king, and begged



her pardon; which the king most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was Master Latimer, Mistress Cheke godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and Master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her; unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Then Master Bilney, being with Master Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and how women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, &c. So thus they travailed with this woman, till they brought her to a good trade; and then at length showed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act among many others at this time happened in Cambridge by Master Latimer and Master Bilney. But this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly some are touched be-

fore, such especially as concern Master Bilney, mention whereof is above expressed. But, as it is commonly seen in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withal, in much like sort it happened with Master Latimer; whose towardness the more it began to spring, his virtues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his adversaries began to spurn and kindle against him. Concerning these adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was Dr. Redman, of whom mention is made before in the reign of King Edward; a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well doing, that few poor scholars were in that university, which fared not better by his purse. This Dr. Redman being of no little authority in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of Master Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time, or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by persuasion to revoke the said Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom Master Latimer maketh answer again in few words. The sum and effect of both

their letters, translated out of Latin, here followeth to be seen :

The sum of the epistle written by Dr. Redman to Master Latimer.

"Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesus.—I beseech you heartily, and require most earnestly, even for charity's sake, that you will not stand in your own conceit with a mind so indurate, nor prefer your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men; and that more is, before the whole catholic church; especially considering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authenthical writer. Nay, nay; I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which doth sometimes transform itself into an angel of light.

"Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked spirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for our own salvation. Lay down your stomach, I pray you, and humble your spirit, and suffer not the church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christ's coat-without-seam (as much as lieth in you) should be torn asunder. Consider what the saying of the wise man is, and be obedient thereunto: trust not your own wisdom.—The Lord Jesus Christ," &c.

The sum of Master Latimer's answer to Dr. Redman.

"Reverend Master Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God."

After Master Latimer had thus travailed in preaching and teaching in the university of Cambridge about the space of three years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of certain of the said university, where he was content to subscribe, and grant to such articles as then they propounded unto him, &c.

After that he returned to the university again, where, shortly after, by the means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician, a singular good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the

king's supremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the said Dr. Buts' chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last, being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the king, at the suit of the Lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, was glad thereof, seeking by that means to be rid out of the court, wherewith in no case he could agree; and so, having a grant of the benefice, contrary to the mind of Dr. Buts, he would needs depart and be resident at the same.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocess of Sarum, the name of which town was called West Kington, where this good preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there, in like sort, he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us, Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. It so chanced, that whereas he, preaching upon the blessed Virgin, Christ's mother, (whom we call our Lady,) had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed unto him:

"First, That he should preach against our Lady, for that he reprov'd in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, which so held together upon that blessed Virgin, as though she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole world.

"Item, That he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped.

"Item, That Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer.

"Item, That there was no material fire in hell.

"Item, That there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower."

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his reply and answer to the same, hereafter shall follow (by the Lord's assistance) when we come to his letters.

The chief impugnors and molesters of him, besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson sometime of Cambridge, Master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood; of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him, insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before William

Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, January the twentieth, A. D. 1531.

Against this citation although Master Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithstanding, he was had up to London before Warham the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he, being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching, had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he, not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him to preach and do his duty, writeth to the foresaid archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his duty-doing, and that from no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against; which all may appear by his epistle sent to a certain bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed.

In this epistle, he maketh mention of certain articles or propositions, whereunto he was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copy and effect of those articles, or nude propositions, (as he calleth them,) be these:—

Articles devised by the bishops, for Master Latimer to subscribe unto.

“I believe that there is a purgatory, to purge the souls of the dead after this life.

“That the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living.

“That the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

“That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

“That it is profitable for Christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

“That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious.

“That they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

“That the keys of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they lived wickedly; and are by no means nor at any time committed to laymen.

“That men may merit and deserve at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

“That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again.

“That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the Christians, (except necessity otherwise require,) are to be observed and kept.

“That God in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

“That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

“That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints, should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ, and his saints.

“That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the saints.”

To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by an epistle before written to the bishop, that he durst not consent unto them; where he writeth in these words, “*His ego nudis sententiis subscribere non audeo, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duratura, quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo,*” &c. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel handling of the bishops, it is in doubt. By the words, and the title in Tonstal's Register prefixed before the articles, it may seem that he did subscribe. The words of the Register be these:—

“*Hugo Latimerus, in sacra Theologia Baccalarius in Universitate Cantabrigie, coram Cant. Archiepisc. Johan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaque concione apud Westmon. vocatus, confessus est et recognovit fidem suam sic sentiendi ut sequitur in his artic. 21 die Martii, anno 1531.*”

If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or else abide the bishop's blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed, preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for articles necessary of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this, by the way, is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bi-

shops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used the same time, to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he sheweth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, October the ninth, A. D. 1550: his words be these :—

“I was once,” saith he, “in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed: for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now, at this time, the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney’s end.

“There was amongst the bishops that examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table’s end. Then, amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, ‘I pray you, Master Latimer,’ said one, ‘speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.’ I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it.”

The question to him there and then objected was this: “Whether he thought in his conscience, that he hath been suspected of heresy.” This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger; but God, which alway giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there express.

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own letters hereafter following, may better appear.

An inhibition made to Master Hugh Latimer, that he should not preach within the diocese of London.

“John, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks and learned men, whatsoever they be, throughout our city and diocese of London, health, grace, and benediction, &c. Whereas we, by authority granted us by the law and provincial constitutions in this behalf, of late did inhibit and forbid one Hugh Latimer, a priest, for certain just and lawful causes specially moving us in this behalf, and specially for the pernicious errors already determined by the church in the decrees, and decretals, and provincial constitutions, by the which, through his crafty flattering, and, as it is said, fraudulent and pestiferous kind of preaching, he goeth about to corrupt and infect the people, and to seduce them from the approved and received doctrine of the church, that he should not preach within our city and diocese of London, in places exempt or not exempt, except he were licensed thereunto by special licence, under pain of the law. Nevertheless, as we have heard reported, the said Hugh Latimer, despising and contemning our inhibition, hath rashly presumed to preach the third day of this present month of October, without any licence, within our diocese of London; that is to say, within the precincts of the friars Augustines, to the violating and contempt of the law and our inhibition. Therefore we command you jointly and severally, firmly enjoining and charging you that for the causes before said, again the second time by our authority, you do inhibit and forbid, or cause the said Hugh Latimer peremptorily to be inhibited and forbidden; unto whom, also, by the tenor of these presents we do inhibit and forbid, that he do not presume to take upon him the office of preaching, and to preach within our city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, in places exempt or not exempt, until such time as, according to our just judgment, he have purged himself of his default, and be lawfully restored unto the office of preaching, and have obtained his letters testimonial according to the tenor and form of the canonical sanctions or provincial constitutions, in this behalf lawfully ordained; and that he really exhibit and show the same in what place soever he will hereafter preach, under the pain expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions. Also we command you and every of you, jointly and severally, that you do intimate and signify this inhibition aforesaid to be made and executed by our authority aforesaid, unto all and singular abbots and priors of religious

houses, as well exempt as not exempt, to their presidents or vicegerents, whatsoever they be; and also to all and singular parsons, vicars, priests, the clergy and people, wheresoever they be within our diocese, albeit in places exempt: and specially to the famous man, Friar George Brown, professor of divinity, and prior of the house or convent of the friars Augustines of the city and diocese of London. For the same causes and by the said authority inhibiting all the aforesaid, that they, nor any of them, do not admit the said Hugh Latimer to preach within any of their churches, or within the precinct of any of their houses, or with any of them, under the pain and penalty expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions, until such time as he have purged himself as is before said; and that he do really exhibit unto them his sufficient letters testimonial upon his restitution, as is aforesaid.

"Given under our seal the second day of October, A. D. 1533, and in the third year of our consecration."

This inhibition was executed against the said Hugh Latimer upon a Sunday, the fifth day of October, in the year aforesaid, within the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, of the city of London, by Robert Hains, a learned man, &c. The which inhibition notwithstanding, the said Hugh Latimer preached the third day of October at afternoon, within the precinct of the friars Augustines of the city of London.

Thus have we discoursed, and run over hitherto, the laborious travails, the painful adventures, and dangerous hazards, and manifold plunges, which this true-hearted and holy servant of God suffered among the pope's friends and God's enemies, for the gospel's sake: in which so hard and dangerous straits, and such snares of the bishops, hard had it been for him and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, as he stirred him up, so have preserved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement partly of Dr. Buts, partly of good Cromwell, (whose story ye heard before,) he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester, who so continued a few years, instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon

such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit, as might be. As for example, in this thing, and in divers others, it did appear, that when it could not be avoided but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his diocese, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following:

"Remember your promise in baptizing;
Christ his mercy and blood-shedding:
By whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sins you have free pardoning."

"Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for our sins was broken.
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers."

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was, in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese. But, as before, both in the university and at his benefice, he was tost and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons, so in his bishopric also, he was not all clear and void of some that sought his trouble: as, among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story, because he himself sheweth in a sermon of his, before King Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these:

"In the king's days that dead is, a great many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneel-

eth down and accuseth me of sedition, and that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as, if I should name, ye would not think. The king turned to me, and said, 'What say you to that, sir?'

"Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him; 'Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king, in the king's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

"Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, 'I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue, to be a preacher before your Grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.'

"And I thank Almighty God, (which hath always been my remedy,) that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, The Lord directeth the king's heart. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night."

Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop sustained in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time, not far from the diocese of Worcester, a certain justice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice, in purchasing of certain land for his brother, or for himself, went about to wrong or damnify a poor man, who made his complaint to Master Latimer. He first hearing, then tendering, his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman, exhorting him to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withal, (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault,) sendeth word again in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his

hands, with such threatenings words, &c. Master Latimer, hearing this, answered again by writing to a certain gentleman; the copy whereof among his letters hereafter followeth in the sequel of this story to be seen.

It were a large and long process to story out all the doings, travails, and writings of this Christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands; but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles. Then, being distressed through the straitness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign his pastorship. At which time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise with him his bishopric. And so these two remained a great space unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of King Edward of blessed memory. At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such a heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, first he was almost slain, but sore bruised, with the fall of a tree. Then, coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger; and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed King Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he, beginning afresh to set forth his plough again, continued all the time of the said king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk, (whose sermons be extant and set forth in print,) as also at London in the convocation-house, and especially before the king at the court. In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

In this his painful travail he occupied himself all King Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he, being a sore



bruised man by the fall of a tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty-seven years of age, took so little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. A. D. 1547.

Now to speak here of his indefatigable travail and diligence in his own private studies, who notwithstanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, was at his book most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, where-with he admonished such as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of King Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be over-passed, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit, plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did so evidently foreshow and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues afore, which afterward ensued; that, if England ever had a prophet, he might seem to be one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than

certainly was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed King Edward, not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down (by the means no doubt of Winchester) into the country, to call him up, of whose coming, although Master Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Careless, (whose story hereafter followeth,) yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. At the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him,—

“My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally,” &c.

At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him; by whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have

him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Thus Master Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London, through Smithfield, (where merrily he said that Smithfield had long groaned for him,) was brought before the council, where he, patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was cast again into the Tower, where he, being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdom would never fall; yet he showed himself not only patient, but also cheerful in and above all that which they could or would work against him. Yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies; as it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he answered to the lieutenant, being then in the Tower: for when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved with cold, merrily bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

The lieutenant, hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner, and so coming to him, becometh to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before, how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him, &c. "Yea, Master Lieutenant, so I said," quoth he, "for you look, I think, that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold."

Many such like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Thus Master Latimer, passing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Master Ridley, bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as is before touched, the manner and order of which disputations between them and the university doctors, is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom

the said Latimer, with his other fellow prisoners, was condemned after the disputations, and so committed again to the prison, and there they continued from the month of April above mentioned, to this present month of October; where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit Master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and, amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for.

First, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's Majesty that now is, whom in his prayer he was wont accustomed to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof following after did declare; for the Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

First, concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly bishop Master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." And so afterward by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God most graciously granted his request, which was, that he might shed his heart blood in the defence of the gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again unto this

realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us; Amen.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Master Latimer.

The same God, which, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and Christian princess, and her subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him! And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travails of Master Latimer.

Articles untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably imputed to me, Hugh Latimer, by Dr. Powell of Salisbury.

"First, that 'our Lady was a sinner.'—Occasioned of some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed men, which gave so much to our Lady of devotion without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her: to prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved, I reasoned after this manner:

that either she was a sinner, or no sinner: there is no mean. If she were a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners be: if she were no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or no. Now certain authors, (said I,) as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said that certain scriptures stand something to the same, unless they be the more warily understood and taken (as in Rom. iii. 10, 19): All have declined, that every mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the same chapter, All have sinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And so death passed through into all men and women, forasmuch as all have sinned. But to these scriptures I said it might be answered, that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or diminish the verity of a universal exposition in Scriptures.

"And as to the doctors, I said, that others more say otherwise; and forasmuch as now it is universally and constantly received and applied that she was no sinner, it becometh every man to stand and agree to the same, 'and so will I,' quoth I, 'nor any man that wise is, will the contrary. But to my purpose, it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her saved, and Christ her Saviour, whether ever she was,' &c.

"And to that, 'What need you to speak of this?' I answered, 'Great need: when men cannot be content that she was a creature saved, but as it were a Saviouress, not needing salvation, it is necessary to set her in her degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved.' Good authors have written that she was not a sinner; but good authors never wrote that she was not saved: for though she never sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but she might have sinned, if she had not been preserved: it was of the goodness of God that she never sinned; it had come of her own illness if she had sinned: there was difference betwixt her and Christ: and I will give as little to her as I can, (doing her no wrong,) rather than Christ her Son and Saviour shall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am sure that our Lady will not be displeased with me for so doing, for our Lady sought his glory here upon earth; she would not defraud him now in heaven: but some are so superstitiously religious, or so religiously superstitious, so preposterously devout toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: such are zeals without knowledge and judgment, to our Lady's displeasure.

"No doubt our Lady was, through the goodness

of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, indued with singular gifts and graces from above, which, through the help of God, she used to God's pleasure, according to her duty; so giving us ensample to do likewise: so that all the goodness that she had, she had it not of herself, but of God, the author of all goodness; the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteously, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man, to save both man and woman, did choose her to his mother, which love he showed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodness, by the which she was the natural mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual sister of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christ's word, and keeping the same. It should not have availed her to salvation, to have been his natural mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father. By him she was his mother: by him she did the will of his Father: she the handmaiden, he the Lord. The handmaiden did magnify her Lord, the handmaiden would that all should magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory, Amen, &c.

"To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour our Lady; he is as able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin: he was then subject to Joseph, his father-in-law, his mother's husband; Joseph is now subject to him. He never dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preserved them from all sin.

"To say that Peter and Paul, David and Mary Magdalene, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for then Scripture doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preserved all that he could have preserved. For remembrance of all that fall and uprising, keepeth us in our fall from despairing: both are of God, to have not sinned, and to have forsaken and left sin. And as sure is this of heaven, as that; and this more common than that, and to us that have been sinners more comfortable.

"It hath been said in times past, without sin, that our Lady was a sinner; but it never was said, without sin, that our Lady was not saved, but a Saviour: I go not about to make our Lady a sinner, but to have Christ her Saviour. When mine adversaries cannot reprove the thing that I say, then they will belie me, to say the thing that they can reprove. They will sin to make our Lady no sinner, to prove that which no man denieth: such provers, and so cold probations, saw you never. It were better unproved, than so weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our Lady, as though there was no other honouring of our Lady;

but do sin in having our Lady no sinner. I would be as loth to dishonour our Lady as they: I pray God we may honour her as she would be honoured; for verily she is worthy to be honoured. To make a pernicious and a damnable lie, to have our Lady no sinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleasure to our Lady, but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our Lady. They should both please and honour our Lady much better, to leave their sinful living, and keep themselves from sinfulness, as our Lady did, than so sinfully to lie, to make our Lady no sinner; which if they do not, they shall go to the devil certainly, though they believe that our Lady was no sinner never so surely.

"And for the Ave Maria they lie falsely; I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in Holy Scripture of St. Luke: but yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and show the good will of God towards her: and therefore it is called The Annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her, properly. Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer; and is it not the same thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria; so that we may salute our Lady with Ave Maria, as the angel did, though we be not sent of God so to do, as the angel was. So though we may so do, yet we have no plain bidding of God so to do, as the angel had: so that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unsaid, than we be; forasmuch as he was appointed of God to say it, and not we. But as I deny not but as we may say the Pater noster and the Ave Maria together, (that to God, this to our Lady,) so we may say them sunderly, the Pater noster by itself, and the Ave by itself; and the Pater noster is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; so that it is but a superstition to think that a Pater noster cannot be well said without an Ave Maria at its heel. For Christ was no fool, and when he taught the people to say a Pater noster to God, he taught them not to say neither Pater noster, neither Ave Maria to our Lady, nor yet Pater noster to St. Peter, as Master Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to say twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, is not to speak 'the word of God as the word of God.' And one Ave Maria well said, and devoutly, with affection, sense, and understanding, is better than twenty-five said superstitiously. And it is not like, but our Lady said many

times the Pater noster, forasmuch as her Son Christ, whom she loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be said. Whether she made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, I will leave that to great clerks, as Hubberdin and Powell, to discuss and determine. She was not saved by often saying of the Ave Maria, but by consenting to the will of Him, that sent the angel to salute her with Ave Maria. Wherefore, if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable in the sight of God, yea, though they say the Pater noster, I doubt not but the salutation of the same be unpleasant to our Lady in her sight; for whatsoever pleaseth not her Son, pleaseth not her: for she hath delight and pleasure in nothing but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaseth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by customable sinful living, and yet we shall think great perfection and holiness in numbering every day many Ave Marias to our Lady. And so we think to make her our friend and patroness, and then we care not for God: for, having our Lady of our side, we may be bold to take our pleasure. For we fantasy as though the very work and labour of flummerying the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not passing how they be said, but that they be said: if the Pater noster which Christ both made, and bade us say it, may be said to Christ's displeasure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Christ nor our Lady bade to be said, may be said to our Lady's displeasure, and better never once said, than often so said. So that I would have a difference betwixt well saying, and often saying, and betwixt that that Christ bid us say, and that that he bid not say. And whether Ave Maria be said in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powell? And if it be said always there without a Pater noster, why may not Pater noster be said here without Ave Maria? and whether doth our Lady say it in heaven or no? which thing I speak not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it; so that by occasion of false faith and trust that ye have in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy living, which will serve at length, when superstitious greeting will neither serve nor stand in strength. It is meet that every thing be taken, esteemed, and valued as it is.

"We salute also and greet well the holy cross, or the image of the holy cross, saying, 'All hail, holy cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious talent of the world:' and yet who will say that we pray properly to the holy cross? Whereby it may

appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more than this pulpit: therefore we do salute it, not properly pray to it.

"The angel spake also to Zachary, before he spake to our Lady: Be not afraid Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee forth a child, which shall be called John, and great joy and gladness shall be at his birth, and he shall be great, and full of the Holy Ghost from the womb of his mother, &c.

"What if a man should say these words every day, betwixt the Pater noster and the Ave Maria, in the worship of St. Zachary, which I think is a saint in heaven, and was, ere ever our Lady came there, and therefore to be honoured: I think he might please and honour St. Zachary, as well some other way, and better too, though they be words sent from God, spoken of an angel, and written in Holy Scripture of the evangelist Luke.

"And yet if it were once begun and accustomed, I warrant some men would make it more than sacrilege to leave it off, though the devil should sow never so much superstition by process of time unto it.

"Christ made the Pater noster for a prayer, and bid his people say it to his heavenly Father, one God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and Comforter, one worker and doer of all things here in this world, saying unto us, So, or after such manner, shall ye pray, Pater noster, &c. God sent his Son amongst other things to teach his people to pray: God sent his angel to greet our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the angel said to the people, This shall ye pray, Ave Maria. When the apostles said to Christ, Teach us to pray; Christ said, When you pray, say, Pater noster; he said not, When you pray, say, Ave Maria. I ween Christ could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powell and Master Hubberdin. I say that the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster: Dr. Powell saith it shall endure after the Pater noster. I can prove my saying by Scripture; so cannot he his. Yet as it is no good argument, the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster, ergo it is properly a prayer; so it is no good argument, the Ave Maria shall last after the Pater noster, ergo it is properly a prayer; without the antecedent be impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a fantastical brain.

"Who was ever so mad as to think that words of Holy Scripture could not be well said? And yet we may not be so peevish as to allow the superstitious saying of Holy Scripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to superstition and

idolatry. God give me grace to worship him and his, not after our own curiosity, but according to his ordinance, with all humility!

"St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wise to be dishonoured: so that we may leave unsaid that that the angel said, without dishonouring him. It is not necessary to our salvation to make an ordinance of honouring him with saying as the angel did. It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not do: if the other be presumption, I had rather presume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to presume into the office of an angel without God's bidding. It is a godly presumption to presume to do the bidding of God.

"Here I neither say, that our Lady was a sinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Maria.

"*Saints are not to be honoured.*—I said this word 'saints' is diversely taken of the vulgar people; images of saints are called saints, and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now, by honouring of saints, is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints—so saints are not to be honoured; that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

"They can neither help me nor mine ox; neither my head nor my tooth; nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I showed the good use of them to be laymen's books, as they be called; reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c.

"And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilded and decked, that the quick image of God (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ reputeth it done to himself) lack necessities, and be unprovided for, by that occasion; for then the layman doth abuse his book.

"A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiously gilded; and in the day-time, a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

"Now I say, there be two manner of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of intercession; and I said, that these saints, that is to say, images called saints, be mediators neither way.

"As touching pilgrimages, I said, that all idolatry, superstition, error, false faith, and hope in the images, must be pared away, before they can be well done; household looked upon, poor Christian people provided for, restitutions made, all ordinance

of God discharged, or ever they can be well done: and when they be at best, before they be vowed, they need not to be done. They shall never be required of us, though they be never done; and yet we shall be blamed when they be all done: wives must counsel with their husbands, and husbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

"And yet idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x., where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Christ, which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry; and expositors add to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act; which is plain against Master Hubberdin, and the parson of Christ's Church, which went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

"As touching the saints in heaven, I said, they be not our mediators by way of redemption; for so Christ alone is our mediator and theirs both. So that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, &c.

"But by way of intercession, so saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them: for they be charitable, and need no spurs, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet we may call upon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all. So that though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourselves, without making suit first to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer; so that whatsoever we ask the Father in the name of Christ his Son, the Father will give it us: for saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them. Scripture doth set saints that be departed before our eyes for ensamples, so that the chiefest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christ, &c.

"God biddeth us come to him with prayer; and to do his bidding is no presuming, it is rather presuming to leave it undone, to do that that he biddeth us not do, &c. We must have saints in reverent memory; and learn at God's goodness towards them to trust in God; and mark well their faith toward God and his word, their charity toward their neighbour, their patience in all adversity; and

pray to God which gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for which like doings we shall have like speedings: they be well honoured when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in Him that made them saints; and as they were saints, so may we be saints; yea, there be many saints that never prayed to saints: and yet I deny not but we may pray to saints, but rather to Him, which can make us saints, which calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiseth help, cannot deceive us and break his promise. When we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantastical inagination, but even after his own most wise ordination, whom to honour is not to dishonour saints; therefore they lie that say, that I would not have saints to be honoured, &c.

“ ‘*There is no fire in hell.*’—I never knew man that ever said so. I spake of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some, that it is a spiritual fire, or at leastway a spiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm. Now because they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some, that it is a corporal and natural fire: some have thought diversely, before the resurrection without body, and after with body: some, that the soul without body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; some, both in and of the fire. The scholastical authors think, that the souls before the resurrection, because they be spiritual substance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporal quality; so that Athanasius calleth their pain *tristitiam*, a heaviness or an anguish: and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that though they be alway in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat; but it is when their bodies be there: but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them; for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them; for then they should be known by heat of the fire.

“ I am certain, saith St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell; but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell, but he that is of God's privy council: I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he shall find no fire in hell. Chrysostom saith, that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell; there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without

ease, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarry and abide for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

“ ‘*There is no purgatory after this life.*’—Not for such liars that will bear me in hand to say what I said not. I showed the state and condition of them that be in purgatory. Then I denied it not, that they have charity in such sure tie that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmur nor grudge against God; cannot dishonour God; can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God; cannot be dis-severed from God; cannot die, nor be in peril of death; cannot be damned, nor be in peril of damnation; cannot be but in surety of salvation. They be members of the mystical body of Christ as we be, and in more surety than we be. They love us charitably. Charity is not idle: if it be, it worketh and showeth itself: and therefore I say, they wish us well and pray for us. They need not cry loud to God: they be in Christ, and Christ in them: they be with Christ, and Christ with them. They joy in their Lord Christ alway, taking thankfully whatsoever God doth with them; ever giving thanks to their Lord God; ever lauding and praising him in all things that he doth; discontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

“ And forasmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and sisters to our Saviour Christ, even in God's favour, even have Christ with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son; and we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancour, hatred, one toward another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adversaries to Christ, hated of God, his angels, and all his saints; they in their state may do us more good with their prayers than we in this state. And they do us alway good, unless the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer said in charity, is more fruitful to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God, than said out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us; which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not.

“ I had rather be in purgatory, than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat; in that I could not: in this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; in that I could not: in this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if extreme necessity be *periculum pereundi*, peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth: if we be not bounden, *per præceptum*, to help but them

that be in extreme necessity, we see not who needeth in purgatory; but we see who needeth in this world. And John saith, If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be, in extreme necessity, both in body and soul; in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be holpen ourselves, under pain of damnation. Here, for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, weary ourselves; which inconveniences shall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am sure the souls in purgatory be so charitable, and of charity so loth to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them, which might occasion the dishonour of God, &c.

"Therefore howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thousand pound to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me of God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference betwixt that that may be done, and that that ought to be done; and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, and my devotion moveth me another way, whether way should I go? I may, by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make any foundations for myself with other men's goods. Goods wrongfully gotten must needs home again; must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, they be poor men's goods. Debts must needs be paid; creditors satisfied and content; God's ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world discharged; all affections and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our soul-priests sing till they be blear-eyed, say till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning of God's forbiddings.

"He that purgeth all errors of false opinions, all unlustiness to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell and purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath set aside restitutions, and brought poor Christians to extreme beggary, replenished hell, and left heaven almost empty.

"*"In purgatory there is no pain:"*—that can break their charity; that can break their patience; that can dis sever them from Christ; that can dis sever Christ from them.

"That can cause them to dishonour God; that can cause them to displease God; that can cause them to be displeased with God; that can bring them to peril of death.

"That can bring them to peril of damnation; that can bring them to extreme necessity; that can cause them to be discontent with God; that can bring them from surety of salvation:—and yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

"Howbeit, if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a good part; if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or *scala cali* of a groat, can despatch for altogether, it is not so greatly to be cared for. I have not leisure to write at large; and I wrote before such things, which in this haste come now to mind.

"They that can reclaim at this, that the souls in purgatory do pray for us—if they could get as much money for the prayer that the souls in purgatory say for us, as they have done for that that they have said for them, they would not reclaim. You know the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them so swell. They that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this: Christ's blood is not sufficient without blood of martyrs.

"Nor at this: Magdalene did not know Christ to be God, before his resurrection.

"Nor at this: There can be no idolatry.

"Nor at this: Rome cannot be destroyed.

"Nor at this: The pope is lord of all the world.

"Nor at this: Whatsoever he doth is well done.

"Nor at this: Pater noster is to be said to St. Peter.

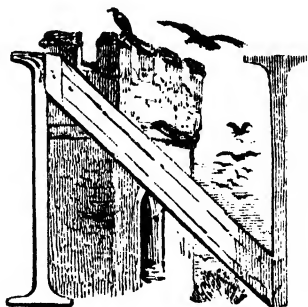
"Nor at this: Pater noster is but a beggarly prayer.

"Nor at this: Ave Maria is infinitely better.

"Nor at this: Twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster.

"Nor at this: It was not necessary Scripture to be written.

"Nor at this: He that leaveth father and mother, maketh for our pilgrimage. With many more."



OW, after these things thus finished and discoursed pertaining to the story of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first

beginning of his preaching, all which here to com-

prehend which he wrote both in English and Latin, lack of space and place at this present will not permit: nevertheless certain we will take, and first concerning the articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the priests of the country about his benefice at West Kington; which he writeth thereof to Master Morice, the copies whereof follow.

LETTERS OF MASTER LATIMER.

A letter of Master Latimer to Master Morice, concerning the articles written, which were falsely and untruly laid against him.

“Right worshipful and mine own good Master Morice, *salutem in Christo Jesu.*—And I thank you for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore showed unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me, so poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine inability, &c. Master Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been entreated at Bristol, I mean of some of the priests, which first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things while I was with them. When I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me so greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishop’s licence, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated Master Mayor’s appointment, pretending that they were sorry for it; procuring also certain preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powell, with other more, whom when I had brought before the mayor and the wise council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing. So that they had place and time to belie me shamefully; but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge, when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and suage their malice that they have against the truth and me, &c.

“*Our Lady was a sinner.*—So they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reprove certain, both priests and benefited men, which do give so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved. I did reason after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner. If a sinner, then she was

delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin; so that without him neither she, nor none other, either be, or could be saved. And, to avoid all offence, I showed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures which make all generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostom and Theophylact, which make her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then they will belie me to say that thing that they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.

“*‘Saints are not to be worshipped.’*—So they lied when I had showed divers significations of this word ‘saints’ among the vulgar people. First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them—for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well used, when they be applied to that use that they were ordained for, to be laymen’s books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c.

Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them—I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption, (for so Christ alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us,) yet by the way of intercession.

“*‘Pilgrimage.’*—And I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; superstition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God’s ordinance for doing of the thing; debts must be paid, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of man, to be done. And wives must counsel with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

“*‘Ave Maria.’*—As for the Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I said it was a heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed Lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and show unto her the goodwill of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper prayer, and bade us say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty Ave Marias withal: and

I denied not but that we may well say Ave Maria also, but not so that we shall think that the Pater noster is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well said without Ave Maria. So that I did not speak against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater noster too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a prayer.

“*‘No fire in hell.’*—Whoever could say or think so? Howbeit good authors do put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say cannot receive a corporal quality; and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. For as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is, a living beast, but it is a metaphor; but that is neither to nor fro: for a fire it is; a worm it is; pain it is; a torment it is; an anguish it is; a grief, a misery, a sorrow; a heaviness inexplicable, intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of God’s privy council, saith St. Augustine? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea, none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; which be two effects of extreme pain—rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

“*‘No purgatory.’*—He that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it, than in Lollards’ Tower, the bishop’s prison, for divers skills and causes.

“First, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel: there I could not.

“Item, In this I might be in extreme necessity: in that I could not if it be peril of perishing.

“Item, In this I might lack charity: there I could not.

“Item, In this I might lose my patience: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be in peril and danger of death: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be without surety of salvation: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might dishonour God: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might murmur and grudge against God: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might displease God: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be displeased with God: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual prison, as they call it: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be craftily handled: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be discontented with God: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be separated and severed from Christ: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be a member of the devil: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might be an inheritor in hell: in that I could not.

“Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain: in that I could not.

“Item, In this my Lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night: in that they could not.

“Item, In this they might strangle me, and say that I hanged myself: in that they could not.

“Item, In this they might have me to the consistory, and judge me after their fashion: from thence they could not.

“Ergo, I had rather to be there than here. For though the fire be called never so hot, yet if the bishop’s two fingers can shake away a piece, a friar’s cowl another part, and *scala cæli* altogether, I will never found abbey, college, nor chantry for that purpose.

“For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from surety of salvation; that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me; I care the less for it. John Chrysostom saith, that the greatest pain that damned souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which pain, he saith, is greater than many hells; which pain the souls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

“Consider, Master Morice, whether provision for purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made; Christian people (whose necessities we see; to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himself; to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourself) are neglected and suffered to perish; last wills unfulfilled and broken; God’s ordinance set aside; and also for purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we have trifled away the ordinance

of God and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, diriges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of heresy with them? so that they may pill with pilgrimage and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage shall fall away from them, which had rather have profit with abuse, than lack the same with use; and that is the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory; so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

"I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own but Christ's glory, I had rather have the suffrage of Jack of the scullery, which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his mass. And that is as good of another simple priest as of him. For, as for authority of keys, it is to loose from guiltiness of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christ's word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foss-way, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hayles. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Christ's body, shed upon the mount of Calvary for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and in state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder if you should commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they have: for as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Christian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth requite them for the time.

"I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romans, We being justified by faith, have peace with God. If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul, that is true faith that his blood was shed for me, &c.

"Another in the Epistle of John: We know that we are translated from death to life, because

we love the brethren. But I read not that I have peace with God, nor that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hayles. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body, when they scourged him and nailed him to the cross, did see it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we see the self-same blood in form of wine, when we have consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hayles without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

"Christ hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth suffer the devil to use his crafty fashion for our trial and probation. It were little thankworthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ, when he had taught truly, by and by bade beware of false prophets, which would bring in error slyly. But we be secure and uncareful, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual than is the warning of mothers when they trille with their children, and bid them beware the bug, &c.

"Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget myself ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, &c.

"As for Dr. Wilson, I wot not what I should say; but I pray God induce him with charity. Neither he, nor any of his countrymen, did ever love me, since I did inveigh against their factions and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That is the bile that may not be touched, &c.

"A certain friend showed me, that Dr. Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holderness; and from thence he will go a progress through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristol. What he intended by this progress, God knoweth, and not I? If he come to Bristol, I shall hear tell, &c.

"As for Hubberdin, no doubt he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *sevens hominum*; for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily, in my

mind, they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and Christian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miss the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter against me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to rid us both together, and so they would think him well bestowed, &c.

"As touching Dr. Powell, how highly he took upon him in Bristol, and how little he regarded the sword, which representeth the king's person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Christ's commandment to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signify, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit Master Mayor, as he is a profound wise man, did twit him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholden to him; for, to occasion the people to them, he alleged this text: Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife, &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king's Grace to command me to preach before his Highness a whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they belie me, saying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me; I cannot make an end."

A brief digression touching the railing of Hubberdin, against Master Latimer.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realm to deface and impeach the springing of God's holy gospel, something would be added more, touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold; who, in all his life, and in all his actions, (in one word to describe him,) seemeth nothing else but a right image or a counterfeit, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisy. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, (although he little deserved to be spared, which never spared to work what villany he could against the true servants of the Lord,) this shall be enough for example's sake, for all Christian men necessarily to observe, how the said Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tyndale, Latimer, and all other like professors, after his

hypocritical open alms, given out of other men's purses, his long prayers, pretended devotions, devout fastings, his woolward-going, and other his prodigious demeanour,—riding in his long gown down to the horse-heels like a Pharisee, or rather like a sloven dirted up to the horse-belly,—after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leapings, with other like histrionical toys and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretics: at last, riding by a church side, where the youth of the parish were dancing in the churchyard, suddenly this Silenus, lighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dancing came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fit of mirth to give them a sermon of dancing. In the which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Jerome and Gregory, Chrysostom, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Ecclampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them); at last, to show a perfect harmony of all these doctors together—as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe—first he calleth out Christ and his apostles; then the doctors and ancient seniors of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together, with "pipe up Hubberdin." Now dance Christ; now dance Peter, Paul; now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome. And thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stamp and took on I cannot tell, but "crash," quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience; where altogether he brake not his neck, yet he so brake his leg the same time, and bruised his old bones, that he never came in pulpit more, and died not long after the same. Whereupon when the churchwardens were called, and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves, that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing, &c. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

Amongst many other impugnors and adversaries, whereof there was no small sort which did infest this good man in sermons; some also there were, which attempted the pen against him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who, upon the same occasion of preaching of the Virgin Mary,

(or as they thought, against the Virgin,) did invade him with his pen, writing against him in Latin.

Besides Latin letters, other letters also he wrote in English, as well to others, as namely to Sir Edward Baynton, knight, which letters, because they do contain much fruitful matter worthy to be read and known, I thought here presently to insert; which albeit may seem somewhat prolix in reading, yet the fruit thereof, I trust, shall recompense the length of them.

A letter sent by Master Latimer, parson of West Kingston, in the county of Wiltshire, to Sir Edward Baynton, knight.

“Salutem in Christo.—Right worshipful sir, I recommend me unto your Mastership with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable, and so mindful, remembrance of me so poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by Master Bonnam, perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveth me to do, in case I must needs come up: which your goodness towards me with all other such like to recompense, whereas I myself am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of your Mastership, neither of any man else, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all. In very deed Master Chancellor did show me that my Lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made answer that he was mine ordinary, and that both he might and should reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my Lord of London. And I would be very loth, now this deep winter, being so weak and so feeble, (not only exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the cholic and the stone,) to take such a journey; and though he might so do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound so to do. Notwithstanding I said, if he, to do my Lord of London pleasure, to my great displeasure would needs command me to go, I would obey his commandment, yea, though it should be never so great a grievance, and painful to me; with the which answer he was content, saying he would certify my Lord of London thereof, trusting his Lordship would be content with the same: but as yet I hear nothing from him. Master Chancellor also said, that my Lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with me, for that I did contemn his authority, at my last being in London.

“Forsooth I preached in Abb-church, not certain

then (as I remember) whether in his diocess or no, intending nothing less than to contemn his authority: and this I did not of mine own seeing, or by mine own procuration, but at the request of honest merchantmen, (as they seemed to me,) whose names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, lest, if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to hear godly preaching should return to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and, to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certain; but they showed not only themselves, but also many others to be very desirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the word of God, and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twice or thrice, till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not only content, but also desired me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishop's seal to show for me, but only a licence of the university; which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and, when I should go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; so that I had not been alone uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I should have said nay. Now all this supposed to be truth, (as it is,) I marvel greatly how my Lord of London can allege any contempt of him in me.

“First, he did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any suit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely that the curate would so little have regarded my Lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my Lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myself, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my Lord, that he might admit whom he would, or else, (and rather,) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my Lord himself, or some others pertaining to him, were appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fair and friendly, and also the rather to go. For I preach nothing, but (if it might be so) I would my Lord himself might hear me every sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gain-saying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also,

at the instant request of a curate; yet hear I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate.

"I marvel not a little, how my Lord bishop of London, having so broad, wide, and large a diocese committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have leisure for preaching and teaching the word of God, *opportune, importune, tempestive, intempestive, privatim, publice*, to his own flock, *instando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate et doctrina*: have leisure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure; so intermixing and intermeddling himself with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as some men say my Lord doth, gather up my joyce, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor yet other where, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

"In very deed I did monish judges and ordinaries to use charitable equity in their judgments towards such as be accused, namely, of such accusers which be as like to hear and bewray, as other be to say aniss; and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wrest them in another sense than they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses be false before God, as St. Jerome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses; much less those which procure such witnesses against any man: nor do I think judges now-a-days so deeply confirmed in grace, or so impeccable, but that it may behove and become preachers, to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the Epistle which I declared, (Rom. vi.) wherein is this sentence, Ye Christian men that believe in Christ, are not under the law.

"What a saying is this, (quoth I,) if it be not rightly understood; that is, as St. Paul did understand it? for the words sound as though he would go about to occasion Christian men to break law, seeing they be not under the law: and what if the pseudo-apostles, adversaries to St. Paul, would have so taken them, and accused St. Paul of the same to my Lord of London? If my said Lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he should have escaped, and the false apostles have been put to rebuke; if he would have rigorously followed *utcumque allegata et probata*, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good St. Paul must have borne a fag-

got at Paul's Cross, my Lord of London being his judge. Oh! it had been a godly sight, to have seen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Cross, my Lord of London (bishop of the same) sitting under the cross. Nay, verily, I dare say, my Lord should sooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that Christian men might break law, and do whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law; but he did mean, that Christian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would; because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to say, able to fulfil the law to the pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after St. Paul's meaning, is to be weak to satisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do withal, though his adversaries would not so take it?

"But my Lord would say, peradventure, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwise than they mean therein. *Bona verba*: as though St. Paul's words were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romans, where he saith, Our unrighteousness commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousness of God; which soundeth to many as though they should be evil that good should come of it, and by unrighteousness to make the righteousness of God more excellent. So St. Paul was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing so; but showed the inestimable wisdom of God, which can use our naughtiness to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodness; not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my Lord will not think, I dare say, that St. Paul was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evil offence of the people; but rather he will blame the people, for that they took no better heed and attendance to Paul's speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pity the people, which had been so long nurseled in the doctrine of the Pharisees, and wallowed so long in darkness of man's traditions, superstitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightness of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by St. Paul. Nor do I think that my Lord will require more circumspection, or more convenience to avoid offence of errors in me, than was in St. Paul, when he did not escape malevolous corrections, and slanderous reports of them that were of perverse judgments, which reported him to say whatsoever he appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to follow of his saying.

“But what followeth? So they report us to say, saith St. Paul; so they speak evil of us: but such, whose damnation is just, saith he. And I think the damnation of all such that evil report preachers now-a-days, likewise just, for it is untruth now and then. Yea, Christ himself was misreported, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his words. First he said, Destroy you; they made it, I can destroy: he said, this temple; they added, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inverted his words, and also added unto his words, to alter his sentence; for he did mean of the temple of his body, and they wrested it to Solomon's temple.

“Now I report me, whether it be a just fame raised up and dispersed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of persons which can make no credible information: first, adversaries, enemies: secondly, ignorant and without judgment: thirdly, whisperers and blowers in men's ears, which will spew out in hudder-mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of such is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make process against any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil spoken of, of them that be naught themselves, and to be commended of the same is, many times, no little reproach. God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speak well one of another!

“Me seemeth it were more comely for my Lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a preacher himself, having so great a cure as he hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himself. If it would please his Lordship to take so great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little bishopric at West Kingston, whether I were present or absent myself, I would thank his Lordship heartily, and think myself greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodness would go so far to help to discharge me in my cure, or else I were more unnatural than a beast unreasonable; nor yet would I dispute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority so to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my parishioners.

“As for my Lord, he may do as it pleaseth his Lordship. I pray God he do always as well as I would wish him ever to do: but I am sure St. Paul, the true minister of God, and faithful dispenser of God's mysteries, and right exemplar of all true and

very bishops, saith in the first chapter to the Philip-pians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby so to grieve him withal, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his authority into contempt; some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: Notwithstanding, saith he, by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth, (as ye would say, for truth's sake,) so that Christ be preached and showed, I joy and will joy: so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christ's doctrine, to the edification of Christian souls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation, and dignity: considering right well, (as he said,) that what authority soever he had, it was to edification, and not to destruction.

“Now I think it were no reproach to my Lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached *quovis modo*—yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, despite, and contempt of his Lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt)—than when the preaching cannot be proved justly, to demand of the preacher austere, as the Pharisees did of Christ, *qua autoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam auctoritatem?* As my authority is good enough, and as good as my Lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his Lordship to be so good a lord unto me. For the university of Cambridge hath authority apostolic to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one: and the king's Highness (God save his Grace!) did decree that all admitted of universities should preach throughout all his realm as long as they preached well, without restraint of any man, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Durham, with such other not a few, standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to condemn my Lord of London's authority were no little fault in me; so no less fault might appear in my Lord of London to condemn the king's authority and decree, yea, so godly, so fruitful, so commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of Christian souls, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace and authority apostolic. To have a book of the king not inhibited, is to obey the king, and to inhibit a preacher of the king's admitted, is it not to disobey the king? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that resisteth the power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinance of God? We low subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us ex-

ample of such obedience? As for my preaching itself, I trust in God, my Lord of London cannot rightfully belack it, nor justly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I spake it; or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it.

"But now I hear say that my Lord of London is informed, and upon the said information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaries and his judges, which I assure you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong; for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether so foolish as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a preacher to say as I said, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than every did my Lord of London: for I have been his ghostly father many a time. And to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few such so prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friend and foe, noisome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable; so seeking to reconcile them as he did, I have known yet not many; and to be short, in sum, a very simple good soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whose blind fashion and miserable state (yea, far from Christ's doctrine) he could as evil bear, and would sorrow, lament, and bewail it, as much as any man that ever I knew: as for his singular learning, as well in Holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speak of it. Notwithstanding, if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Christian man doth owe either to his prince or to his bishop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall; wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal; God knoweth, whose judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continually, so studiously and virtuously, and killing his old Adam, (that is to say, mortifying his evil affections and blind motions of his heart so diligently,) should die an evil death, there is no more, but, Let him that standeth, beware that he fall not: for if such as he shall die evil, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am?

"But let this go, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon. Either my Lord of London will judge my outward man only,

as it is said, Men see things only without, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, God looks on the heart. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered myself toward my Christian brethren, the king's liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my Lord of London: for I have preached and taught but according to Holy Scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the same, with the which I think my Lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that that is necessary to be done.

"As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reprov'd the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh preachers to do: which thing, if my Lord of London will do himself, (as I would to God he would do,) he should be reported, no doubt, to condemn the use of such things, of covetous men which have damage, and find less in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profit should not continue (so thorny be their hearts). If my Lord will needs coast and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I shall either displease my Lord of London, which I would be very loth, or else my Lord God, which I would be more loth: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a Christian man ought to believe. But peradventure my Lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance, though my Lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and say to him with diligent study, and daily prayer. My heart is prepared, O God, my heart is prepared, so studying, preaching, and tarrying the pleasure and leisure of God: and in the mean season, (Acts viii.) as Apollos did, when he knew nothing of Christ but the baptism of John, teach and preach mine even christened, that and no further than I know to be true.

"There be three Creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say, when they say the Creed: and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for me and all others to believe. Yet I am ignorant in things which I trust hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever to learn, and ever to be learned;

to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christ's vicar, hath been lord of all the world as Christ is; so that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or you of the lordship of Bromeham, it had been enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwise; notwithstanding I have both seen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpose. I have thought in times past, that the pope's dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I have heard, *Ecce vobiscum sum*, and *Qui vos audit me audit*, bended to corroborate the same. Now I might be easily entreated to think otherwise, &c.

"I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth: now learning might persuade me otherwise; or else I would marvel why he would suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which so needful is to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, &c. I have thought in times past, that if I had been a friar, and in a cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death; and by occasion of the same, I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was sore sick and diseased: now I abhor my superstitious foolishness, &c. I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I know that one can help as much as another: and it pitieth mine heart, that my Lord, and such as my Lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by continual prayer, continual study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think that my Lord himself hath thought in times past, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now doth dare think and say contrary: and yet this his boldness might have chanced, in Pope Julius's days, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a fagot. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my Lord, might something stir him to charitable equity, and to be something remissible toward men which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater distance than between God's law and not God's law; nor is it so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so: but,

because it is so or so indeed, therefore we must think it so or so, when God shall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either so or not, it is so, or not so, though all the world hath thought otherwise these thousand years, &c.

"And finally, as ye say, the matter is weighty, and ought substantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath imboldened me to preach his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken, by the working of him, fruit thereby. And even so I desire you, and all other that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have trust that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the ocean-sea, I think, should have divided my Lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himself, and yet ought to be. I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to God's pleasure, and safety of our souls; Amen.

"I pray you pardon me, that I write no more distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is so out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again; and, if I be not prevented shortly, I intend to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrow, lest perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter as a buck in summer.

A letter of Sir Edward Baynton, knight, answering to the letter of Master Latimer, sent to him before.

"Master Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends, such as for Christian charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion, (if it swerve from the truth,) or at the least in your manner and behaviour, inasmuch as it giveth occasion of slander and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name. And, forasmuch as your said letter misliketh them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your Christian breast, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear what may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so acknowledge and confess the same: I have therefore desired them to take the pain to note their minds in this letter which I send to you, as aggregate of their sayings, and sent from me your assured friend and

favourer, in that that is the very truth of God's word : wherein nevertheless, as I trust ye yourself will temper your own judgment, and in a soberness affirm no truth of yourself, which should divide the unity of the congregation in Christ ; and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the Scripture of God ; even so whatsoever ye will do therein, (as I think ye will not otherwise than ye should do,) I, being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this alteration and contention, must rather of good congruence show myself, in that you disagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth, than yours, unless it may please Almighty God to inspire and confirm the hearts of such people to testify the same in some honest number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

"Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that it is 'per speculum in enigmate.' And there have been 'qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.' Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, considering that to me, unlearned, what I take for truth may be otherwise, not having 'sensus exercitatos,' as St. Paul saith, 'ad discernendum bonum et malum : ' and it is showed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his Epistle, where he saith, 'Omnis qui confitetur Christum in carne,' &c. 'ex Deo est.' And like as the word of God hath always caused dissension among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed martyrdom to the preacher, so in Christ's congregation, among them that profess Christ's name, 'in uno Domino, uno baptismo, et una fide,' they that preach and stir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of Christian charity, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into a unity of faith and baptism. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but also such soberness and uniform behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly express (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our souls."

The answer of Master Latimer to the letter of Sir Edward Baynton above prefixed.

"Right worshipful sir, and my singular good master, salutem in Christo Jesu, with due com-

mendation, and also thanks for your great goodness towards me, &c. And whereas you have communicated my last letters to certain of your friends, which rather desire this or that in me, &c., what I think therein I will not now say, not for that there could be any peril or danger in the said letters, well taken, as far as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribbled, as ye might well know both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had been made. And besides that, ye know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venom, not for any diversity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that suck the flower : as in times past, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in itself, was to some offence, to some foolishness ; to others otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversity was in the redress of hearers thereof.

"But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me ; if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them which both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reform my error ? Let this pass, I will not contend : 'had I wist' cometh ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised, if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine own reformation : but yet it is good for a man to look ere he leap, and God forbid that ye should be addict and sworn to me so wretched a fool, that you should not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, so great learned men as they appear to be, than the opinions of me, having never so Christian a breast.

"Wherefore do as you will ; for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, be noisome unto you : but yet I say, I would my letters had been unwritten, if for no other cause, at least-way inasmuch as they cause me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head. And as touching the points which in my foresaid letters mislike your friends, I have now little leisure to make an answer thereto, for the great business that I have in my little cure, (I know not what other men have in their great cures,) seeing that I am alone without any priest to serve my cure, without any scholar to read unto me, without any book necessary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counsel withal : all which things others have at hand abundantly. But something must be done, howsoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper mine own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the

truth; saying in reproof of the same, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed alonely God knoweth all certain truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himself, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and those which be taught of God, as saith St. Paul, '*Dens enim illis patefecit;*' and Christ himself, '*Erunt omnes docti à Deo.*' And your friends deny not but certain truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity. Now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity, &c.

"But as to my presumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertain, why dare I be so bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom ye trust so greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray you ask them whether they be certain and sure that they taught you the truth or no; and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be sure, ye know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have so doubtful teachers and unsure? And you yourselves, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour? And so forth of other articles that ye be bounden to believe. Or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civil ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your sure friend that heareth you say so, and then with what conscience do ye doubt, *cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum est?* But contrary say you, alonely God knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but '*per speculum in ænigmate;*' and there have been '*qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.*' And to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having '*sensus exercitatos,*' as Paul saith, '*ad discernendum bonum et malum;*' as ye reason against me, and so you do best to know surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly hither and thither, '*omni vento doctrinæ;*' &c. Our knowledge here, you say, is but '*per speculum in ænigmate:*' What then? ergo, it is not certain and sure.

"I deny your argument, by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, 'because the certainty of faith is the most surest certainty,' as Duns and other school doctors say, that there is a great discrepance between certain knowledge and

clear knowledge; for that may be of things absent that appear not, this requireth the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been, say they, which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is, there have been such, and yet be too many, to the great hinderance of Christ's glory, which nothing doth more obscure than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been also, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteousness, shall be beaten with many stripes, while they, knowing the will of God, do nothing thereafter. I mean not among Turks and Saracens, that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have been also that have lost the spiritual knowledge of God's word which they had before; because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same; but rather with their mother-wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them, ut *justificetur Christus in sermonibus suis, et vincat cum judicatur:* threatening to him that hath not, that also which he hath (that is, that which he seemeth to have) shall be taken from him: because to abuse that which a man hath, or not to use it well, is as not to have it; and also seeing it is true, that God's wisdom will not dwell in a body subject to sin, albeit it abound in carnal wisdom too much; for the mere carnal and philosophical understanding of God's Scriptures is not the wisdom of God, which is hid from the wise, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth: and it behoveth every preacher to have so deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as Apollos was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for myself, I trust in God, I have my senses well enough exercised to discern good and evil in those things, which (being without deep and profound knowledge in many things) I preach not; yea, there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly dis-

cern 'bonum et malum,' I mean 'verum et falsum;' not with all the exercise that I have in Scripture, nor yet with help of all interpreters that I have, to content myself and others in all scrupulosity that may arise. But in such I am wont to wade no further into the stream, than that I may either go over, or else return back again; having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither passing mine own, nor yet their capacity.

"And such manner of argumentations might well serve the devil *contra pusillanimes*, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or else it may appear to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and sure of by God's word to be truth, 'ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum et malum exercitissimos.' As whether, if Adam had not sinned, we should have stockfish out of Iceland: how many larks for a penny if every star in the elements were a flickering hobby: how many years a man shall lie in purgatory for one sin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to slake the sin withal; and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatory.

"Such argumentation, I say, might appear to make well against such preachers; not against me, which simply and plainly utter true faith and fruits of the same, which be the good works of God, which he hath prepared for us to walk in; every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with soberness, having 'sensus ad discernendum bonum et malum vel mediocriter exercitatos.' For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always an infant still in Christ, and in infirmity: in reproof of which it was said, 'Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo.' For St. Paul saith not, 'estote humiles, ut non capiatis:' for though he would not that we should think arrogantly of ourselves, and above that that it becometh us to think of ourselves, but so to think of ourselves, 'ut simus sobrii ac modesti,' yet he biddeth us so to think of ourselves, as God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith. For he that may not with meekness think in himself what God hath done for him, and of himself as God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he, give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you inquire of them whether they may, 'cum sobrietate et modestiâ,' be sure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, 'cum sobrietate et modestiâ,'

follow St. Paul's bidding, where he saith unto us all. Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousness be infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low; but so that we may restore unto him, 'qui peregre profectus est,' his gifts again 'cum usurâ,' that is to say, with good use of the same, so that 'ædificemus invicem' with the same, 'ad gloriam Dei.' Amen.

"For my life, I trust in God that I neither have, neither (by God's grace) shall I, neither in soberness, nor yet in drunkenness, affirm any truth of myself, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church consonant to the Scripture of God, though it be showed you never so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his Epistle, where he saith, Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God. First, not every thing whereupon followeth dissension, causeth dissension, as I would that they that showed you that, would also show you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then, as Gamaliel said, 'dissolvetur:' if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends also, 'who can dissolve it, but shall seem to repugn against God?' And yet there be many, not heathens, but in Christendom, that dissent from the same, which could bear full evil to hear said unto them, 'Vos ex patre diabolo estis.' So that such an opinion might seem to some to make a dissension in a Christian congregation, saving that they may say perchance with more liberty than others, that an occasion is sometimes taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saying that non omnes omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet liberty of the gospel into the sour bond of ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a Christian congregation, when St. Paul did write his Epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of masterly curates, so that the false apostles might have objected to St. Paul that his apostleship was not of God, forasmuch as there was dissension in a Christian congregation by occasion thereof, while some would renew their opinions by occasion of the Epistle, some would 'opinari,' as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and masters, the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristianed, but christianed, and high prelates of the professors of Christ. For

your friends, I know right well what Erasmus hath said in an epistle set before the paraphrases of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissension with his pen in a Christian congregation, inasmuch as many have dissented from him, not alone in cloisters, (men more than christened men,) of high perfection, but also at Paul's Cross, and St. Mary Spital, besides many that with no small zeal have written against him, but not without answer.

“And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that St. Jerome's writings were of God, which caused dissension in a Christian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epistles, which be these: ‘*Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripture veritatem inquis, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripture veritatem poscentibus denegabo.*’ I pray you what were they, that called St. Jerome ‘falsarium,’ and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? Unchristian or Christian? What had the unchristian to do with Christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a Christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomachs than right judgment, of a greater authority than good charity: but St. Jerome would not cease to do good for the evil-speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same: and if this dissension were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? *de malo in pejus scilicet.*”

“And I pray you what mean your friends by a Christian congregation? All those, trow ye, that have been christianed? But many of those be in worse condition, and shall have greater damnation, than many unchristianed. For it is not enough to a Christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we be christened, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps: which thing if we busy not ourselves to do, let us not crack that we profess Christ's name in a Christian congregation, in one baptism.

“And whereas they add, ‘in one Lord,’ I read in Matt. xvii., Not every one that saith Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessors, saying to them, Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? Even as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian congregation, to say every day, ‘*Domine, dominus noster,*’ and to salute Christ with a double ‘domine.’ But I would

your friends would take the pains to read over Chrysostom, super Matthæum, hom. 49. cap. 24, to learn to know a Christian congregation, if it will please them to learn at him. And whereas they add, in one faith. St. James saith boldly, Show me thy faith by thy works. And St. Jerome, ‘If we believe, we show the truth in working.’ And the Scripture saith, He that believeth God attendeth to his commandments: and the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friends from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company!

“Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchristened, but them that be christened, and answer not unto their christendom. For St. Jerome sheweth how true preachers should order themselves, when evil priests and false preachers, and the people by them deceived, should be angry with them for preaching the truth, exhorting them to suffer death for the same, of the evil priests and false preachers, and the people deceived of them; which evil priests and false preachers, with the people deceived, be christened as well as others. And I fear me that St. Jerome might appear to some Christian congregation, as they will be called, to write seditiously, to divide the unity of a great honest number confessing Christ, ‘in uno baptismo, uno Domino, una fide,’ saying, ‘The people which before were brought asleep by their masters, must go up to the mountains: not such mountains which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountains of the Old and New Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when they are occupied with reading in these mountains, if they find no instructors, (for the harvest is great, and the workmen be few,) yet shall the diligent study of the people be approved in fleeing to the mountains, and the slothfulness of the masters shall be rebuked.’

“I do marvel why our Christian congregations be so greatly grieved that lay-people would read Scripture, seeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth not here the unchristened to the christened, but the lay-people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have been rocked and locked asleep in a subtle trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain; at the least-way to the pain of them that have wakened them with the word of God. And it is properly said of St. Jerome to call them masters and not servants: meaning that servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their Master Christ, to his glory. Masters teach not Christ's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which masterly curates cannot be quiet till they have

brought the people asleep again : but Christ the very true Master saith, 'Vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem.' 'Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ; dicit Dominus : ' and there have been, 'which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish.' I pray God give our people grace so to wake, ut studium illorum comprobetur, and our masters so to sleep, ut non desidia illorum coarguatur. For who is so blind that he seeth not how far our Christian congregation doth gainsay St. Jerome, and speaketh after another fashion ?

God amend that is amiss ;

For we be something wide I wis.

"But now your friends have learned of St. John, that Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God : and I have learned of St. Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christians, which confess Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their acts ; so that St. Paul should appear to expound St. John, saving that I will not affirm any thing as of myself, but leave it to your friends to show you 'utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem : ' for your friends know well enough by the same St. John, 'qui ex Deo est, non peccat : ' and there both have been and be now too many, which with mouth only confess Christ to be come in the flesh ; but will not effectually hear the word of God, by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that St. John saith, 'Qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit ; vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis.' And many shall hear, I never knew you, which shall not alone be christened, but also shall 'prophetare,' and do puissant things 'in nomine Christi : ' and St. Paul said there should come ravening wolves which will not spare the flock ; meaning it of them that should 'confiteri Christum in carne,' in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office, which Christ calleth false prophets, and biddeth us beware of them, saying, They shall come in sheep's clothing ; and yet they may wear both satin, silk, and velvet, called afterwards, naughty servants, not feeding but smiting their fellow servants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which shall have their portion with hypocrites. They are called 'servi,' servants, I trow, quòd ore confitentur Christum in carne ; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem : because they confess Christ in the flesh : and naughty they are called, because they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due season, and exercising mastership over the flock. And yet your friends reason as though there could none bark and bite at

true preachers, but they that be unchristianed, notwithstanding that St. Augustine, upon the same Epistle of John, calleth such confessors of Christ, qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, 'antichristos ; ' a strange name for a Christian congregation. And though St. Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appear not to be of God, to some men's judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Christ's charity, so to cause men to hate antichrists, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, Hate that is evil : and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between Christians and antichristians, when neither pen nor tongue can divide the antichristians from their blind folly. And I would you would cause your friends to read over St. Augustine upon the Epistle of St. John ; and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it. As I remember, it is in his Tractate iii. But I am not sure nor certain of that, because I have not seen it since I was at Cambridge ; and here I have not St. Augustine's works to look for it : but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to know the Christians from the antichristians, which both be christened, and both confess 'Jesum esse Christum,' if they be asked the question : and yet the one part denieth it in very deed. 'But let us not stand upon our talk, but attend to our doings and manner of life, to know whether we strive to perform the duties of our calling or not : yea, rather, we perhaps persuade ourselves that it is not necessary for us to perform them, referring them all to primitive usage ; but that it is enough for us to bear rule and authority, and to bestow ourselves wholly upon secular matters, pleasures, and pomp of this world.'

"And yet as long as they minister the word of God, or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankind, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to work with the ministration of the same to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for God's ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatsoever the minister be, though he be a devil, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origen saith, and Chrysostom, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, St. Jerome saith : 'But there is required a judgment, to discern when they minister God's word and ordinance of the same, and their own, lest peradventure we take chalk for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion.' For as it is commonly said, 'the blind eat many a fly,' as they did which were persuaded of the high priests, to ask Barabbas, and to crucify Jesus ; and ye know that to follow the blind guides, is to come into the pit with the same.

'And well you know,' saith St. Augustine, 'how aptly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity and negligence? They dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himself, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whom they be blamed.'

"Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when shall that be, as long as we will not hear the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reprove our evilness with the truth? And, to say truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without mutilation and adulteration of the word, (as Nicolas de Lyra saith in his time few did: what they do now-a-days, I report me to them that can judge,) than to have such a uniformity, that the silly people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgment, superstition, and idolatry; and esteem things, as they do all, preposterously; doing that that they need not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done; and so show their love to God, not as God biddeth, which saith, If ye love me, keep my commandments; and again, He that knoweth my precepts, and doth them, he it is loveth me; but as they bid, which seek their own things, not Christ's: as though to tithe mint were more than judgment, faith, and mercy.

"And what is to love in state of curates, but what he taught, who said, Peter, lovest thou me? Feed, feed, feed; which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing else, but to wear rings, mitres, and rochets, &c. And when they err in right loving, how can the people but err in loving, and be all of the new fashion, to his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing, which will not be reformed, I trow, 'nisi per manum Dei validam.' And I have both St. Augustine and St. Thomas, with divers others, that 'lex' is taken not alonely for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is said, 'Non estis sub lege,' though your friends reprove the same. But they can make no division in a Christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a soberness in our preaching, I pray God send it unto us, whatsoever ye mean by it. For I see well, whosoever will be happy, and busy with 'væ vobis,' he shall shortly after come 'coram nobis.'

"And whereas your friends think that I made a lie, when I said that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world, though

your friends be much better learned than I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I think, or have thought, better than I; juxta illud, nemo novit quæ sunt hominis, &c.; as though better men than I have not thought so, as Boniface (as I remember) Octavus, and the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower, presbyter cardinalis, in his book, where he proveth the pope to be above the council general, and specially where he saith that the pope is 'king of kings, and lord of lords;' and that he is 'the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not so;' and that Constantine did but restore his own unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that, (as St. John saith Christ did,) He came unto his own, and his own received him not: and yet I hear not that any of our Christian congregations have reclaimed against him, until now of late dissension began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would desire them to be my good masters, and if they will do me no good, at the least-way do me no harm; and though they can do you no more good than I, yet I am sure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

"And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Marulphus in London, an Italian, and in times past a merchant of dispensations, which I suppose would die in the quarrel, as God's true knight, and true martyr.

"As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I showed to you my mind before my ordinary; and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, saving I cannot interpret evil, your doings towards me; and yet neither mine ordinary, nor you, disallowed the thing that I said. And I looked not to escape better than Dr. Crome, but when I have opened my mind never so much, yet I shall be reported to deny my preaching, of them that have belied my preaching, as he was: I shall have need of great patience to bear the false reports of the malignant church.

"Sir, I have had more business in my little cure, since I spake with you, what with sick folks, and what with matrimonies, than I have had since I came to it, or than I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, which have great cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your friends that I said so foolishly, lest I make a dissension in a Christian congregation, and divide a sweet and a restful union, or 'tot quot,' with 'hæc requies mea in seculum seculi.' Sir, I had made an end of this scrib-

bling, and was beginning to write it again more truly and more distinctly, and to correct it, but there came a man of my Lord of Farley, with a citation to appear before my Lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose: I doubt whether ye can read it as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you send it me again, and that you so do, whether you can read it or not. Jesu mercy, what a world is this, that I shall be put to so great labour and pains, besides great costs, above my power, for preaching of a poor simple sermon! But I trow our Saviour Christ said true, I must needs suffer, and so enter: so perilous a thing it is to live virtuously with Christ, yea, in a Christian congregation. God make us all Christians, after the right fashion, Amen!"

A Letter of Master Latimer to King Henry the Eighth, for restoring again the free liberty of reading the Holy Scriptures.

"To the most mighty prince, king of England, Henry the Eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ:—The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalandus, saith, that he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man St. John Chrysostom saith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and show the truth that he knoweth. These sentences, most redoubted king, when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my conscience; and at the last drave me to this strait, that either I must show forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else be of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: the which thing rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

"For what other thing is it to be a traitor unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth, and cause of all truth? the which saith, that whosoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and of all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death itself, be it never so shameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men,

and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! and specially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of Holy Scripture, yet will neither show the truth themselves, (as they be bound,) neither suffer them that would. So that unto them may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would, to enter in! And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the word of God, which David calleth, a light to direct and show every man how to order his affections and lusts, according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief. And especially in this your realm, they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say). And now, at the last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth, (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny,) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English.

"Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you be here to me and to all your subjects, in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your Grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born; so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you be a higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For, as St. Paul saith, Those members that be taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your lowly, favourable, and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

"First, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting-forth of the gospel; and to note also the words of our Master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel; and to these have ever in your mind the golden rule of our Master Christ, The tree is known by the fruit: for by the diligent marking of these, your Grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not. And concerning the first, all Scripture sheweth plainly, that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

"Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistress and maid. How vilely, thinks your Grace, were they entreated in the inns and lodgings by the way! and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight! Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

"But this he did to show us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus: If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them. So that it is not against the poverty in spirit, which Christ preacheth in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter v., to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also be privy enemies, (and so much the worse,) which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men; and they have lords' lands, and kings' riches. Yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm,

yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth; unto whom the holy apostle St. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey: yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

"Your Grace may see what means and craft the spirituality (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your Grace's last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them: neither will I that your Grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away such evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

"I name nor appoint any person or persons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew vii., By their fruits you shall know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, they be read in Matthew xv., where he sheweth, that here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil should be said by them, for their preaching sake. But he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, It becometh not the servant to be above the Master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and heretics. Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and there your Grace shall see that he promised to the true preachers no worldly promotions or dignity; but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith, In the world ye shall have oppression, and the world shall hate you: but in me you shall have peace. And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel saith our Saviour Christ also, Lo, I send you forth as sheep among wolves. So that the true preachers go like sheep harmless, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God; so far is it off that they will persecute any others but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be known by, that it should be

despised among those worldly-wise men, and that they should repute it but foolishness, and deceivable doctrine; and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

“And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul saith, that every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution. And also he saith further in the Epistle written to the Philippians, in the first chapter, that it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.

“Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers; and where is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel, the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the Holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withal.

“Therefore pleaseth it your good Grace to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, By their fruits you shall know them. For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute, be void and without all truth, not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel) is come into the world, and which shall utter and show forth every man's works. And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the Holy Scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection: and so they persuade, at the least-way they would fain persuade, your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly wisdom, wherewith they judge

and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

“But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your Grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even to-day, before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly-wise counsellors of Hanun the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun, not only to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying that they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his land; so that afterward they, bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it. And they caused the young king to shear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors! But see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of all them that took their parts.

“Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also, to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gainsaid his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth show, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel regard not your Grace's commandment, neither set by your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your Grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so, like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard nor esteem other your Grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion: for your Grace knoweth

that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish, to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemy, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put them out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors, (as men say, and of likelihood it should be,) were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and more would have done, if God hath not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason, which their head and captain was about: and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they, being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, who before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

"Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections, which have been in this realm heretofore; and whence is it, that there be so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not break only your Grace's laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons, which causeth many a man to sin, in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry out both of these books, and also of them that have them, yea, and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon faggots, to burn both the books and them that have them.

"And as touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your Grace's laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather

theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these books that be evil, unruly and self-willed persons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ, and his words, the cause that Judas fell; but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the Scripture. If the lay people had such curates, that would thus do their office, neither these books, nor the devil himself, could hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame: so that the lack of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these books, which I have not all read; but to show that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the Scripture, as they would make men believe should follow.

"And though it be so that your Grace may by other books, and namely by the Scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite-wolves clad in sheep's clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter unto your Grace such things as God put in my mind to write. And this I do (God so judge me!) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I think the word of God should go forth without persecution, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the last sign that Christ showed to his disciples should come before the day of judgment: so that if your Grace had once commanded that the Scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to others, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your Grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels.

"And take heed whose counsels your Grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that, for fear of losing of their worldly worship and honour, will not leave of their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion, they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity, which they put in this life, should be marred, and their

wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should now be put forth and allowed. But, alas! let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which, before, he despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

“Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had showed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him; and, notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

“Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God; that you may do that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight without the word of God, that your Grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church; and, according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith; for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

“Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul; and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your Grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your ‘*quietus est*’ sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace.—Anno Domini 1530.



IN this letter of Master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider: first, his good conscience to God, his goodwill to the king, the duty of a

right pastor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of princes' courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them; and specially we may note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvel at in the said letter, the great boldness and divine stoutness in this man, who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly, without all fear of death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish that, which no counsellor durst once speak unto him, in defence of Christ's gospel. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realm, for their parts, likewise in like cases of necessity would follow, (as indeed they should,) so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and also for lack that the officers of God's word do not their duty.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold adventure, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time: yet, notwithstanding, God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good-will of the prince, for, not long after the same, he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester, as is above declared.

Seeing Master Latimer was so bold and plain with the king, (as is afore specified,) no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness toward other meaner persons in admonishing them of their disorder, especially if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression: for example whereof we have another letter of his written to a certain justice of the peace in Warwickshire, who, as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed.

The letter, although it may seem somewhat long and tedious, yet I thought here not to overpass the same for divers and sundry respects: first that the virtue and faithful conscience of this good pastor may appear more at large; also for that all other bishops and pastors by this example may learn with like zeal and stomach to discharge their duty and conscience in reforming things amiss, and in powdering with the salt of God's word the sores of the people. Which thing if every bishop for his part within his diocess had done in King Edward's days, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I suppose that the persecution of Queen Mary had not so plagued the realm as it did: but where never a man almost liveth in due order, and yet never a bishop will stir to seek redress, what can become of the realm? Item, another respect is, because of the justices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed thereby, not to abuse their authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong, through extortion or partiality. And finally, that all injurious oppressors whatsoever, by the said letter may take some fruit of wholesome admonition. What the argument and occasion was of this letter, I showed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the gentleman, is this as followeth.

"Right worshipful, *salutem in Domino*. And now, sir, I understand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievously my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that 'you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the best bishop in England,' &c.

"Ah sir! I see well I may say as the common saying is, 'Well, I have fished and caught a frog:' brought little to pass with much ado. 'You will not bear it with me,' you say. Why, sir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It might seem unseemly for a justice of peace to be a breaker of peace: I am glad the doting time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with me, in that you say you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before some judge, and call me into some court. God turn it to good. I refuse no judgment. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another, in the name of the Lord. Let justice proceed in judgment: and then and there, do best, have best, for club half-penny. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein, confuting me, you will defend yourself and your brother against me. Now that would I see, quoth long

Robin, *ut dicitur vulgariter*. I cannot choose but must allow such diligence: for so should both your integrities and innocencies best appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your brother's doings, in this matter to be upright. And then will I gladly give place, confessing my fault humbly, as one conquered with just reasons. But I think it will not be.

"But now first of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand trespassed you? Forsooth, that can I tell; no man better: for I have charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper-dealing, and such-like misbehaviour. What a sore matter is this! And will ye not bear so much with me? Will ye not take such a show of my good-will towards you, and toward the saving of your soul at my hand? O Lord God, who would have thought that Master N. had been so impudent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his soul? I have in use to commit such trespass many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, and the best of the realm, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and privilege of a preacher? What is it else, but even to rebuke the world of sin, without respect of persons. Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers. You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reproved in the pulpit, which cannot bear the same in a secret sealed-up letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly: unless perhaps to rebuke sin sharply, be now to lack all charity, friendship, and truth. But, Master N., if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregs of this deceivable world, that I ween you have forgotten your catechism. Read therefore again the opening of the first commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complain, &c.

"Item, sir, you said further, 'that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour,' &c. How so, good Master N.? Wherein? or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of Master Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himself. Master N., to forge and feign, (which argueth an ill

cause,) that is one thing ; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing : as though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust me, Master N., I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began ; but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteem him better than I do some others whom I have perceived and found otherways. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad : among all men, either friends or enemies, according to Paul's precept, not esteemed of the children of this world, Hate you, saith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time, for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Master N., when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so simple, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles ? Have I lived so long in this tottering world, and have I been so many ways turmoiled and tossed up and down, and so much as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not discern cheese from chalk, truth from falsehood ; but that every silly soul, and base-witted man, might easily abuse me to what enterprise he listed at his pleasure ? Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you not tell me how your brother abused me, promising before me and many more, that he would stand to your awardship, and now doth deny it ? Why do you not tell me, how those two false, faithless wretches abuse me, promising also to abide your award, and do it not ? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you yourself have abused me, promising me to redress the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise ? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but only you must needs burden me with my neighbour's abusing me, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, so God help me at my need ! For if he had abused me as you and others have done, I should be soon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, &c.

"Item, sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants, agreed to stand to your award, &c. No, sir, Master N., you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have per-

sueded you to think it to be, so inducing you to do their request to your own shame and rebuke, if you persevere in the same, beside the peril of your soul, for consenting, at least-way to the maintenance by falsehood of your brother's iniquity. For in that you would your awardship should take none effect, you show yourself nothing inclinable to the redress of your brother's unright dealing with an honest poor man, which hath been ready at your request to do you pleasure with his things, or else he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.

"Ah, Master N. ! what manner of man do you show yourself to be ? or what manner of conscience do you show yourself to have ? For first, as touching your brother, you know right well that Sir Thomas Coking, with a letter of his own handwriting, hath witnessed unto your brother's agreement ; which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I showed the same to my neighbour, and others more ere I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to show. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it ? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a sufficient proof, trow you ? the Lord himself saying, In the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true, I dare say, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be ; for there be three men yet alive that dare swear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what should we look for at such men's hands, when you yourself play the part you do ? But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.

"Item, sir, you said yet further, that the justices of peace in the country think you very unnatural, in taking part with me before your brother, &c. Ah, Master N., what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth ! For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing ; and a worthy minister of justice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you ? No, I required you to minister justice between your brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of justices be they, I pray you, which would so fain have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and should reform and amend your brother ? as you yourself know, no man better. What ! justices ? No, jugglers you might more worthily call such as they be, than justices. Be those justices which call you unnatural, for that you will not take your

brother's part against all right and conscience, whom you have picked out and appointed to have the final hearing and determining of my neighbour's cause, after your substantial and final award-making? Verily I think no less. Forsooth he is much beholden to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholesome counsel that you have to give your poor neighbours in their need? Indeed you show yourself a worthy juggler, oh! I would have said a justiciar, among other of your juggling and partaking justices. O good God! what is in the world? Marry, sir, my neighbour had spun a fair thread, if your partaking justices, through your good counsel, had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my friends, with all God's flock, from the whole fellowship of your so natural and partaking justices. Amen.

"Lord God! who would have thought that there had been so many partaking justices, that is to say, unjust justices, in Warwickshire, if Master N. himself, one of the same order, (but altogether out of order,) and therefore knoweth it best, had not told us the tale? But these call you, you say, very unnatural, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural. For we read of a double nature, sound, and corrupt. That was full of justice: this, unless it be restored, abideth always unjust, bringing forth the fruits of wickedness one after another: so that he that will not help his brother, having a just cause, in his need, may be justly called unnatural, as not doing according to the instinct of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. But he that will take his brother's part against right, as to ratify his brother's wrong deceiving, he is too much natural; as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God; and so to be natural may seem to be cater-cousin, or cousin-germain with, to be diabolical.

"I fear me we have too many justices that be too much natural, to their own perishment both body and soul. For worthy justices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, (of which sort we have a fewer amongst us, than I would,) will have no respect at all in their judgments and proceedings to vicinity of blood; but altogether ad dignitatem et æquitatem causæ, ut quod justum est semper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injustum est intuitu hominum; of which number I pray God make you one. Amen. He is just, saith St. John, that doth justice. But he that sinneth (as they all do, which do unjustly for favour and pleasure of men) is of the devil, saith he; of which sort all our partaking and natural justices be with all their partiality and naturality. Quare dig-

num et justum est, that as many as be such justices, be justly deprived of their offices, and further also be punished, according to the quantity or quality of their crime; so that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the commonwealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us. Amen.

Quare seponite justitiam, et sequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as just as Germain's lips, which came not together by nine miles, ut vulgo dicunt, &c.

"Item, sir, finally and last of all you added these words following: 'Well,' quoth you, 'let Master Latimer take heed how he meddleth with my brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life,' &c. Ah, sir! and is your brother such a one as you speak of indeed? Merciful God! what a commendation is this for one brother to give another! Is this your glorying, my friend? And were it not possible, trow you, to make him better? It is written, 'Vexation giveth understandeth.' And again, 'It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me.' At least-way, I may pray to God for him as David did for such like, after this sort: Bind fast asses with bridle and snaffle, that they approach not near unto thee. In the mean season, I would I had never known either of you both; for so should I have been without this inward sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardliness of you both to godliness, for I cannot be but heavy-hearted, to see such men so wickedly minded.

"Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you say, 'I shall find him as crabbed and as froward a piece,' &c. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the same it plainly appeareth, that you confess your brother's cause, wherein he so stiffly standeth, to be unjust and very naughty. For he that standeth so stiffly in a good quarrel and a just cause, as many good men have done, is called a fast man, a constant, a trusty man. But he that is so obstinate and untractable in wickedness and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your brother to be. Wherefore, knowing so well your brother's cause to be so naughty, why have you not endeavoured yourself, as a worthy justice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised me to do, now almost twelve months ago, if not altogether? Summa summarum, Master N., if you will not come off shortly, and apply yourself thereunto more effectually hereafter, than you have heretofore, be you well assured thereof, I shall detect you to all the friends that I have in England, both high and low, as well his crabbedness and frowardness, as your

colourable supportation of the same; that I trust I shall be able thereby either to bring you both to some goodness, or at least-way I shall so warn my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your illness, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least-way less harm by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and shun your company.

"You shall not stay me, Master N., no, though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I will not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other men's sins. For whether it be by detestable pride, whether by abominable avarice, or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keep any poor man so long from his right and duty so stiff-neckedly and obstinately, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of ways to consent to the same? You know, I trow, Master N., what theft is; that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another man's good against his will that is the owner, as some define it. If he be a thief that so doth openly, what shall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and supporteth him by any manner of colour? Consider with yourself, good Master N., what it is to oppress, and to defraud your brother in his business; and what followeth thereof. It is truly said, The sin is not forgiven, except the thing be restored again that is taken away. No restitution, no salvation; which is as well to be understood of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your brother, Master N., by cavillation, continue in the devil's possession. I will do the best I can, and wrestle with the devil, omnibus viribus, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man neither in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withal, that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of law in this realm that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and confute you by the law. There is neither lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage in this realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authority.

"I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the king's Majesty, and all his honourable council, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the devil shall possess you still, to your final damnation. So that I do not despair, but verily trust, one way or other, to pluck

both you and also your crabbed brother (as crabbed as you say he is) out of the devil's claws, maugre the devil's heart.

"These premises well considered, look upon it, good Master N., that we have no further ado: God's plague is presently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and in no wise defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend whatsoever hath been amiss. These were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had perused that my nipping and unpleasant letter; and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so move you, the rather to call yourself to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply yourself to accomplish and perform what you have begun and promised to do, namely, the thing itself; being of such sort as apparently tendeth both to your worship, and also to God's high pleasure.

"Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribbling I wot not well what, (but I know you can read it and comprehend it well enough,) I bid you most heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to God's pleasure. Amen.—From Baxterley, the 15th of June.

"Yours to do you good, to his power,
HUGH LATIMER."

During the time that the said Master Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did write, besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise of letters we find very few or none that he did write to his friends abroad, save only these few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake; who, so long as she remained in England, was a singular patroness to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to Master Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to Master Coverdale, Master Latimer, Doctor Cranmer, with many others. The copy and effect of which his letter to Mrs. Wilkinson here followeth.

"If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, I was in prison, and you visited me? God grant us all to do and suffer, while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure. Amen.

"Yours, in Bocardo,
HUGH LATIMER."

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in

sending to King Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still, an ancient custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, being the first

day of January, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing,

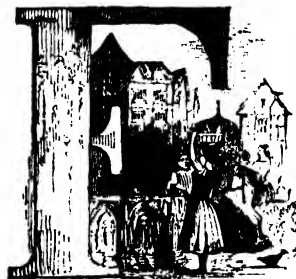


some another. But Master Latimer, being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this posy about it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus*.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of Master Ridley and of Master Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, withal their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travails, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years, to this present time and month of Queen Mary, being the month of October, A. D. 1555; in the which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore, as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other; so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were together both joined in one society of cause and martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that

remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and manner also of the commissioners, which were, Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, with others; and what were their words, their objections, their orations there used; and what again were the answers of these men to the same, as in the process here followeth to be seen.

The order and manner of the examination of Doctor Ridley and Master Latimer, had the thirtieth day of September, 1555, before the queen's commissioners.



FIRST, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners, in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about

the twelfth day of September, whereof more shall

be said (by the Lord's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, upon the twenty-eighth of the said month of September, was sent down to Oxford another commission from Cardinal Pole, legate *a latere*, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, to Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine, and judge Master Hugh Latimer, and Master Dr. Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition, and since. The which opinions if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

Wherefore, the last of September, the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Master Dr. Ridley, and anon Master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Master Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and

openly read. But Dr. Ridley, standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, estoons as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's Holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore, after the commission was published in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in respect to our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my Lord Cardinal's Grace, legate *a latere* to the pope's Holiness, as well in that he is of noble parentage, [and therewith Master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance,] descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's Holiness, it should have becomed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your own self take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's Holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons, (which thing we may in no case suffer,) you shall cause us to take the pain, to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

To whom Master Ridley, making his petition for licence, answered:

Ridley.—"As touching that you said, my Lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinal Grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's Grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour to the lord cardinal's Grace: for I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue. And as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his Grace: but, in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome, [and therewith put on his cap,] whose usurped supremacy, and abused authority, I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore, that I might not only by confession

profess the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap; and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your Lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his Grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, (which look for no such honour of you,) neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, for his regal descent [at which word Master Ridley moved his cap] and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my Lord Cardinal's Grace is, here in England, deputy of the pope's Holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Master Ridley put on

his]; and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

Ridley.—"The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your Lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your Lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your Lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is, an officer of the university) to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After



this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Master Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in this manner:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering

both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church, (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time,) if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the catholic and apostolic church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all Christian people, have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself: you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my Lords here, yea, and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do.

"Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long ago, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter-forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to spring, the council, willing to win my Lord Chancellor, sent you to him, (I then being in my Lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you,) and after you had talked with my Lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, 'Tush, my Lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my Lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault that also.' If this be true, (as my Lord is a man credible enough in such a matter,) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as catholically spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place, whereunto I exhort you. I wish you

to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's Holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St. Augustine, who writeth in this manner: 'All the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the Church of Rome.'] Here you see, Master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the Church of Rome. What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St. Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Master Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner:

Ridley.—"My Lord, I most heartily thank your Lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in the which I have marked especially three points which you used, to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

"First, The first point is this, that the see of Rome, taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

"Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and, together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your Lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, Whom say ye that I am? Then Peter said, I say, That thou art Christ, the

Son of God. To whom Christ answered, I say, Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church; that is to say, upon this stone—not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him: and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed on his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

“Now as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters-forth of Christ's glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered: and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it; and after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so, after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the bishopric. [And therewith the people smiled.] Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your Lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

“Semblably, I cannot nor dare not but commend,

reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting-forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But, after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St. Gregory, ‘He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.’

“Now whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, All the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection, I am sure that your Lordship knoweth, that in St. Augustine's time, there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your Lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called *Mare Mediterrancum*, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Augustine saith, ‘All the Christian countries beyond the seas and far regions, are subject to the see of Rome.’ If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Augustine saith, ‘All countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;’ declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence, also, the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the north

bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But to that you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I, doing my message to my Lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as your Lordship said) from the council to my Lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, 'Why, my Lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my Lord, be diligent in confounding of them;' for at that time my Lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my Lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"In like sort, as touching my sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such-like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I, to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certain evil-disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned, understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the bishop of Lincoln, somewhat interrupting him, said:—

"Well, Master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St. Augustine saith, that the whole Christian world is subject to the see of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, *In transmarinis, et longe remotis terris*, only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea, countries far distant from Rome, yet

nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that *totus mundus* is more than Europe."

Ridley.—"Indeed, my Lord, if St. Augustine had said, *simpliciter totus mundus*, and not added *in transmarinis*, it had been without limitation; but in that he said, *totus mundus in transmarinis partibus*, 'all the countries beyond the seas,' he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by *totus mundus*."

The bishop not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:—

"Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles; and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me: wherefore I will return thither again.

"Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is 'catholic,' which is deduced of *κατὰ ὅλον*, that is, *per omnia*: so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore, Master Ridley, for God's love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth: it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their Majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possession, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their Highnesses do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their Majesties have forsaken and yielded?

"Wherefore (Master Ridley) you shall not only

not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their Majesties' honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's Holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of his Holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's Grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body; then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's Highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm, due for heretics.

"Wherefore, Master Ridley, consider you state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce us not to do all that we may do, which is only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die, (as most untruly hath been reported of us,) but that is the temporal judge's office, we only declare you to be none of the church; and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

"But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church."

Then Master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake:—

Ridley.—"My Lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved; the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or

bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincencius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.' In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbidden the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain, *à suffocato et sanguine*, that is,

from things stified, and from blood; so that this seemeth to be an express commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"

Ridley.—"My Lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, Do this, that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration.

Lincoln.—"So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which articles you shall hear now; and to-morrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed. And if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

Articles, jointly and severally ministered to Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, by the pope's deputy.

"In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolnensis, Iacobus Gloucestrensis, et Iohannes Bristolensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum—miseratione divinâ S. Mariæ in cosmedin, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum—authoritate sufficiente delegati, ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis

Vigornensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes, specialiter delegati, et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet inquirendo) proponimus, et articulamus conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur.

"1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou, Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

"3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"4. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Master Doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

"5. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off."

The examination of Dr. Ridley upon the said articles.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsal shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln.—"These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

Ridley.—"Why, my Lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at

this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow, what you will."

Ridley.—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet, also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your Lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your Lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so, in like sort, the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might."

Then spake Doctor Weston, one of the audience:

Weston.—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley.—"No, Master Doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds, and the high priest's, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now: to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley.—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and, if your Lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me thereunto."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley.—"I will be short; I pray your Lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears."

Ridley.—"Why, my Lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln.—"Well, Master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; there-

fore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

And thereupon rehearsed the same.

Ridley.—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *vere*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism."

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley.—"My Lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But, if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in

that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered :

Ridley.—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that, that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered :

Ridley.—"That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth : with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still : in like sort in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread."

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, This is the Holy Ghost, as he did by the bread, This is my body.

Then Master Ridley recited St. Augustine, who conferred both the sacraments the one with the other : but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding, thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said :

Ridley.—"Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away, (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory,) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion : for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it,

and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln :

Lincoln.—"Indeed, as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross : yet, nevertheless, he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven ; the which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which Master Ridley answered, that in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false ; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly ; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientiâ scholasticâ*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said :

Lincoln.—"To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church ; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, [for it was long before he was understood,] if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require : but, if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it."

So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Master Ridley, and sent for Master Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

Master Latimer appeareth before the commissioners.

Now, after Master Ridley was committed to the mayor, then the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, eftsoons as he was placed, said to the lords :

Latimer.—"My Lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready : for I

am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls."

Then the bishop of Lincoln :—" Master Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine ; but it shall be amended."

Then Master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap, (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin,) wearing an old thread-bare Bristol frieze-gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner :

Lincoln.—" Master Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my Lords here have a commission from my Lord Cardinal Pole's Grace, legate *a latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the pope's Holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1551, as at sundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In the which commission be specially two points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and, together with all this realm, yea, all the world, confess the truth, we, upon due repentance of your part, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ's church, from the which you in the time of schism fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you ; I desire you but to return thither from whence you went. Consider, Master Latimer, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queen their Majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted. It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed ; it shall be no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider, Master Latimer, that within these twenty years this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head ; and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would

be opprobrious : it is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the express word of God, may be proved."

With that Master Latimer, who before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The bishop proceeded, saying :

" For Christ spake expressly to Peter, saying, *Pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas*, the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includeth also a certain pre-eminence and government ; and therefore is the king called *Rex a regendo* : so that in saying, *rege*, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and so in all ages hath it remained in the see of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and, according to the authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queen their Majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation : yet lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my Lord Cardinal his Grace, by him, as legate to the pope's Holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But, if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness ; if you will not acknowledge your errors ; if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions ; if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do, (*that* the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do,) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are a lost child ; and, as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws. Therefore, Master Latimer, for God's love consider your estate ; remember you are a learned man ; you have taken degrees in the school, borne the office of a bishop ; remember you are an old man ; spare your body, accelerate not your death, and

especially remember your soul's health, quiet of your conscience. Consider, that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider, that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part, [then the bishop put off his cap,] again with all my heart exhort you."

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then Master Latimer lifted up his head, (for before he leaned on his elbow,) and asked whether his Lordship had said; and the bishop answered, "Yea."

Latimer.—"Then will your Lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?"

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts."

Latimer.—"I beseech your Lordship license me to sit down."

Lincoln.—"At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Latimer.—"Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my Lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your Lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him govern his people. Indeed, my Lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid *regere*: but, since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of *regere*. Indeed they ought *regere*, but how, my Lord? not as they will themselves: but this *regere* must be hedged in and ditched in. They must rule, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and, amongst others, this point is one, which your Lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*; and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, If there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests of the

order of Levi shall decide the matter according to the law of God, so it must be taken. This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and others the clergy of the new law: but, in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter 'according to God's law,' that 'according to God's law' is left out, and only is recited, as the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I assure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's coin?" With the which terms the audience smiled. "This is much like the *regere* which your Lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now I trust, my Lord, I do not rail yet."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know of any such, I can say nothing therein."

Latimer.—"Yes, my Lord, the book is open to be read, and is entituled to one which is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge."

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission.

Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up and said it was his book.

Latimer.—"Was it yours, my Lord? Indeed I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me."

Then the audience laughed again; and Master Latimer spake unto them, saying:—

Latimer.—"Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death."

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said:—

Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done."

After this the bishop of Gloucester said, in excusing of his book, "Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have." Then Master Latimer interrupted him, saying:—

Latimer.—"Lo, you look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of Oblivion, making the bare walls my library; keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were

appointed to fight for life and death, and over-night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

But the bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying:—

Gloucester.—"I went not about to recite any place of Scripture in that place of my book; for then, if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument *a majore*, in this sense; that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal *secundum legem Dei*?"

Latimer.—"Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matter of religion; and, as my Lord said even now, *regere*: but they must do it *secundum verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam*: according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, their own imaginations and fantasies."

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoken more, saving that the bishop of Lincoln said that they came not to dispute with Master Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to Master Ridley. But Master Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester.

Latimer.—"Well, my Lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with God's word, and not to leave out a part, and to snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Master Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing of the articles in form and sense as I declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to Master Ridley, and required Master Latimer's answer to the first. Then Master Latimer, making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queen their Majesties' subject, and not the pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them; required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever

he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively or negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same again; and Master Latimer answered as followeth:—

Latimer.—"I do not deny, my Lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ; because that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion. But I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament, as you would have it."

Lincoln.—"Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively."

Latimer.—"Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the second article?" and recited the same.

Latimer.—"There is, my Lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine. For the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity; because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word."

With that the bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying:—

Lincoln.—"I.o, Master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine! That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread."

Latimer.—"Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is a holy bread indeed."

But the bishop of London interrupted him and said:—

Lincoln.—"Oh, ye make a difference between holy bread and holy bread." [With that the audience laughed.] "Well, Master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration?"

Latimer.—"Yes, verily, it must needs be so; for Christ himself calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confess the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it holy bread: not in that I make no difference betwixt

your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body; and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you to the third question?" and recited the same.

Latimer.—"No, no, my Lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all (as St. Paul saith) upon the cross; neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his cross only."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you to the fourth, Master Latimer?"

And recited it. After the recital whereof, when Master Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or no?

Latimer.—"Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby."

Lincoln.—"Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Master Dr. Weston as heresies; is it not so, Master Latimer?"

Latimer.—"Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, He that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the fifth article?" And recited it.

Latimer.—"I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer; I would you would propose the matter plainly."

Lincoln.—"In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouths of the people."

Latimer.—"I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not."

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said, "Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that, after you have pondered well all things against to-morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth."

Latimer.—"Now, my Lord, I pray you give me licence in three words, to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the pope."

Lincoln.—"Nay, Master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have licence to speak forty words."

Latimer.—"Nay, my Lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your Lordships: I pray you let not me be troubled to-morrow again."

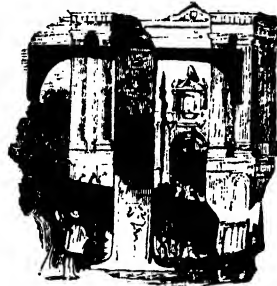
Lincoln.—"Yes, Master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow."

Latimer.—"Truly, my Lord, as for my part, I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow."

Lincoln.—"Yes, for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy: you must needs appear again to-morrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church."

And forthwith the bishop charged the mayor with Master Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clock at afternoon.

Here followeth the second day's session.



HE next day following, (which was the first day of October,) somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were

set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaol-delivery) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After Master Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but

only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which although they justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for, as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his Grace; but, in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope's Holiness (with that the bishop and all then present put off their caps, but Master Ridley moved not his) you said you neither could nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but, forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley.—"I pretend now none other cause than I did yesterday; that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope; and not from any pride of mind, (as God is my judge,) neither for contempt of your Lordships or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace as concerning those points which your Lordship spake of; that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your Lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln.—"Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then:" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in sense following:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then, also, to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we

are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday, (which we would not wish,) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you, [and therewith he put off his cap,] not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition. Yesterday I brought forth amongst others St. Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Augustine's meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus* to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world: whereas, indeed, the process of St. Augustine's words will not admit that your interpretation; for he saith not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c., but first, 'all the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, *in transmarinis partibus*, 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

But Master Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying;

"I am sure, my Lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, cast between Europe and Africa, in the which be meant Europe beyond the sea; even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand."

And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St. Augustine. After long disceptation the bishop of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St. Augustine might be known by the consent of other the doctors; and rehearsed divers. But Master Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, were none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the doctors by some studious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

Then after, Lincoln came to Cyril, which (as he said) made against Master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon's own alleging in his Common-Places; and forthwith he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before—wherefore he passed it over.

"Cyril also, in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, 'Altars are

erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries: ergo, Christ is come.' But we may use the contrary of that reason, 'Altars are plucked down in Britain: ergo, Christ is not come.' A good argument *a contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

"Dr. Ridley smiling, answered, 'Your Lordship is not ignorant that this word *altare*, in the Scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word *altare*, not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord; and by that saying, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name: ergo, Christ is come,' he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance: ergo, Christ is come. For the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itself be past; then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage: neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Lincoln.—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive: and yet, when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley.—"Your Lordship's unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

Lincoln.—"As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles;" and afterwards he read the first article in manner above specified. "Now, Master Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it; but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then Master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the

beadle to take it from him. But he desired licence to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley.—"Why, my Lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my Lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your Lordships may handle it at your pleasure; therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln.—"Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but, except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

With that Master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, which immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding Master Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said:—

Lincoln.—"In the first part, Master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's Holiness."

Ridley.—"No, my Lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it."

But the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Master Ridley's answer to it. Then Master Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, Master Doctor Weston being prolocutor.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Master Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken, and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Master Ridley to turn.

Gloucester.—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrew the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *Væ, væ*, Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits!

"But you will say here, 'It is true that the prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit?' Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but, if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit; then can you not avoid the *væ* and woe which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, *Væ, væ*, Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit! then, for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over-much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church,—how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning and disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of Scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And, indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no

end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

"It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade Master Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom Master Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit! but that he acknowledgeth no such singularity in him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he, the bishop of Gloucester, said Master Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Master Cranmer: for at what time he was a young scholar, then was Master Cranmer a doctor, so that he confessed that Master Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:—

Gloucester.—"Why, Master Ridley, it is your own confession, for Master Latimer, at the time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in Master Cranmer's books, and Master Cranmer also said, that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln, with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Master Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word; and, therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his Lordship said the day before, that he should have licence to show his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had

demande licence to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Dr. Weston, which sat by, and said, "Why, my Lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Master Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his licence: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers. And afterwards Master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, which sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth:

Lincoln.—"Now I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for I assure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than *dolentes et gementes*: for indeed I for my part (I take God to witness) am sorry for you."

Whereunto Master Ridley answered, "I believe it well, my Lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdensome to your soul."

Lincoln.—"Nay, not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But, seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken what I shall say."

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before, we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was as this:

"That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood, to be in the sacrament of the altar: Secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration: Thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead; and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol) did judge and condemn the said Nicho-

las Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church: and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

The last appearance and examination of Master Latimer before the commissioners.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Master Latimer was sent for: but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat Master Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) Master Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as Master Ridley had. But afterwards as Master Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying:

Latimer.—"My Lords, I beseech your Lordships to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm."

Lincoln.—"I am sorry, Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that Master Latimer thanked his Lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner:

Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, although yesterday after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same, yet we, having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred further process till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and I, for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you: or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry."

It seemed that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that Master Latimer interrupted him, saying:

Latimer.—"Your Lordship often doth repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the

same. No, my Lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and catholic church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church: I must use here, in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprian, who at what time he was ascited before certain bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: 'In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken.' And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? 'Christ,' said he, 'hath foreshowed, that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross and follow him. Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble.' How think you then, my Lords, is it like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection:" which he proved, beginning at Noah's time even to the apostles.

Lincoln.—"Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary: for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel. But you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God and the received truth of the church."

Master Latimer interrupting him, said: "Yes verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."

But Lincoln goeth forth in his talk: "Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming, continually, there were very few which truly served God; but, after his coming, began the time of grace. Then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny did resist. There is a diverse consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But, Master Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we, hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity

school, a place for disputations. And whereas then, notwithstanding you had licence to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors, we, thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your estate, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time; and now have called you again in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning:" and afterwards recited the first article.

Latimer.—"Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your Lordships' authority, in that you are legaced by authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction—to the first article I answer now, as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his blood by the Spirit and grace: but, after that corporal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before. After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer.—"Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other, propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. In like manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like sort to recant, as he did Master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and Master Latimer had answered that he neither could nor would deny his Master Christ, and his verity, the bishop of Lincoln desired Master Latimer to hearken to him: and then Master Latimer, hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation; after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. But Master Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have licence briefly to declare the cause, why he refused the pope's authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then Master Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," quoth Master Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name." With that appellation the bishop was content: but, he said, it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed Master Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, Master Mayor." Because the press of the people was not yet diminished, each man looking for further process, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and willed Master Latimer to tarry till the press were diminished, lest he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance. And so continued Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, in durance till the sixteenth day of the said month of October.

A communication between Dr. Brooks and Dr. Ridley, in the house of Master Irish, the 15th day of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the mean season, upon the fifteenth day in the morning, and the same year abovesaid, Dr. Brooks, the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshal, with divers other of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came unto Master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's Majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.

"But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

"My Lord," quoth Dr. Ridley, "you know my

mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

Gloucester.—"Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's Holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

Ridley.—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, of the bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley.—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart."

Gloucester.—"Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

Ridley.—"Not I, truly."

Gloucester.—"But you must."

Ridley.—"I will not."

Gloucester.—"You must therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

Ridley.—"Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Gloucester.—"Will you not do it upon you?"

Ridley.—"No, that I will not."

Gloucester.—"It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Ridley.—"Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that;

the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants."

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play, insomuch that Bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered him again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

Gloucester.—"Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped."

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks; "Sir, the law is, he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, "Oh, well, well, well!" So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr. Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands; for, if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was: "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" And as they put upon him the mass-gear, so they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, "Lord

God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had! I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered and said, "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then Master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but Master Ridley said, "My Lord, I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr. Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Master Ridley said,

"Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my Lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's Majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's Majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better."

Then he read the same; and, when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, said, "This is nature that moveth me: but I have now done." And with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's Majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's Majesty for them."

Ridley.—"I pray you, for God's sake, do so."

Gloucester.—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted."

Ridley.—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein; and God's will be done."

Gloucester.—"I will do what lieth in me."

The copy of this supplication written to the queen here followeth.

"May it please your Majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so, honourable princess, that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenancies and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

"Now, I hear say, that the bishop which occupieth the same room now, will not allow the foresaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable Grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious patroness and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either of their part, or of mine, and always also the old rents reserved to the see without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious Highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid to me and to the chapter for their leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your Majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass towards your Grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and specially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not

set in their leases; and therefore, if that way shall please your Highness, they must be known by such ways and means as your Majesty, by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience, shall appoint: but yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and most humbly beseech your Majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

"I have also a poor sister that came to me out of the north, with three fatherless children, for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable Grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered in durance at my entrance into the see of London, not one penny of his movable goods; for it was almost half a year after his deposition, afore I entered into that place: yea and also, if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Master Stanton, can testify) I paid for him towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable Majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and in especial the archbishop of York, who, for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his Grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief, now unto your Highness I make most humble suit. The sixteenth of October, anno 1555.

"NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Master Ridley in praising God, burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But Master Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miser-

able wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same : therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, and in going away a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure, bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

The behaviour of Dr. Ridley at his supper, the night before his suffering.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs ; and, as he sat at supper, the same night, at Master Irish's, (who was his keeper,) he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage ; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married : " and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart : " at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough ; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself : though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," &c.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

The behaviour of Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, at the time of their death, which was the sixteenth of October, 1555.

Upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol college, the place of execution was appointed : and for fear of any tumult that

might arise, to let the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose, down to the feet : which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Boardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there ? " "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he, following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying Master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him ; and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed, and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in King Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby. Wherein he alleged

that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person ; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such-like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutheraus, Ecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst : but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith, believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth : the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant ; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley said to Master Latimer, " Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I ? " Master Latimer said, " Begin you first, I pray you. " " I will," said Master Ridley.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby ; unto whom Master Ridley said, " I beseech you, my Lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words. " And whilst my Lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshal, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, " Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject ; that is, have your life. " " Not otherwise ? " said Master Ridley. " No," quoth Dr. Marshal. " Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts. " " Well," quoth Master Ridley, " so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth : God's will be done in me ! " And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, " Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all. " To whose saying, Master Latimer added his old posy, " Well ! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened. " And

he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law Master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessities, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away ; other the bailiffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat ; and to divers of my Lord Williams's gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger ; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple : and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see ; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, " It were best for me to go in my truss still. " " No," quoth his brother, " it will put you to more pain : and the truss will do a poor man good. " Whereunto Master Ridley said, " Be it, in the name of God ; " and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, " O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies. "

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr. Ridley's and Master Latimer's middle : and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, " Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course. " Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, " Gunpowder. " " Then," said he, " I will take it to be sent of God ; therefore I will receive it as

sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother;" meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried off the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my Lord Williams, and said, "My Lord, I must be a suitor unto your Lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's Majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your Lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her Grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your Lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I

praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my Lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out"



And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine*

re-ceive spiritum meum. And after, repeated this

latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over-high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, (for the which cause he gave attendance,) as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain, (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God,) he showed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord, have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears in beholding the horrible sight; for I think there was none that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and increase of pain. But whose considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their

princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatises, letters, and exhortations, belonging to the story of the martyrs, unto the latter Appendix in the end of these volumes; thinking also to have done the like with these farewells and exhortations following of Bishop Ridley, yet, for certain purposes moving me thereunto, and especially considering the fruitful admonitions, wholesome doctrine, and necessary exhortations contained in the same, I thought best here to bestow, and consequently to adjoin the said tractations of that learned pastor, with the life and story of the author; whereof the two first be in a manner his farewells, the one to his kinsfolk, and generally to all the faithful of the number of Christ's congregation: the other more special to the prisoners and banished Christians in the gospel's cause: the third containeth a fruitful and a general admonition to the city of London, and to all others, with necessary precepts of Christian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be seen.

A Treatise or Letter written by Dr. Ridley, instead of his last farewell, to all his true and faithful friends in God: with a sharp admonition withal unto the papists.

"At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

"As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure, so likewise now I, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you—O all ye, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world—having like mind towards you all—and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness—to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

“Farewell, my dear brother George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions; and now, in the time of my cross, over all others to me most friendly and stedfast, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God’s cause ever hearty.

“Farewell, my dear sister Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ’s cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God, that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to God’s law. Honour thy mother-in-law his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

“Farewell, my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoun, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have requited it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

“Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them instead of their father, but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

“Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley of Willymounts-wike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness showed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in our stock and kindred, (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness,) to be as it were the bell-wether to order and conduct the rest, and hath also indued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others: so I pray you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you,) continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness; and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood,

untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

“Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss: but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

“Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord, which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my heart’s desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ’s blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, King Edward, and so also announced openly in his court, by his privy council.

“I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed nor astonished at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I assure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and his cause; unto the which honour he hath called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are God’s causes, and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that Paul’s Epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in God’s cause, and in Christ’s quarrel even unto death, I assure thee, O man, it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle and also martyr in Christ’s cause, St. Peter, saith, If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, (that is, in Christ’s cause, and for his truth’s sake,) then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebuke’s sake, suffered in Christ’s name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy apostle blessed and happy; how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also! Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son’s sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious

goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs; that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

"Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, (where, alas! the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thief's hand,) if it chanceth there, which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact and his posterity doth endure: even so ye that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs): know ye, I say, that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know, and follow the laws of God, ye have, and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God [to] rejoice of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations; the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can show more love, than to give his life for his friend.

"Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: for both are God's cause, both are in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For, know ye all, that like as there, when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten, (whereupon he and his household shall live,) he is

greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the Church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This Church of England hath of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

"This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given; the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup, in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

"All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

"It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture: and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that use, alas! to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the Holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set

in Christ's church, much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas ! was almost overgone.

"But, alas ! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain on these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage : they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem a heap of stones ; that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves, be of Samaria ; these Sabæi and Chaldæi, these robbers, have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the Church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God : they have carried it away, and overthrown it, and, instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, (as of baptism and others,) they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

"Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass ; but, in deed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, so that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and made them to believe *that* to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but, in substances, is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table, is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood ; which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again. And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel.

"Now for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have

brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word, wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister ? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it, but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness ?

"For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people ? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, (nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things,) but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God ; high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer ; for it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ's gospel ; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all ye my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death, which by God's grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God there-for, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

"Although the cause of the true man slain of the thief, while helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality are both one, (as I said before,) yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders : the goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far diverse. These thieves are worse, (I say,) for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty : for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers ; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called *sacrilegi*, as ye would say, church-robbers. They are more

wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live. These goods, (I say,) these thieves, these church-robbers, go about to spoil us of: the which goods, as, to the man of God, they excel and far pass all worldly treasure; so, to withstand, even unto the death, such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

"These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore, as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft-times hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood, good to be evil, and evil good, light to be darkness, and darkness light, superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God, and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do; but, stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to bewray their falsehood.

"The kind of fight against these church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of

Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, which are called of St. Paul principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtleties concerning heavenly things, therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly: we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their souls.

"And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, we fight not against flesh and blood; that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword, wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke, and Captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand Captain Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy, murdered down like a many of sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful, is the kind of death whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

"And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities) ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice, (if ye love me indeed,) for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity thaz

ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named : yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause, (whereof I nothing doubt,) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven ; who is he, (I say,) that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I, through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself to do) : who is he (I say) that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die ? The Lord forbid that any such should be that should forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection, by his Holy Spirit, in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his known truth ; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God, of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, than the university of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits, (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted,) than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born ?

"Farewell, therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse ! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best-beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me ? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees ; of thy common of-

fices, the chaplainship of the university, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader. And, of thy private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of ? First to be scholar, then to be fellow ; and, after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

"Farewell Pembroke hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge ! What case thou art in now (God knoweth) I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well-learned, and a great setter-forth of Christ's gospel, and of God's true word : so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, yea, and I ween all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse : of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven ; for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after ; and I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

"From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to the vicar of Herne in East Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel : oh that the fruit had answered to the seed ! And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me : but, I bless God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word which the Lord, by preaching of his word, did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Fiennes : the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others more.

"Farewell thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitane see, whereof once I was a member! To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity's sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name Christ's-church, in deed and in truth.

"Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God! Oh that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

"To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury; and so God give thee of his grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own laws: and thus fare you well!

"O London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel's sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever in them delight.

"Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment, to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well! as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God which is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be

his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day: this only I can pray for.

"O thou now wicked and bloody see! why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses, instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostom, yea, the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon! thou wicked lamb of antichrist! thou bloody wolf! why slayest thou down, and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and wilt follow none other but their own pastor Christ's voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god (I say) will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones; and his hands, O thou whorish drab! shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say lie upon thee, lie upon thee, filthy drab! and all thy false prophets.

"Yet thou, O London! I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt but in that great city there may be many privy mourners, which do daily mourn for that mischief, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in the office of mayoralty, yea, and in other citizens also (whom to

name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other, for true Christian kindness, which is showed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight! thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakedst the matter for the poor: thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but, to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with a uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, indued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city; and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their Master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of silly poor members of Christ, which else, for extreme hunger and misery, should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobs! and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever, unto the world's end. Amen.

"And thou, O Sir George Barnes! the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but also didst

labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a House of Occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell; and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

"Farewell now all ye citizens, that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be! Undoubtedly in London ye have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life, nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

"Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament; therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my Lords of the temporality farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it that I intend to say, in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already, to the see of London. To you therefore, my Lords of the temporality, will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge before the time of the dissolution of my body and

soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit you cannot promote me, nor, if I displease you, can ye hurt me or harm me; for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good, hearken what I say. I say unto you, as St. Paul saith to the Galatians, I wonder, my Lords, what hath betwitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist; from Christ's gospel unto man's traditions; from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop now of Rome. I warn you of your peril: be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if you think thus: 'We are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame.' My Lords, this is true, I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subject, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands: but yet, nevertheless, shall the subject die the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but, he saith, both, shall fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the scribes and Pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? (yea, and also Pilate their governor and the emperor's lieutenant by his tyranny did without cause put him to death;) forsooth no, my Lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seignior, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his adversary the bishop of Rome.

"And lest, my Lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish; and that I do but rage, and, as a desperate man, do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail; therefore

that your Lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety, (as St. Paul said unto Festus,) be it known unto your Lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I assure your Lordships, (the living Lord beareth me witness before whom I speak,) I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly, which therefore justly may be called *apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the apostles; and also that church and congregation of Christians to be a right apostolic church; yea, and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ by the true apostolic doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long, I say, that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof *apostolicus*, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

"But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too, too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my Lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic; so, as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion, and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apos-

name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other, for true Christian kindness, which is showed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight! thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakedst the matter for the poor: thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but, to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with a uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, indued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city; and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their Master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of silly poor members of Christ, which else, for extreme hunger and misery, should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobs! and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever, unto the world's end. Amen.

"And thou, O Sir George Barnes! the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but also didst

labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a House of Occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell; and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

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"But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too, too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my Lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic; so, as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion, and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apos-

ties, that see and bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

“The see is the seat of Satan, and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritual Sodoma and Egypt, the mother of fornications, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore do spiritually meddle, and lie with her, and commit most stinking and abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is, (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for examples’ sake,) her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God’s laws are defiled; as her massing and false ministering of God’s word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ’s word and the apostles’ doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shall appear, I trust, by God’s grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God’s word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore of Babylon, and the beast whereupon she doth sit, maintain at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment, (according to Daniel’s prophecy,) and finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God’s word, as darkness is unto light or light unto darkness, white to black or black to white, or as Belial unto Christ or Christ unto antichrist himself.

“I know, my Lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirit of grace and the light of God’s word, so many (I say) would at these my words lord-like stamp and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God’s grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is (as St. John saith) the greatest of all; and then I shall not need

(I trow) to fear what any lord, no, nor what king or prince, can do unto me.

“My Lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said, (when as else, if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure,) how hath then your Lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge) otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which, I am persuaded assuredly by God’s word, shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say even that I have said heretofore both of the see of Rome and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo Domini*, except ye do repent betimes, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my Lords, for God’s sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge, (who will judge nothing amiss,) so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God’s word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas, my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your Lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly, with one consent, to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy say now, and so say the pope’s laws indeed) standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity for our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the Eighth and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then, as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the pope’s laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation; how then chanced it that ye were all,

O my Lords, so light and so little passed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof, (without the which no man can be saved,) as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith—that is, to forsake Christ and his gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is, so necessary to salvation, how chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spirituality and temporalty, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But, on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto salvation by an antichristian law, (as it is indeed,) and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting-forth of the power of the beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets, (as of truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be,) then, my Lords, never think other, but the day shall come when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom, (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *a pœna et culpa*;) that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try this matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appear what they be, then ye, my Lords, (I give your Lordships warning in time,) repent, if ye will be happy, and love your own souls' health: repent, I say, or else, without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breach of your oath. As ye have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such-like abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betimes) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus

fare ye well, my Lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen."

Another farewell of Bishop Ridley to the prisoners in Christ's gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own country, choosing rather to leave all worldly commodity, than their Master Christ.

"Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both ye my fellow prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity than the gospel of Christ.

"Farewell, all ye together in Christ; farewell and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side; and such, after trial, (ye know,) shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved. Let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example, of patience in tribulation, of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God, for thereunto are we called; that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth. When he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again; when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to Him that judgeth aright.

"Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ: Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for

great is your reward in heaven ; for so did they persecute the prophets which were before you. Therefore let us alway bear this in our minds, that if any incommodity do chance unto us for righteousness' sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our Master hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake : but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

" Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our Master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our Master and Lord : how doth it not then become us to suffer ! for the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they so call them of his household ! Fear them not then, saith our Saviour, for all privities shall be made plain ; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be showed in light. Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed, nor afraid to speak them ; for so Christ our Master commandeth us, saying, That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad ; and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house-top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill ; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire.

" Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you ; so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them, (saith our Master Christ,) for ye are more worth than many small sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our Master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven : but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven. Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself : in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother,

and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which he calleth his cross, he will none of us ; we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore : but if, in his cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant, yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no, not the twinkling of an eye ; and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. Wonder not, saith St. Peter, as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire, (he meaneth of tribulation,) which thing, saith he, is done to prove you ; nay, rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.

" Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause ; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God : and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel ? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall they appear ? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their Master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and, thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore ; for these causes (I say) the apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith ; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them : yea, he was so far in love with that which the carnal man loatheth so

much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified; he will glory (he saith) in nothing else but in Christ's cross; yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

"O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that that made Paul,—in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudo-apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and pass them all,—what wonderful spirit was that (I say) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him! O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? Bear thou, saith he, affliction like a good soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true: If we die with him, [he meaneth Christ,] we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven but Christ and his way: and all that will live godly in Christ, shall, saith St. Paul, suffer persecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our Master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the Spirit (for so it was in Isaac's time); so, said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man, (the self-same man, I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God,) let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories; if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments, which the men of God, in God's cause, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others, again, were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, hewn

asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword, some wandered to and fro in sheep's pilches, in goats' pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted; such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain, as they were, for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our Master, Christ, in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

"Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: 'Let us throw away whatsoever might let us—all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality—and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the ringleader, captain, and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, not passing upon the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over, nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus: My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father, that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight,

that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven; and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ, to bear Christ's cross, than for this short life-time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, who is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay forsooth, but contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

"Wherefore, understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, &c., therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, and absent abroad, that we may always please him. And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea, infinite plenty of all these, above that which man's heart can either conceive or think, (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally,) and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption; who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. To die in the defence of Christ's gospel it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us, and rose again, that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also (saith St. John) should jeopard, yea, give our life for our brethren. And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed; for he that giveth or loseth his life thus getteth and winneth it for

evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And, in another place, He shall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a dissolution and resolution; and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling-house, meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this my death may be called to the Christian, an end of all miseries: for so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter in the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? His former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who, from misery and pain, is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace?

"Farewell, dear brethren! farewell, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God; for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

"Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse! here wandering in this world in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction.

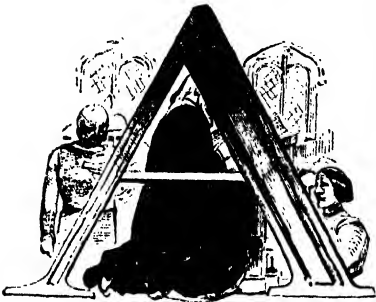
"Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost. Farewell!

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastors of Christ; for to thee it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell!

"Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation,

thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell! Farewell!"

Another treatise of Bishop Ridley, wherein is contained first a lamentation for the change of religion in England: then a comparison between the doctrine of the gospel and the Romish religion: with wholesome instructions in the end to all Christians, how to behave themselves in time of trial.



alas! what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! When, as of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in

every village, yea, and almost in every honest man's house, alas! now it is exiled and banished out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but such as are content, in Christ's cause and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

"Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn, as they could, out of God's word, the articles of the Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer. The babes and young children were taught these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same: but now (alas, and alas again!) the false prophets of antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

"Of late in every congregation throughout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doc-

trine and heresy; and now, alas! Satan hath persuaded England, by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

"Of late by strait laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon, with laws (I say) and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, alas! all these laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy, are quite changed, and all those oaths, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes or of a barley straw, nor public perjury no more feareth them than a shadow upon the wall.

"Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Paul's doctrine, and Christ's commandment, (as Paul saith plainly,) that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word. But, alas! all is turned upside down; Paul's doctrine is put apart; Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church, but a strange tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

"Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas! the unlearned people are brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their heart is nothing mindful at all; for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

"Of late the Lord's supper was duly administered and taught to be made common to all that are true Christians, with thanksgiving and setting-forth of the Lord's death and passion, until his returning again to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas! the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting-forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to understand.

"Of late all that were indued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times

past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But now, alas! England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known. And now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by high court of parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the ever-living God: yea, they say they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

"Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed, according to his own commandment by his express words in the gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be showed unto this day: but now, alas! not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the dead and the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

"Of late the commandment of God, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any similitude or likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: this commandment of God, I say, was graven almost every where in churches, was learned of every body, both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry (as the wise man saith) were taken out of the churches, and straitly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them or worship them. But now, alas! God's holy word is blotted and rased out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God com-

manded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place; and on the other side he forbade images and idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them. But now, alas! that which God commanded is not passed upon: and that which he forbiddeth, is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

"Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attain eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of men, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withal, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief is antichrist and his brood; the same is he which is the Babylonical beast. The beast is he whereupon the whore sitteth. The whore is that city, saith John, in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth. And of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk; yea, and kings of the earth have lien by this whore, and merchants of the earth by virtue of her pleasant merchandise have been made rich.

"Now what city is there in all the whole world, that, when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth; or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that see hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that the old and ancient writers understand Peter's former Epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same Epistle in plain terms Babylon? By the abominations thereof I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish drab for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise, wherewith (alas! the madness of man) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world? Did not Peter, the very true apostle of Christ,

(of whom this stinking strumpet beareth herself so high, but falsely and without all just cause,) did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles, (for this whore and beast will be called *dominus apostolicus*, whosoever say nay,) after this manner in his latter Epistle? There were among the people in times past false prophets, as there shall be among you in time to come false teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation. And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness, by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall, saith Peter, make merchandise upon you. And doth not John likewise, in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandise) reckon up amongst the rest, and concludeth, saying, and the souls of men too? Whereupon I pray you else rose this true proverb, 'All things for money are set to sale at Rome?' Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a bishop of Rome, thus I ween?

'Alexander, our holy father the pope of Rome,
Selleth for money both right and doom;
And all kind of holiness the holy father doth not stick
To set to sale, ready money for to get.
And eke Christ himself he dare be hold
To chop and change for silver and gold.
And why should any think this to be sore,
For what doth he sell but what he bought before?'

"I grant these verses to be light gear, and the verse is but rude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that see. But now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these crimes be grounded upon laws, be established by custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one man's or a few men's personal crimes, but are now, by laws, custom, and doctrine, incorporated into that wicked see, and make indeed the body of the beast, whercupon the abominable whore doth sit.

"But you would know which be those merchandises which I said this whore setteth for to sell, for the which all her false prophets, with all their jug-

glings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the Church of England already, (whereof I have spoken somewhat before,) but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow; as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *placebo* and *dirige*, with trentals and *scala cæli*, dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and *tot quote*, with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering friars and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the see of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it) clear absolution from penalty and guilt, for thousands of years; yea, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the household stuff and adornment which shall be used in the church after the Romish guise: for all these things, they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy apostles never knew! As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells, and such-like things, what need I to speak? for every priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man once, at the least, every day of a wafer-cake.

"After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes—I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew; and made the child of God; that seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as John saith, (he meaneth so long as that seed doth abide in him,)—that Holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; which is profitable to teach,

to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work—when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point; what his blessed will and pleasure is; what his infinite great goodness and mercy is; what he hath done for us; how he hath given us his own dearly beloved Son to death for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal word willeth us both to believe, and also to do; and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ, inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they are taught (which as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation): and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law; what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all Holy Scriptures, both New and Old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth pass and excel all; which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed of God; which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know; what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day; how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever which Christ's words shall allow; who shall be the judge of all flesh, to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor any power

to withstand or revoke—when (I say) I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion, (whereof I spake before,) it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of Holy Scriptures which be appointed in the margin, whereupon this talk is grounded, and, by God's grace, he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ, out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: Well, said he, spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and tell them, Ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand; and seeing you shall behold, and not see the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull; and with their ears they are hard of hearing; and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God.

“Alas! England; alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard oft, and wouldst never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since thou bearest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates in King Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the king's Highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young Christian prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs,

spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself; and yet would they towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

"I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for showing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the duke of Somerset's cause; and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by the commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men, of all other, these magistrates then could never abide. Others there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter: but, alas! all sped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not diminish, but daily did increase, which, no doubt, is no small occasion in that state of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common sort of other inferior magistrates, as judges of the laws, justices of peace, serjeants, common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say, of bishops also, I fear me, for the most part (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his): but, for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word; and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been sound within.

"And this dissimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired, and hath ever gone about, that the high magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he, being of counsel with the dissimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

"Hypocrisy and dissimulation St. Jerome doth call well a double wickedness; for neither it loveth the truth, (which is one great evil,) and also falsely

it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This hypocrisy and dissimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught; yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and unreligiously to come to the holy communion and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal and indiscreet devotion which they had aforesometimes to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

"And again, as for our almsdeeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James saith, and such as, he saith himself, he setteth more by than by sacrifice, as to provide for the fatherless, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing: in these works, I say, how wayward were many, in comparison, I mean, of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up and honoured in churches, plainly against God's word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, London, I must confess, for such godly works in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year began marvellous well. The Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea, and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun. Amen.

"All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is; for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were, that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now, with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

"But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and

to leave further and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law; He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself so that he deny not his Master Christ; or else he is but a cast-away, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

"Now then, seeing the doctrine of antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers, alas! are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the old laws of antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again; what can be hereafter looked for, by reason, to the man of God and true Christian abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will he can make them bow: and also that Christian princes in old time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices, exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Augustine. But as yet antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image, but even (as all the world knoweth) after the same manner that both John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death. And Daniel declareth further, that the kind of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

"Therefore if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by antichrist's accustomed laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss, at the last, both of body and soul unto everlasting death. Therefore, my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayest so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surety for thy soul's health, is that which I shall show thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her which be not in captivity, or

called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

"My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter itself: I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our Master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the Christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

"Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the persecution of wicked Jezebel. And Christ our Saviour saith in the gospel, When they persecute you in one city, fly unto another: and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, which were great and stout champions nevertheless, and stout confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius. But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it.

"Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and fly far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of antichrist, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination. Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, *Tunc inquit qui in Judæa sunt, fugiant ad montes*. Then, saith he, mark this Christ's 'then,' for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the Spirit of God, that this 'then' is commanded. Then, saith Christ, they that be in Jewry, let them fly into the mountains; and he that is on the house-top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house; and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck! But pray, saith Christ, that your flight be not in winter, nor on the sabbath day.

"These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I understand all those to be 'in Jewry' spiritually, which truly confess

one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the gospel of Christ; such as they whom Christ here biddeth in the time of the reign of antichrist's abominations, to fly unto 'the mountains;' which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the house-top 'not to come down,' and him that is in the field 'not to return to take with him his clothes;' he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betimes, lest in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they be trapped in the snare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back; and, for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, 'Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck!' women great with child and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word 'woe' signifieth: all such, I say, as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And whereas Christ saith, 'Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day;' in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul; and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities, and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the sabbath day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the ways; and also to go far, which cannot be done on the sabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day; that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the causes why we should fly, follow in the same place of St. Matthew's Gospel, which I now pass over; thou mayest read them there.

"And in Revelation xviii. the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, Fly, my people, out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell and are come unto the heavens! Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul, that blessed apostle. He plainly forbiddeth us to join or couple ourselves with the unfaithful. For what fellowship can there be, saith he, of righteousness

with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness, or what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? for you are the temple of the living God. As God hath said, I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty God.

"This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to God-ward) diversely. Many, I trust, that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be, peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done; for they will peradventure say, 'We should counsel a man always to do that which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to fly it may seem to smell of cowardliness. In many things, that which is best for one at some times, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run, before he can go.' I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

"This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O man of God: as I would wish, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true Christian, either brother or sister, after they be called, and brought into the wrestling-place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game, (that is, to confess the truth of the gospel, and of the Christian faith, in hope of everlasting life,) should not shrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befall; but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day—so likewise I dare not wish nor counsel any, either brother or sister, of their own swinge, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before or further in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is that his glory shall be set forth, and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat,

and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things (as Eusebius writeth in his Ecclesiastical History) for evermore.

“But a third sort of men there be, which also will be counted favourers of God’s word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to fly the infection of the antichristian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague, truly, agreeable to God’s word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness, as they who think otherwise. ‘Yes,’ peradventure will some say, ‘thus it may be: thou mayest keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privily worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order: so mayest thou be suffered in the commonwealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience.’ In other countries, some where, this peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God wot; but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England in the times past of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker of these rites, laws, and customs, and so bewray thyself, or else, if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience; for in observing of them, thou shalt be compelled to break God’s law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy-day to the church, and bear a face to worship the creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with the con-jured water?”

“Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of antichrist’s service, of lights of the rood-loft, of the sepulchre for setting-up and painting of images—nay, indeed of idols—and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call it, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord’s holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the

popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar, to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in rest. If any of thy household die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for *requiem*, masses, *dirige*, and commendations, and such-like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for *amicus Cesaris*? A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enow to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the thing that I intend; that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more, contrary to God’s word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also saith, Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil; or else, if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

“But peradventure (as a man is ready to find and invent some colour to cloak his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, ‘Though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and such like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body. I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart: what can I do more?’”

“O my friend, beware, for God’s sake; and know that the subtleties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by God’s word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David, Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses to cloak my sin. Examine, my dear friend, these thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan’s brood. God’s word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God; and it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down or to do worship unto any images of God, or of any other thing. And God’s word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but, in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consenters and the doers God’s word accounteth to

be guilty both: and it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

"Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man! take heed what thou sayest; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly καρδιουργός, that is to say, 'the searcher of the heart.' Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. He that hath my commandments, saith Christ, and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me: and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and commandment; and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of sort, (which is to have thy heart indeed,) when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is: he made them both, and Christ with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and darest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing, thou committest sacrilege, and dost rob God; thou defilest the lively temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan service. Do you not know, saith St. Paul, that your body is a lively temple of God? And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No, surely; it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

"Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Christian soul? As you have in times past, saith he, given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified. And I pray thee, good brother, what dost thou think it is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John speaketh of? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which he showed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John, yet, to read them with reverence, and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know,

I think it necessary and good. Wherefore what, I suppose, is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babylon's mark in his forehead which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master, the beast of Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his mark in his head, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand. And likewise I will not let to tell thee what, I think, to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe. I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength, stoutly to confess him and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with *tau*, whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John, but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the child of perdition, which, for his cruelty and beastly manners, is well called a beast.

"The carnal Jews knew there was a promise made, that Elias should come before Christ the Messias, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways; they knew also there was a promise of Messias, that he should come, and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore. But they understood all so grossly, and so carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Messias, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messias to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory; whereas the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood—of Elias, that he should come not in person, but in spirit, that is, one that should be indued with the spirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his apostles; and of Messias's reign, all the prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob, and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by

that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both Elias, and the true Messias; and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewise, I fear me, nay, it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God, (for the world is not able to receive him, saith John,) neither doth nor shall know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and perceive and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

"Here remain two objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, a man will say, 'O sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible that they can or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayest away either with the people or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose tongue thou dost not understand,' &c.

"I grant here thou mayest heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a man's own native country, I mean out of the whole realm into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke, If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother, (he meaneth, and will not in His cause forsake his father and mother,) his wife, children, and brethren, yea, and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear my cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple. And in the same place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not in Christ's cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places who will: the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloaking of conscience, to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christ's cross, when Christ and his cause layeth it

upon our back; but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

"This latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good answer. This may be objected of some, 'Alas! sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and, because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loathe either to look on them, or to hear them. But, sir, alas! I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small infants, and a lame wife, which all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas! sir, what shall I do? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessities, of whom both God and nature hath committed unto them the care.

"Alas, what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry still. And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, women with child, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their small babes suck. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith, Woe be to the women with child, and travailing women, and women that give suck, in those days. For these, alas! my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this; that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befall; and for the rest, to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready to put his helping hand. Daniel, God suffered to be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace; and yet he saved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion, (as he saith of himself,) and in Asia he was brought into such trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for present death; and yet he that raiseth the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all others that be in troubles for

Christ's cause, not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

"Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils toward them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full, both Old and New. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but, of all others, Joseph; and how mercifully were they delivered again! In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life! And when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh's sword? Not before they were brought into such straits, that they were so compassed on every side—the main sea on the one side, and the main host on the other—that they could look for none other, (yea, what did they indeed else look for?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword. Those judges, which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to most misery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extreme persecutions. What shall I speak of the prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremy, Daniel, Micaiah, and Jonas, and many others, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall see no. Were not the apostles cast into prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when, I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been sore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there were laid fast in the stocks; I pray you, what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when both the high priest, the Pharisees, and rulers of the Jews, had conspired to require judg-

ment of death against him, he being fast in prison; and also more than forty men had sworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink, until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, no man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man, that disappointed that conspiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayest read in Acts xxiii. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearsal thereof.

"Now to descend from the apostles to the martyrs that followed next in Christ's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanasius, the great clerk and godly man stoutly standing in Christ's cause against the Arians, and that holy woman Blandina, standing so constantly in all extreme pains, in the simple confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt have both these, and a hundred more, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and in the Tripartite History.

"But for all these examples, both of Holy Scripture and of other histories, I fear me the weak man of God, encumbered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and qualms (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: 'All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true; but all these, we must needs grant, were special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased, we see; and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?'

"Well-beloved brother, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our sight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times); or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things; or because, after that he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all others, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well-beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as ever it was; he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth: but God our heavenly Father is even

the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore.

“The world, without doubt, (this I do believe, and therefore I say,) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect, sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe, and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ’s cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feelth ease in the other; is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he standeth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the prison-door and letteth them go loose: for here he doth but respite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of his gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero, as the Ecclesiastical History saith; as when he sent the angel to bring Peter out of prison, and for Paul’s delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same, like an earthquake, to tremble and shake.

“Thinkest thou, O thou man of God! that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first martyr Stephen, because he suffered his enemies even at the first conflict to stone him to death? No surely, nor James, John’s brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals amongst the apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the tyrant’s sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of antichrist’s time, And the learned [he meaneth truly learned in God’s law] shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame, [that is, shall be burned in the flaming fire,] and in captivity, [that is, shall be in prison,] and be spoiled and robbed of their goods for a long season. And after

a little in the same place of Daniel it followeth, And of the learned there be, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made white [he meaneth, be burnished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty]. If that then was foreseen to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God’s glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand stedfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effusion of his blood.

“To die in Christ’s cause, is a high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death. And our Saviour Christ saith, He that shall lose his life for my cause, shall find it. And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians, (as the worldly do wickedly dream,) but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them, mark that he said not to the disciples and apostles only, but he said it to all,) Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; [he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, forsake or leave him and his truth;] and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the gospel’s sake, shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world, and lose his own soul, his own life? or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life, and of his own soul? Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my gospel) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels. Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy salvation. All things, saith Paul, work with the good to goodness. Even the enemies of God, and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be

forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them service.

"It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adversity, sickness, tribulation, yea, painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have suffered his most dearly beloved the patriarchs to have had such troubles, his prophets, his apostles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain. Of the which some were racked (as the apostle saith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better resurrection; some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were hewn and cut asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword; they wandered up and down in sheep's skins and goats' skins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented, such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received not the promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (saith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

"Now, thou, O man of God, for our Lord's sake, let us not, for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living, indued with God's Spirit, ought so earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, Come, Lord Jesus, come. For then when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest, and appear in glory, then shall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ: for this our weak body shall be transfigured and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue unto himself all things. Then, that which is now corruptible shall be made incorruptible; that which now is vile shall be made glorious; that which is now weak shall rise then mighty and strong; that which is gross and carnal shall be made fine and spiritual: for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

"Who or what then shall let us to jeopard, yea, to spend this life which we have here, in Christ's cause? in our Lord God's cause? O thou, therefore, man of God, thou that art loaden, and so letted like unto a woman great with child, that thou canst not fly the plague, yet, if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befall, in thy Master's cause; and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy Master Christ's cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreseen before; they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee, O man of God, all things shall be forced to serve and to work with thee unto the best, before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end!

"All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ called a woman great with child, I mean to be spoken likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause; for such I count to be as it were already summoned and pressed to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and as it were soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death; and to think their life lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

"Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this treatise, I say unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour, that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost which is our comforter and sanctifier of all, unto all that love Christ's spouse and body, the true catholic church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own soul's health; I say unto all these, hearken, my dear brethren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ spoken to his apostles, and meant to all his, in St. Matthew's Gospel: Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy and cast both body and soul into hell-fire. Are not two small sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little sparrows. Every one that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men,

I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in heaven.

“The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may so confess him in this world amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day, before his Father which is in heaven, to our glory, and everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

“To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen.”

Thus with the death and martyrdom of these two learned pastors and constant soldiers of Christ, Master Latimer and Bishop Ridley, you have divers of their letters and other writings of theirs expressed, with the farewells also of Bishop Ridley, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his journey to the kingdom of heaven. Divers and sundry other treatises of his remain also in my hand both in Latin and English, to be remembered by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

About this time suffered William Dighel, most constantly offering his body a burnt-sacrifice unto God, forsaking the world, life, and all, for the love of his holy truth. This holy martyr suffered at Banbury in the county of Oxford.

A brief description of the profession of the Christian faith, agreed upon and made at Peternot, commonly called Pretkan Plegatose, of the kingdom of Poland: the third of May, A. D. 1555: translated out of Latin into English.

“All men have their beginning and be born in sin, and all men’s understandings be as darkness, so that we cannot have a thought, not only of God, but neither of ourselves; wherefore God gave the Ten Commandments of the Law, that, by them, our blind eyes, as it were, might be opened and made bright, and by the same we might know man’s infirmity.

“Therefore Christ came that he might manifest God unto us, and his will: wherefore Christ is the light of this world, whom whoso followeth, and swerveth not from his word, he walketh in the eternal light.

“This only Doctor and Schoolmaster, that eternal God of the world commanded us to hear and follow, forasmuch as that Son of God cannot lie; and whosoever follow not his word, although they be most mighty and wise, they all be liars.

“He hath manifested unto us all things that seem to pertain unto eternal salvation; without him, no man may be acceptable before God.

“Unto him all the prophets do ascribe and bear witness that such as believe in the Son are blessed: he alone hath made us free from the wrath of God, because, by our works, we deserve not the same, neither is there any thing under heaven that may save us besides him.

“Therefore whosoever doth attribute salvation and due praises to any other, but only to Christ, is guilty of blasphemy against God.

“This the Son of God doth attribute to the merit of his passion by the gospel, (which ought to be preached unto every person in his own mother tongue,) and, by the sacraments, unto the believers of his word: that is, by baptism, and by the use of his body and blood which was shed for the remission of our sins.

“In these sacraments the covenant of the Lord is sealed up unto us, which, whosoever will change, is accursed.

“In none other place verily we find a sacrament, but where it is tied to the word of God: for the traditions of men not agreeing to the word be idolatries; specially when they be set in God’s place.

“This also we have learned out of the commandments of Christ, that only God is to be worshipped, who alone is the searcher of the hearts; which is proper to no creature; and we have a commandment in the old law: He that worshippeth another God besides this, let him suffer death. Unto this God we have none other Mediator and Intercessor, besides Jesus Christ. It is evident therefore that God is not bound by the word unto images and figures.

“The sacrament of baptism and of the Lord’s supper do offer unto the believers the remission of sins; besides these the Christians use none other.

“Other godly ordinances, as matrimony, the confirmation of the ministers of the church, [&c.,] do not bring unto us the remission of sins, which be inferior dignities; albeit we do not despise them. We deny that oblation should be made for the dead; for if, when they were alive, they knew and praised God, where they ought, they are saved; otherwise, contrary, the masses and diriges, and such other trifles, can do them no good. Of this the word of God testifieth: He that believeth in the Son of God shall not be damned.

“Paul forbiddeth us to be careful for them that be dead. While we are in this world it is certain we may help one another as well with prayers as with counsels, but when we shall come before the throne of God, neither Job, neither Daniel, neither Noah, shall pray for any person, but every man shall bear his own burden. Here life is either lost or gotten; here provision is made for us of eternal

salvation, by the worship of God, and by faith: after this life there is no place of repentance, neither of any satisfaction. There is none other place but in this life to correct our affections and manners, for after this life every person shall have that, which, in the same, he hath purchased to himself.

"All the catholic faith, by the authority of Scripture, believeth the kingdom of heaven to be the first place from whence he that is not baptized is to be excluded utterly: we acknowledge no third place, yea, neither do we find it to be in the Holy Scriptures.

"We hold God's most holy word and commandment; but of the traditions of men, this God speaketh: They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men. Also, Every plantation which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out."

The death and end of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the enemy of God's word.



THE next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated of God and

all good men, ended his wretched life: concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of which man, forasmuch as somewhat hath been declared before in the story of King Edward's reign, I shall need therefore the less now to stand greatly upon the same. First, this viper's bird, crept out of the town of Bury in Suffolk, was brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge; his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same; wherein there was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himself wanted to the goodness of his gifts. Through this promptness, activity, and towardness of his, he profited not a little in such studies as he gave his head unto, as first in the civil law, then in languages and such other like, especially in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment to be hoped for. Besides other ornaments or helps of nature, memory chiefly seemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of study.

To these gifts and qualities were joined again as great or greater vices, which not so much followed him, as overtook him; not so much burdened him, as made him burdensome to the whole realm. He was of a proud stomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himself too much; in wit, crafty and subtle; towards his superiors flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equal stout and envious, namely, if in judgment and sentence he any thing withstood him, as appeared between the good Lord Cromwell and him in the reign of King Henry, being of like haughtiness of stomach as the poets write of Pelides, *cedere nescius*: who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithstanding I wish he would have given place to truth, according as he seemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evidently partly to understand as well by his book *De Verâ Obedientiâ*; as also by his sermon before King Edward. Also by his answers to the council the same time, and moreover by his own words it may be gathered in sundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his estimation and fame he stood too much, more than was meet for a man of his coat and calling, whose profession was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him so stiff in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here speak of that which hath been constantly reported to me touching the monstrous making and mishaped fashion of his feet and toes, the nails whereof were said not to be like to other men's, but to crook downward, and to be sharp like the claws of ravening beasts. What his learning was in the civil and canon law I have not to say. What it was in other liberal sciences and arts, this I suppose, that neither his continuance in study nor diligence of reading was such (by reason of his too much intermeddling in princes' matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned man. But what learning or cunning soever it was he had, so it fared in him, as it doth in butchers, which use to blow up their flesh: even so he with boldness and stoutness, and specially with authority, made those gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, peradventure, use also, and experience abroad, brought no little helps, rather than either quickness of wit, or happiness of education.

And as touching divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time, that no constant censure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or

papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, to swear and forswear, so as he did. For first in the beginning of Queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Foxe, as chief agent in the behalf of the Lady Anne? by whom also he was preferred to the bishopric of Winchester, as Edward Bonner was preferred to the bishopric of London. Again, at the abolishing of the pope, who so ready to swear or so vehement to write against the pope as he, as not only by his sermons, but also by his book *De Obedientia* may appear? in which book *De Obedientia*, lest any should think him drawn thereunto otherwise than by his own consent, he plainly declareth how, not rashly nor upon a sudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertisement in himself about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment; whereof read before. And moreover, so he uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the pope, that, coming to Louvain afterward, he was there accounted for a person excommunicate and a schismatic, insomuch that he was not permitted in their church to say mass; and moreover, in their public sermons they openly cried out against him. Whereof read hereafter following.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, so that who but Winchester, during all the time and reign of Queen Anne? After her decease that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially (as it seemeth) for his so much favouring of Bonner, whom Winchester at that time in no case could abide, made him an utter enemy both against him, and also his religion: till again, in King Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and somewhat to smell of the gospel, as both by his sermon before King Edward, as also by his subscribing to certain articles, may appear. And this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the gospel, and, no doubt, he would have further turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset clean turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel persecutor to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the trade and profession of Stephen Gardiner's popish divinity. In which his popish trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or else time, or rather the spirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to say; and

so much the more doubtful, because in his doings and writings a man may see him not only contrary to himself, but also in some points contrary to other papists. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he seemeth therein not so much to follow his own sense, as the mind and meaning of Persecus; out of whose book the greatest part of Winchester's divinity seemeth to be borrowed.

And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and Scripture he appeareth nobody; so in his pen and style of writing no less far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainness and perspicuity: in whose obscure and perplex kind of writing, although peradventure some sense may be found with some searching, yet shall no reader find any sweetness in his reading.

What moved him to be so sturdy against Master Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they please: I speak but what I think, that so he did, for that he saw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the disposition of that man, as it seemeth, that of purpose he ever affected to seem to be a patron of old customs, though they were never so rotten with age. Amongst other matters, this one thing I cannot but smile at in my mind, when I see how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himself, (as well in his letters to the lord protector, and others of King Edward's council, as also in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners,) of the high favour he had of the noble king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, when indeed nothing was less true; neither did the king less favour any of his council than him, affirming very often, that he greatly suspected the said bishop to be a secret maintainer of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and a stout disturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of religion. And therefore he did so much dislike him, that he did not only mind (if the Lord had sent his Highness longer life) to have used the extremity of law against him, upon very sore and just matter of old committed by him, and yet not taken away by any pardon, commanding thereupon often the Lord Paget, then his secretary, to keep safe certain writings which he had against him; but also commanded that he should be put clean out of his last will and testament, not suffering him either to be any of his executors, or else in any case of his son's council, (no, although he were earnestly entreated to the contrary by sundry of the lords and others of his Highness's council,) saying, he was a wilful, troublesome, and headstrong man, and not

meet to be about his son, or to have any thing to do by his will.

Now amongst other causes that moved the king thus to suspect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in religion, I find this to be one. It pleased his Majesty, after his abolishing of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, (amongst other embassages to foreign princes,) to send the said bishop of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knivet, knight, as joint ambassadors to the emperor, being then at a diet or council at Ratisbon, appointing also Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, knights, and Master Andrew Beynton, esquire, (his Highness's servants,) to give their attendance upon the said Sir Henry Knivet, for the more honouring of his embassy. It happened also at that time, that Sir Henry Knivet entertained into his service, as steward of his household, one William Wolfe, who had in the same place and room before served Sir Thomas Wyat, knight, the king's former ambassador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in those parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elsewhere. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the emperor's palace to hear some news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian merchant, a banker, one of his old acquaintance; who, supposing the said Wolfe to have attended upon the bishop of Winchester, (not knowing of any other joint ambassador,) required Wolfe for old acquaintance to do him a pleasure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico showed him that the pope's legate or ambassador to the emperor, (which was Cardinal Contarini,) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leisure to end his business himself, had put the said Ludovico in trust for the accomplishing of it; and amongst all other things he had especially charged him, that he should repair to the ambassador of England, and require of him an answer of the pope's letters, which the legate did of late send unto him, addressed to him from Rome; and that upon the receipt thereof he should send them after with all speed; and therefore, if his lord ambassador would write by that courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for the courier went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abashed, and yet partly guessing which ambassador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whose servant he was, but by other soothing talk perceived that he meant the bishop of Winchester. And to the end that Ludovico should suspect nothing, he answered him, that he, being not the ambassador's secretary, could say little therein; howbeit he would not miss to put his secretary in remembrance of it (which thing

Ludovico also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambassador); and so for that time they departed. This matter seeming to Wolfe of some importance, he did straightways reveal it to Sir Henry Knivet his master; who, weighing also the greatness of the case, and what disadvantage it were upon one man's so bare report to attempt aught, in a place and time, whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to advise himself, that no affect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, that he weighed well the weightiness of the cause, meet, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise. "But sir," quoth he, "if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient, I warrant you to devise means, that some other of your servants shall hear the like words at Ludovico's own mouth, as well as I." Upon which talk Sir Henry Knivet devised which of his servants he might use to that purpose, and at last rested upon Master Thomas Chaloner his secretary, because he had the Italian tongue: not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chaloner's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the piazza, or market-stand, which he, gladly granting, so did; not knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the piazza, over against the emperor's palace, (near whereunto also the pope's legate had lodged,) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludovico, and, espying Wolfe, saluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and sundry other matters, Chaloner being still with them. At last, upon occasion, they entered into talk about the former letters that the ambassador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an answer, affirming, that the post did depart the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambassador's secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe answered, that he would willingly do it: but he did not well know which ambassador he meant, for that there were two, one the bishop of Winchester, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, that he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the bishop. By which talk, and more such-like, (as upon the former day,) Master Chaloner, being moved, (and not knowing yet of his master's and Wolfe's purpose,) after the departure

of Ludovico from them said unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his master of it. To whom Wolfe answered, "Do as you will, if you think any matter therein." And therefore at his return home, he told Sir Henry Knivet what speech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth. Sir Henry Knivet, being thus further ascertained of the matter, opened the whole to Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, and to Master Beynton, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof, and therefore devised that Wolfe should procure Ludovico to bring certain velvet, and other silks, unto Sir Henry Knivet's lodging, as well for himself, as for the other gentlemen; which that afternoon he did accomplish, and brought Ludovico unto Sir Henry, where also were the other gentlemen. After they had awhile viewed the silks, and had had some talk about the prices, Wolfe took occasion again to ask Ludovico, if Sir Henry were the ambassador of whom he was to demand an answer of the letters sent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant answered, "No, it was not his seigniorie, but it was a bishop," terming him *reverendissimo*, whereby they easily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knivet hereupon, somewhat dissembling the matter, entered into further talk thereabout, whereby Ludovico opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe: but yet at last, perceiving that as well Sir Henry, as also the other gentlemen, did behold him somewhat fixedly, he brake off his talk; wherewith Sir Henry Knivet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly dismiss him, praying him that when he had received the bishop's letters, he would also repair to him for a packet to an English gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan: which he promised to do, and so departed again. When Sir Henry had thus made sufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's Majesty, signifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while Ludovico the next morning repaired unto the bishop of Winchester's lodging, to demand an answer of those letters the legate had sent unto him: but how he used himself, or whether he uttered the talk he had with Sir Henry Knivet and with Wolfe, whom he supposed at the first to be the bishop's man, it is not certainly known. But the bishop, (perceiving that by mistaking one for another, and in supposing Wolfe to be the bishop's servant, Ludovico had uttered all his message from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light,) in great hasty rage, caused Ludovico to be stayed in his own house, while in the mean time himself went to Granuella, one of the emperor's

council, and so practised with him, that Ludovico was secretly committed unto prison, in the custody of one of the emperor's marshals, so as he could be no more talked withal, all the time of their abode there. And then, sending in great haste to Sir Henry Knivet to come and speak with him, (which he did,) he fell into very hot speech with him, saying, that he had poison in his dish, and that a knave was suborned to be his destruction; with many such-like words. Sir Henry told him again, how he understood it; and prayed him that Ludovico might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their presences; which the bishop would in no case agree unto, affirming that he had so declared the case to Granuella, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovico, nor speak with him; but that the emperor's council should examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom Sir Henry Knivet again very earnestly objected, that he marvelled that the bishop, in matter touching the king's Majesty, their master, would use the aid or means of Granuella, a foreign prince's minister, to make him privy of their question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the speech of Ludovico any more ever after. Whereupon there rose great and long controversies between them. (both writing letters unto the king about that matter,) until at last the king's Majesty, perceiving his affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote unto them both, that they should lay all those things under foot, and join together in his service as before; which they did accordingly. But howsoever this matter was afterward salved here with the king's Majesty, as either by the death of Sir Henry Knivet, (which I think was not long after,) or by other friends the bishop had here at home, I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two months after died of a long cough of the lungs, upon his death-bed did again affirm the premises to be most true; and therefore in the presence of Sir Henry Knivet, and divers other of his servants, he protested, that he had not invented, sought, or procured this at Ludovico's hands, for any malice or displeasure borne to the bishop, but only for discharge of his faith and duty unto the king's Majesty, desiring that the same his protestation might be inserted in the end of his last will and testament, which was then presently done; and thereunto he set his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved so often Master Secretary Paget (being after lord-keeper) to keep safe as sore matter against the bishop, I know not; but yet it appears by some depositions of the nobility, and others, in the process against him had in King Edward's days, that

the king's Majesty, Henry the Eighth, had this matter ever in his mind; for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did still except all treasons committed beyond the seas: meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the bishop should not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his Majesty would call him to account. And therefore, all things well weighed, he had small cause to vaunt of his great favour he had with King Henry his master. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fool's paradise by the Lord Paget; who, (as he himself reporteth in his depositions,) in his messages from the king to the said bishop, deluded him, telling him much otherwise than the king had spoken, and concealing always the king's hard speeches against him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious Thraso not a little. All which premises appear more at large by the depositions of the nobles and others, examined in the long process against him in King Edward's reign, as appears in our first edition of Acts and Monuments, from page 804 unto the end of that process, in that book at large mentioned.

But whatsoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord therefor: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the Six Articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, &c., also as, especially, for that he had thought to have brought to pass, in murdering also our noble queen that now is. For whatsoever danger it was of death that she was in, it did, no doubt, proceed from that bloody bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain, which we have heard, that her Highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is out of controversy, that wily Winchester was the only Dadalus and framer of that engine, who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious counsel, through Master Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices; for the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English churches. Amen.

Of things uncertain I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or else peradventure they be in the realm that can say more than here I

have expressed. For as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death; so this bishop, for his part, bent all his devices, and had spent all his powder, in assailing the root, and in casting such a platform (as he himself in words at his death is said to confess) to build his popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever and a day. But, as I said before, of things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spake, what little repentance he showed; whether he died with his tongue swollen and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, or whether he stunk before he died, as Cardinal Wolsey did; or whether he died in despair, as Latomus and others did, &c.: all this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Notwithstanding, here by the way, touching the death of this foresaid bishop, I thought not to overpass a certain hearsay, which not long since came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible gentlewoman, and another gentleman of the same name and kindred, which Mrs. Munday, being the wife of one Master Munday, secretary some time to the old Lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the house of a worshipful citizen, bearing yet office in this city, in words and effect as followeth:

The same day, when Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer suffered at Oxford, (being about the nineteenth day of October,) there came into the house of Stephen Gardiner the old duke of Norfolk, with the foresaid Master Munday his secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the bishop, being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock, cometh his servant, posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seen: of whom the said bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke, "Now," saith he, "let us go to dinner." Whereupon, they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in such sort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed; where he continued the space of fifteen

days in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that mean while, during those fifteen days, he could not avoid, by urine or otherwise, any thing that he received : whereby his body being miserably inflamed within, (who had inflamed so many good martyrs before,) was brought to a wretched end.



And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth so swollen and black, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody burning persecutors.

But to proceed farther in the sequel of our story : I could name the man, (but I abstain from names,) who, being then present, and a great doer about the said Winchester, reported to us concerning the said bishop, that when Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of God's promise, and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him, Winchester hearing that, "What, my Lord," quoth he, "will you open that gap now? then farewell altogether. To me, and such others in my case, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether!"

Moreover, what Dr. Bonner then saw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words passed between them about the time of his extremity;—betwixt Gardiner and him be it. If Bonner did there behold any thing which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph which was made of his

death, devised of a papist for a popish bishop, but I pretermitt it, and instead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his sermons, words, and writings; wherein may appear first, what an earnest and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been constant in himself; then how inconstantly he varied from himself; and thirdly, how he, standing upon a singularity of his own wit, varied also from other papists in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there be some pains, and tediousness also in reading; yet I thought not to pretermitt the same, upon certain considerations, namely, for that so many yet to this day there be, which stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a doughty pillar of the pope's church. To the intent therefore, that such as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abused therein, if they will either credit his own works, words, sermons, writings, disputations; or else will be judged by his own witnessses of his own party produced, we have manifest probations, which may notoriously declare how effectually first he withstood the pope's supremacy; and likewise afterwards may declare manifest contrariety and repugnancy of the said Gardiner, first with other writers, and lastly with himself:

as in his sermon preached before King Edward, the sum and effect of which sermon has been briefly collected by Master Udall; and we have comprised the chief purpose of his sermon, with other such matter above storied, wherein may appear the double-faced doings of this bishop in matters of religion. In all which foresaid allegations it remains notorious and famous to all men, how, in what points, and how far, the said bishop of Winchester agreed with the reformation of religion received, not only in King Henry's but also in King Edward's days.

And this now being sufficient for Gardiner's story, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed, (by the grace and leave of the Lord,) as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The burning of John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury, as followeth.

Next after the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, (of whom ye have heard at large,) followed three other stout and bold soldiers; that is to say, John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

This John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, long before the other two, videlicet, the sixteenth day of September; and there had propounded unto him such ordinary articles as (it seemeth) were commonly ministered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. And being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was this: "As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, I do believe," quoth he, "it to be left unto his church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body; and not by the words of consecration to be made his body really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary—I utterly deny that."

After this (besides sundry other times) the third day of October, the said John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the said judges: who there and then agreeing, and stedfastly allowing the former

answer made before by Master Webbe, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore, about the end of the same month of October, or else, as I otherwise find, in the latter end of November, they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom; who by the way, going towards the stake, said certain psalms mournfully.

Roper was a younger man of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion; the other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, with their gowns on. Roper, at his coming to the stake, putting off his gown, fetched a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, the said Roper put out both his arms from his body like a rood, and so stood stedfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these aforesaid martyrs of Christ, being brought (as I said) to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire at Canterbury, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel's sake.

The death of William Wiseman, in Lollards' Tower.

The thirteenth of December, in the Lollards' Tower, died William Wiseman, a clothworker of London, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God—how and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of some murdering papists, he was made away; by reason whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, were fain to sit upon him; who, although to the outward appearance they were said to find nothing in him else but only God's visitation, yet what other privy causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth; I have not to say.

After the said William was departed (as is said) in the Tower, the holy catholic church-men cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him; according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds, *ἐλώρια κύνεσαι*, as the poet saith. And yet all this their merciless commandment notwithstanding, some good Tobits there were, which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest, thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privately by night to cover; and

many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalms at their burial.

The death of James Gore, in Colchester prison.

In the same month, about the seventh day of December, deceased also James Gore in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the right and truth of God's word.

The process and history of Master John Philpot, examined, condemned, and martyred for the maintenance and defence of the gospel's cause, against the antichristian see of Rome.



ext followeth the constant martyrdom of Master John Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the study of other liberal arts, especially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same, (which is no small matter in a true divine,) of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, further from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries as occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he, coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner the bishop in the city of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester's letters, and his examinations; whereof read before.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner

in that bishopric. Thus during the time of King Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woeful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

In the which convocation Master Philpot, being present according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited); for the which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appear.

The first examination of Master John Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions'-Hall, October the second, 1555.

Dr. Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that there were, and passing by me said, "Ha! Master Philpot;" and in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot.—"If I be fat, and in good liking, Master Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me."

Story.—"We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical opinions; and therefore we have sent for thee."

Philpot.—"I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof."

Story.—"If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well: or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?"

Philpot.—"I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary."

Story.—"If thou answerest thus, when thou

comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds:" and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The scribe.—"Sir, what is your name?"

Philpot.—"My name is John Philpot." And so he intituled my name.

Story.—"This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment."

Philpot.—"I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my Lord Chancellor that now is."

Story.—"Ye may be sure that my Lord Chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon."

Roper.—"Come hither to me, Master Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour."

Philpot.—"I am come before your worshipful Masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's Majesty, to whom I owe, and will do my due obedience, to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your Masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this twelve-month and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law."

Roper.—"Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal."

Philpot.—"If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and, if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's Majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done."

Cholmley.—"If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done."

Story.—"I perceive whereabouts this man goeth. He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the selfsame allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass. How sayest thou to that?"

Philpot.—"I am no heretic."

Story.—"I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass, is a heretic: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art a heretic."

Philpot.—"That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's Majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same."

Story.—"Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic, as thou art; and answer to the same that thou there didst speak; and be judged by the bishop of London."

Philpot.—"I have already been convented of this matter before my Lord Chancellor mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison. Therefore, if his Lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary."

Story.—"But, sir, thou spakest words in the convocation house, which is of the bishop of London's diocess, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the Lollards' Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocess against the blessed mass."

Philpot.—"Sir, you know by the law, that I may have *Exceptionem fori*; and it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me."

Roper.—"You cannot deny, but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house."

Story.—"Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?"

Philpot.—"I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto."

The scribe.—"This man is fed of vain-glory."

Cholmley.—"Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable; and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good."

Philpot.—"I desire you, sir, with the rest here,

that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was then no law directly against that where-with I am now charged. And you, Master Doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford,) I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity."

Story.—"I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?"

Philpot.—"Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your Mastership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal."

Story.—"Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot.—"Sir, since you will needs show me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may, by the virtue thereof, burden me with my conscience."

Roper.—"Let him see the commission: is it here?"

Story.—"Shall we let every vile person see our commission?"

Cholmley.—"Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission."

Story.—"No, let him lie in the mean while in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics, they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies."

Philpot.—"You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal Master Doctor is offended."

Story.—"Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterward of your other heretics."

Philpot.—"God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now."

Roper.—"Be content to be ruled by Master Doctor, and show yourself a catholic man."

Philpot.—"Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you:

and why be you so earnest to have me show myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?"

Roper.—"We do not require you to dissemble with us, to be a catholic man."

Philpot.—"If I do stand in any thing against that wherein any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please."

Story.—"Have we Scripture, Scripture?" and with that he rose up, saying, "Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture."

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

The second examination of Master Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the scribe, the twenty-fourth of October, 1555, at Nengate Sessions'-Hall.

At my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said unto me, "God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away." After a little consultation had between them, Master Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

Cholmley.—"Master Philpot, show yourself a wise man; and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation."

Philpot.—"I shall do as it becometh a Christian man to do."

Story.—"This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my Lord Chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have spoken with my Lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant, or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou; wilt thou recant?"

Philpot.—"I know nothing I have done, that I ought to recant."

Story.—"Well; then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine-fed in the King's Bench, and he hath too much favour there: for his keeper said

at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England." And with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook.—"This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained."

Philpot.—"I have maintained no heresies."

Cook.—"No! have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that, or not?"

Philpot.—"It was the queen's Majesty's pleasure, that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council."

Cook.—"Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? you may be sure her Grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you: my Lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned."

Philpot.—"My Lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter; and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living."

Roper.—"You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon."

Philpot.—"I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now."

Cook.—"A meet man, quoth he! he troubled Master Roper and the whole country."

Philpot.—"There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me."

Cook.—"Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot.—"I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law."

Cook.—"No, sir; that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise; and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every person, though he be a heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same."

Cholmley.—"No, there thou art deceived."

Philpot.—"Upon the living I pass not: but

the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law."

Cholmley.—"Why, will not you agree that the queen's Majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?"

Philpot.—"Ask you Master Doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes."

Cook.—"No! may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop?"

Philpot.—"Yea, sir, I deny not that. But you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own authority."

Cook.—"Let him be had away."

Philpot.—"Your Mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your commission by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand."

Roper.—"Let him see the commission."

Then the scribe exhibited it to Master Roper, and was about to open the same.

Cook.—"No, what will ye do? he shall not see it."

Philpot.—"Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not showing your authority in this behalf."

Cook.—"If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot.—"Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser."

Cook.—"Thou art no gentleman."

Philpot.—"Yes, that I am."

Cook.—"A heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions."

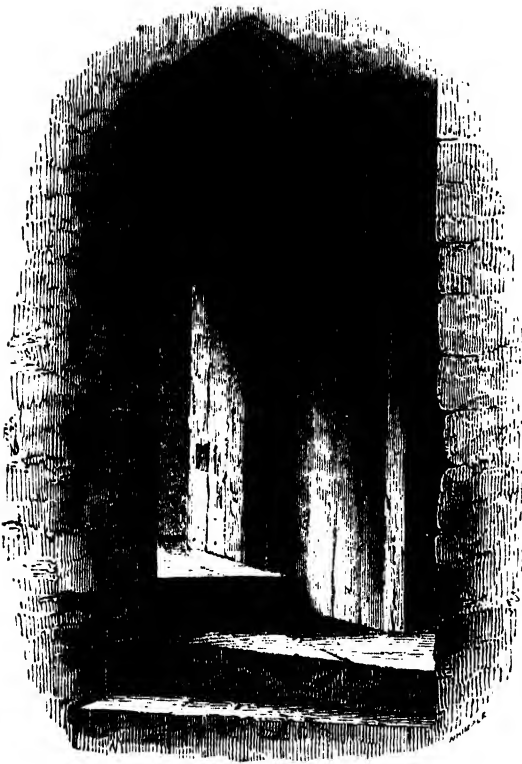
Philpot.—"The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor; but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it."

Story.—"What! will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?"

Cook.—"He saith, he is a gentleman."

Story.—"A gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away."

The Keeper.—"Here, sir."



PRESENT GATEWAY IN THE LOLLARDS' TOWER, LEADING TO THE DUNGEON.

Story.—"Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house."

Philpot.—"Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Master Cholmley, show me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place."

And Cholmley called me aside, and said, "I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws: I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good."

Philpot.—"I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without any just cause known should thus be entreated."

Story.—"Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence."

Philpot.—"God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need: Do quickly that you have in hand."

Story.—"Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?"

Philpot.—"That is after your own understanding."

After this, I, with four others more, were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster Row, where we supped; and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: "wherefore I will begin," said I, "as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do." And with that we were brought through Paternoster Row to my Lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played on those organs yet, although some before us have tried them. And there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the bishop's registrar, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after, he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end.

The manner of my calling first before the bishop of London, the second night of mine imprisonment in his coal-house.

The bishop sent unto me Master Johnson his registrar, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my Lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my Lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in

all others ; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence. And therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson.—"My Lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof) ; and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners of other diocess than his own."

I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, My Lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire : and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lord's gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains, waiting upon him, and his registrar.

Bonner.—"Master Philpot, you are welcome ; give me your hand."

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same.

Bonner.—"I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither ; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think that I was the cause thereof. And I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters ; but I must be obedient to my betters ; and I suppose men speak otherwise of me than I deserve."

I showed him the sum of the matter : that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was, against all right, molested.

Bonner.—"I marvel that you should be troubled there-for, if there was none other cause but this. But, peradventure, you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, 'Yea ;' and for this you might be committed to prison."

Philpot.—"If it shall please your Lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same."

Bonner.—"A man may speak in the parliament house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it ; as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen. And so it might be that your spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ."

Philpot.—"I spake nothing which was out of the articles, which were called in question, and

agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the queen's permission and the council."

Bonner.—"Why, may we dispute of our faith ?"

Philpot.—"Yea, that we may."

Bonner.—"Nay, I trow not, by the law."

Philpot.—"Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand of you the same."

Bonner.—"Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why then, I ask of you, what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar ?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot show you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes, in danger of my life there-for. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so I say to your Lordship : 'Take away the law, and I shall reason with you.' And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you."

Bonner.—"I perceive you are learned : I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church ; for there is but one church."

Philpot.—"God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same ; for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of the which there is no salvation."

Bonner.—"How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us ?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God."

Bonner.—"What age are ye of ?"

Philpot.—"I am four and forty."

Bonner.—"You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized."

Philpot.—"Yes, I thank God I am : for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold."

Bonner.—"How can that be ? there is but one faith."

Philpot.—"I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, of the which I am."

Bonner.—"You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now."

Philpot.—"Indeed, my Lord, to tell you plain, I

was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold."

Bonner.—"Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?"

Philpot.—"I desire your Lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of."

Bonner.—"Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not therefore burden you with your conscience as now. I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry."

Philpot.—"My Lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together, in hymns and psalms: and I trust your Lordship cannot be displeased with that."

Bonner.—"We may say unto you, as Christ said in the gospel, *tibiis cecinimus robis, et non planxistis.*"

Here my Lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

Philpot.—"We are, my Lord, in a dark, comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your Lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing. And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in misery,) do sing."

Bonner.—"I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Master Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine."

Thus I departed, and by my Lord's registrar I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my Lord's chaplain, Master Cousins, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Philpot.—"I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, Woe be to him that is alone."

After that I was carried to my Lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

Thus for the third fight.

The fourth examination of Master Philpot in the archdeacon's house of London, the said month of October, before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bonner.—"Master Philpot, it hath pleased my Lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon; and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned. And therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list."

Bath.—"My Lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church."

Worcester.—"Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth."

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:—

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight!) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

Bonner.—"Nay, my Lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer: for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing *Antelucanos Hymnos*, 'Praise unto God before dawning of the day.'"

Philpot.—"My Lord, God make me and all you

here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing."

Bath.—"Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what."

Bonner.—"Say on, Master Philpot, my Lords will gladly hear you."

Philpot.—"I have, my Lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble."

Bonner.—"There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion, *in ecclesiâ legitime vocatus*, in the congregation being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation where I ought to answer."

Bonner.—"Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people; where he might speak to vain glory."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put myself further in danger than I need; and so far am I a lawyer, and no further."

Bath.—"If you will not answer to my Lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion."

Philpot.—"My Lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as Master Doctor Cole (which is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my Lord of London wherefore he should call me."

Bonner.—"Yes, I have to lay to your charge that you have offended in my diocese, by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law."

Philpot.—"I have not offended in your diocese: for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean of St. Paul's, and therefore is counted of your Lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese."

Bonner.—"Is not Paul's church in my diocese? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof."

Philpot.—"That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordship's jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me."

Bonner.—"How say you, Master Doctor Cole? may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese?"

Cole.—"Methinketh Master Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your Lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and to make no longer delay."

Philpot.—"I would willingly show my mind of the matter; but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment."

Cole.—"Why then you may speak by protestation."

Philpot.—"But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy, (as you call it,) if I speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?"

Bonner.—"But Master Doctor Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?"

Cole.—"You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be found in your diocese."

Philpot.—"But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my Lord's, and require to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know Master Doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your Lordship ought to proceed against me." And here Master Doctor would say nothing.

Worcester.—"Do you not think to find before my Lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?"

Philpot.—"I cannot blame my Lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his Lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelvemonth and a half before, who never would call me

to answer, as his Lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him. But I ought not to be forestalled of my right; and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations."

Bonner.—"Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed withal of my Lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not show any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us."

Philpot.—"My Lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me, by this, either obstinate or self-willed without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your Lordships, which seem to be pillars of the Church of England, to satisfy me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the Scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points."

Bonner.—"These heretics come always with their 'ifs,' as this man doth now, saying, 'If he can be satisfied by the Scriptures:' so that he will always have this exception, 'I am not satisfied,' although the matter be never so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my Lords take some pains about you?"

Philpot.—"I say, my Lord, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here, before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf."

Bonner.—"I will trouble my Lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind."

Philpot.—"I am about so to do, if it please your Lordship to hear me speak."

Bath.—"Give him leave, my Lord, to speak that he hath to say."

Philpot.—"My Lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church; and we say we are of the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church, is

damned; and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your Lordship can bring any better authorities for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, (as you say,) and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not: therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this."

Cole.—"If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you list."

Philpot.—"It is the thing that I require, and to this, I have said, I will stand; and refer all other controversies wherein I stand now against you; and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word."

Bonner.—"I pray you, Master Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith."

Philpot.—"My Lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do; God forgive me."

Bonner.—"No faith! that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?"

Bonner.—"Master Doctor Cole, I pray you say your mind to him."

Cole.—"What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the Church of Rome? but I do not now remember where."

Philpot.—"If you, Master Doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to show any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure."

Cole.—"Though it were not then, it might be at another time."

Philpot.—"I desire to see the proof thereof." And upon this Master Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with

certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

Gloucester.—"Take the book, Master Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the Church of Rome is to be followed of all men."

I took the book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe; and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late-sprung heretics, &c.; whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited. "The which thing if you, my Lords, be able to prove now of the Church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the Church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in Irenæus's time, and was then uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore your Lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the Church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church."

Bonner.—"So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied."

Philpot.—"My Lord, when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose, (as I have already proved,) I trust you will receive mine answer."

Worcester.—"It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same."

Philpot.—"Let that be proved, and I have done."

Worcester.—"Nay, you are of such arrogance, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, or it never so well proved."

Philpot.—"Ha! my Lords, is it now time (think you) for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly. And again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more: yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this

time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with the which I am well contented."

Cole.—"Where are you able to prove that the Church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome."

Philpot.—"I know well that Eusebius so writeth; but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, Gal. i., the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years."

Cole.—"What! did Peter write to the Galatians?"

Philpot.—"No, I say Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the Church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other."

Bonner.—"I may compare this man to a certain man I read of which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself; and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, Master Doctor, go forth with him."

Cole.—"My Lord, there be on every side on me that be better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation; for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather show my mind in writing."

Philpot.—"And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds, that you shall not be able to show that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: the which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures, and by a universal council, it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the Church of Rome."

Cole.—"But I can show that they revoked that error again."

Philpot.—"So you say, Master Doctor; but I pray you show me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority."

Bonner.—"What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary."

Philpot.—"I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law; for, as St. Ambrose saith, 'Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together.'"

Worcester.—"Master Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth: leave it for shame."

Philpot.—"Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by the which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith."

Gloucester.—"What? do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?"

Philpot.—"Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him."

Worcester.—"Oh, you would be counted now for Elias; and yet I tell thee he was deceived, for he thought there had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand beside him."

Philpot.—"Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were."

Worcester.—"By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your Lordship."

Worcester.—"Indeed, I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do."

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book."

Worcester.—"Do you think the universal church may be deceived?"

Philpot.—"St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth that there should come a universal departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ; saying, Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first."

Cole.—"Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire: for it is in Greek, *ἀποστασία*."

Philpot.—"Marry indeed you, Master Doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place, for *apostasia* is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh *apostata*, which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St. Paul in the same place after, speaketh of the decay of the empire."

Cole.—"Apostasia doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to show."

Philpot.—"I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to show it (as you say in words) I will believe it, and not before."

Worcester.—"I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world."

Philpot.—"The world commonly, and such as be called Christians; for the multitude have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same."

Gloucester.—"Why, Master Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?"

Philpot.—"The church that you are of was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees."

Gloucester.—"Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree."

Philpot.—"It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary."

Gloucester.—"I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?"

Philpot.—"By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, The word that he spake shall be judge in the latter day."

Gloucester.—"What if you take the word one way, and I another way; who shall be judge then?"

Philpot.—"The primitive church."

Gloucester.—"I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof."

Philpot.—"I mean verily so."

Gloucester.—"What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another; who shall be judge then?"

Philpot.—"Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word."

Cole.—"My Lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the

thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament; and he, to shift himself off that, brought in another matter."

Philpot.—"This is the matter, Master Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied."

Worcester.—"It is a wonder to see how he standeth with a few, against a great multitude."

Philpot.—"We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them. And therefore your Lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary."

Worcester.—"They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew."

Philpot.—"I pray your Lordship to bear with my hasty speech; for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your Lordship."

Bonner.—"Master Philpot, my Lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can show you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your error."

Philpot.—"My Lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required; and your Lordship shall find me, as I have said."

Worcester.—"We wish you as well as ourselves."

Philpot.—"I think the same, my Lords; but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge."

Worcester.—"God send you more grace."

Philpot.—"And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church."

Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold; and thereto they put their hands. And after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end thereof to his glory, Amen.

John Philpot to certain that required him to write his examinations.

"Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishop and others, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness and in privy corners, and that the world now and the posterity hereafter might know how unorderedly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravening wolves do proceed against the silly and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by tyranny and violence."

The fifth examination of John Philpot, had before the bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, (I trow,) and one other, whose see I know not, Dr. Story, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers other chaplains and gentlemen of the queen's chamber, and divers other gentlemen, in the gallery of my Lord of London's palace.

Bonner.—"Master Philpot, come you hither. I have desired my Lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again, and to do you good. And because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow, (as I am commanded,) yet I would you should have as much favour as I can show you, if you will be any thing conformable. Therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men."

Philpot.—"My Lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my further grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it."

Bonner.—"Lo what a wilful man is this! By my faith it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to show extremity against you."

Philpot.—"My Lord, you need not to show extremity against me, unless you list: neither by the law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison."

Bonner.—"Why, the queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had

before them. I know not well the cause; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them, otherwise than it becometh a Christian man."

Philpot.—"My Lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your Lordship."

Bonner.—"Why did you not answer them thereto?"

Philpot.—"For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without showing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them; and hereupon they committed me to your prison."

Bonner.—"Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese: wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you, for that you have spoken in my diocese."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were as great a heresy as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in respect of the privilege of the parliament-house, wherof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds. And here is present a gentlemen of the queen's Majesty's that was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were then in controversy were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required, in the queen's Majesty's name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house."

The queen's gentleman.—"Though the parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the queen, or maintain treason against the crown."

Philpot.—"But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker? I think not."

The queen's gentleman.—"You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain."

St. Asaph.—"This man did not speak under reformation, as many there did, but ἀγωνιστικῶς and καρπορικῶς, which is, earnestly and persuasibly, as ever I heard any."

Philpot.—"My Lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither

will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the convocation-house by me, contrary to the laws and custom of the realm; I appeal to the whole parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken."

Rochester.—"But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?"

Philpot.—"If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer."

Rochester.—"How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands."

St. Asaph.—"What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that they put off all their caps for reverence of that idol] the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially, after the words of consecration?"

Philpot.—"I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe."

St. Asaph.—"I pray you how is that?"

Philpot.—"As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture saith, All things ought to be done after an order."

Another bishop.—"This is a froward and vain-glorious man."

Bonner.—"It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title *De Summa Trinitate et fide Catholica*."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have answered you to this question before."

Bonner.—"Why, I never asked thee of this before now."

Philpot.—"Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your Lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, 'That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith.' And moreover, my Lord, the title which your Lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity."

Bonner.—"Thou liest, it is not so: and I will show you by the book how ignorant he is." And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book and openly read the text, and the

title of the law ; and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, "How sayest thou to this?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon, where the articles of the Creed were only concluded upon."

Bonner.—"Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard ; I must needs speak it ; thou compellest me thereunto."

Philpot.—"Your Lordship may speak your pleasure of me : but what is this to the purpose, which your Lordship is so earnest in ? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law : therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith."

Bonner.—"By what law wilt thou be judged ? Wilt thou be judged by the common law ?"

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man."

St. Asaph.—"He will be judged by no law, but as he listeth himself."

Worcester.—"The common laws are but abstracts of the Scriptures and doctors."

Philpot.—"Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged."

Bonner.—"I must needs proceed against thee to-morrow."

Philpot.—"If your Lordship so do, I will have *exceptionem fori* ; for you are not my competent judge."

Bonner.—"By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge ?"

Philpot.—"By the civil law, *De competente judice*."

Bonner.—"There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be ?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law ; but you drive me to my shifts for my defence. And I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to show what I say."

Bonner.—"What ? *De competente judice* ? I will go etch thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judicis Ordinarii*."

Philpot.—"Verily that is the same *De competente judice*, which I have alleged." With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

Bonner.—"There be the books : find it now, (if thou canst,) and I will promise to release thee out of prison."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I stand not here to rea-

son matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same ; for that I have been a student in the law six or seven years : but to answer to the articles of faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence."

Bonner.—"Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal : therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being before you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies : the which if your Lordships now, or other learned men, can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require ; the which is to prove that the Church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church."

Coventry.—"Why, do you not believe your creed, *Credo ecclesiam catholicam* ?"

Philpot.—"Yes, that I do : but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it."

St. Asaph.—"It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*. Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write."

Philpot.—"That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain."

Bonner.—"Is there any more churches than one catholic church ? And I pray you tell me into what faith were you baptized ?"

Philpot.—"I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member, (I praise God,) and am of that catholic church of Christ whereinto I was baptized."

Coventry.—"I pray you, can you tell what this word 'catholic' doth signify ? show, if you can."

Philpot.—"Yes that I can, I thank God. The

catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people be taught, to be that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so : but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Augustine defineth the same : 'We judge,' saith he, 'the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be.' So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then may you count yourselves catholic : otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *κατά*, which signifieth *after* or *according*, and *ολον*, a *sum*, or *principal*, or *whole*. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much to say, as the first, sound, whole, or chiefest faith."

Bonner.—"Doth St. Augustine say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? how say you, Master Curtop?"

Curtop.—"Indeed, my Lord, St. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages; and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess."

Philpot.—"You have said well, Master Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Augustine, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic."

Coventry.—"Let the book be seen, my Lord."

Bonner.—"I pray you, my Lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?"

Philpot.—"I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this Church of Rome to be the catholic church."

Curtop.—"I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreme head."

Coventry.—"Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can."

Philpot.—"It is soon answered, my Lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Irenæus maketh no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome than mine hath done, which have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken

with the pope, if I had list: and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I."

St. Asaph.—"You are the more to blame, (by the faith of my body,) for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church (until these few years) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus."

Philpot.—"That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to show seven general councils after Irenæus's time, wherein he was never so taken; which may be a sufficient proof that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head."

The other bishop.—"This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him."

Philpot.—"O my Lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by the Nicene, the first and second Ephesine, the Chalcedonian, the Constantinopolitan, the Carthaginian, and that at Aquileia."

Coventry.—"Why will you not admit the Church of Rome to be the catholic church?"

Philpot.—"Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut."

Coventry.—"Wherein doth it dissent?"

Philpot.—"It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation."

Curtop.—"As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years, yet it was always believed in the church."

Bonner.—"Yea, that was very well said of you, Master Curtop."

Philpot.—"Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to show any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing:" and with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said, "My Lords, if you can show me that this Church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church."

Coventry.—"Can you disprove that the Church of Rome is not the catholic church?"

Philpot.—"Yea, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will show you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be, the form and school-mistress of the church to the world's end; then is not the Church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments."

Coventry.—"How prove you that the Church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?"

Philpot.—"Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers."

Coventry.—"What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?"

Philpot.—"Because it is not (by your interpretation of catholic) universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world, being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the Church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal."

Coventry.—"How prove you that?"

Philpot.—"All the historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true, which I say: for at this present the Church of Asia and Africa do not consent to the Church of Rome. Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the Church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal."

And after this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverson, an Englishman, who had proceeded doctor at Bologna, who after began with me in this matter.

Dr. Saverson.—"Master Philpot, I remember you beyond sea since the time you reasoned with a friar, (a notable learned man,) coming from Venice to Padua in a barge."

Philpot.—"I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened me to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him so boldly

of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar."

Dr. Saverson.—"Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day, having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be."

Philpot.—"I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you, good Master Doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation's sake."

Dr. Saverson.—"No, that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me?"

Philpot.—"Upon no evil that I do know of you, Master Doctor; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotion's sake, as many doctors be now-a-days."

Dr. Saverson.—"I have heard your arguments hitherto, and methinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the Church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St. Cyprian (who is an old ancient writer) doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church."

Philpot.—"That I am sure of he doth not: for he, writing unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and fellow bishop, neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or else of any other usurped terms which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, to the setting forth of his dignity."

Dr. Saverson.—"You cannot be able to show that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop."

Philpot.—"I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can show it you in Cyprian, as I have said."

Dr. Saverson.—"I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book, that it is not so."

Philpot.—"I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my Lord's chaplains to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof." And with that one of them went to my Lord's study and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle; and there would have seemed to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith, "it goeth not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow bishops and the agreement of the people."

Dr. Saverson.—"How can you avoid this place, which maketh so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?"

Philpot.—"It maketh not so plain, Master Doc-

tor, on your side, as you gather; as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine: for here you may see that he calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop, as he doth also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to take the high priest only for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome; of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to show. Therefore St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome, (whom he calleth his fellow bishop,) findeth himself offended, that certain heretics, being justly excommunicated by him, (as the Novatians were,) did flee from his diocess, who was their chief bishop, (refusing to be obedient to him, and to be reformed,) to the bishop of Rome, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation; in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms. And that heresies did spring up and schisms daily arise hereof, that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor that they considered him to be in the church, for the time, the priest, and, for the time, the judge in Christ's stead, (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed,) not meaning the bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of all his fellow bishops, with the consent of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian."

Dr. Saverson.—"You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise."

Philpot.—"Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, seven or eight one after another, confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only."

Pendleton.—"There were not so many general councils, but four only allowed."

Philpot.—"That is not so, Master Pendleton, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides these four there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers."

A chaplain.—"Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian saith so."

Philpot.—"St. Cyprian, *De simplicitate prælatorum*, declareth in what respect he so said: 'God gave, in the person of one man, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all men.' And also St. Augustine saith in the tenth treatise of St. John, 'If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church hath them not; if the church have them when Peter received them, he signified the whole church.' And also St. Jerome, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, 'That all churches do lean to their own pastors,' where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome. And writing *Ad Evagium*, he saith, 'that wheresoever a bishop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction.'"

Dr. Saverson.—"St. Jerome, *De cœlesti Hierarchiâ*? It was St. Dionysius you mean."

Philpot.—"I say not that Jerome wrote any book so intituled; but I say, that in the epistle by me alleged, he maketh mention of the ecclesiastical regiment."

Dr. Saverson.—"I wonder you will stand so stedfast in your error to your own destruction."

Philpot.—"I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue at Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?"

Dr. Saverson.—"A godly minister, indeed, of receipt of cutpurses, and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither."

Philpot.—"I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the Scriptures."

Dr. Saverson.—"Men be able to answer him if

they list. And I pray you which of you have answered Bishop Fisher's book?"

Philpot.—"Yes, Master Doctor, that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him."

And after this, Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, "Master Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And, besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after."

Story.—"I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that, which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet am I no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God otherwise than a Christian man ought."

Story.—"The word of God! Forsooth, the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But as I may reason with thee, (not that I have any hope to win thee,) whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?"

Philpot.—"Verily the word itself."

Story.—"Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willet the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?"

Philpot.—"If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic, and an ignorant person; and further, what you please."

Story.—"Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in."

Philpot.—"It is the saying of Christ in St. John, (chap. xii.) The word which I have spoken, saith Christ, shall judge in the last day. If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and I am sure I have my Judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you."

Story.—"What! you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?"

Philpot.—"Yea, sir, I doubt not thereof, hav-

ing the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me."

Story.—"I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies, without all learning."

Philpot.—"Sir, I have brought you, for that I have said, good authority out of God's book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me, without any cause."

Story.—"I will come to you by and by. When the judge at Westminster Hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me."

Philpot.—"Civil matters be subject to civil men; and they have authority by the word, to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men; and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto."

Story.—"Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scriptures?"

Philpot.—"Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the Church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholic church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me."

Story.—"What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he listeth himself. Are we not in possession of the church? have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church whereof we are now? and if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law."

Philpot.—"You do well, Master Doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to show for yourselves. But you must understand, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to show by the testimony of many doctors."

Story.—"Well sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch."

Philpot.—"You have the more to answer for, Master Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings."

Story.—"I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to signify to his Lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way." And, going away, he said to me, "I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man but me."

Philpot.—"I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you."

Story.—"What! dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song."

Philpot.—"No, Master Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now." And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards, with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went, I met with my Lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words, saying,

London.—"Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it."

Philpot.—"My Lord, the pleasure that I will require of your Lordship is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and so to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest."

And for all his fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore, praised be God that hath humbled me and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth tragedy.

The sixth examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable lords, the lord chamberlain to the queen's Majesty, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Riche, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more, whose names I know not, with the bishop of London and Dr. Chedsry, the sixth day of November, Anno 1555.

Before that I [Philpot] was called afore the Lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the

bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's Majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said: and thus he pretended to give me counsel, because he wished me to do well; as I might now do, if I list. And after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the queen's Majesty's servants were set, my Lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the bishop began to speak.

London.—"Master Philpot, I have heretofore, both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporality and of the queen's Majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, (I thank them there-for,) to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say, in their behalf, that if you show yourself conformable to the queen's Majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you can say."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your Lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity; where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned to exile for a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your Lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness with my cause than I have found with my Lords of the clergy. God grant I may have, at last, the judgment of God's word concerning the same."

London.—"Master Philpot, I pray you are you go any further, tell my Lords here plainly whether you were by me, or by my procurement, committed to prison or not, and whether I have showed you

any cruelty since ye have been committed to my prison."

Philpot.—"If it shall please your Lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward."

Riche.—"Answer first of all to my Lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my Lord or no? can you find any fault since, with his cruel using of you?"

Philpot.—"I cannot lay to my Lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather, for my part, I may say that I have found more gentleness at his Lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelve-month and a half before."

Riche.—"Well, now go forth to your matter."

Philpot.—"The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's Majesty and of the whole house; and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable Lordships' judgment, which be of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached there-for, and sustain the loss of my living, (as I have done,) and moreover of my life, as it is sought."

Riche.—"You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have always understood the contrary, by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which altogether the agreement of the spirituality and temporality assembled together."

Riche.—"Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house."

Windsor.—"Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house."

Philpot.—"My Lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf."

Riche.—"We have told you the truth. Marry, yet we would not that you should be troubled for

any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry there-for."

London.—"My Lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy; yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, [and with that he put off his cap, that all the Lords might reverence and veil their bonnets at that idol as he did,] and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same. Yet, my Lords, God forbid that I should go about to show him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your Lordships' consent he shall be released by-and-by. If he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly."

Chamberlain.—"My Lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you. Take it whiles it is offered you."

Riche.—"How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me."

Riche.—"That shall be no otherwise than you list."

London.—"A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign, which is the accident, as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread, and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacraments to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no."

Philpot.—"I do confess that in the Lord's supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ."

London.—"You may see how he goeth about the bush, (as he hath done before with my Lords of the clergy,) and dare not utter his mind plainly."

Riche.—"Show us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament."

Philpot.—"If it please you, my Lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein."

Lord Chandos.—"I pray you, my Lord, let him speak his mind."

Philpot.—"My Lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, the

reason is this, because I cannot speak hercof without the danger of my life."

Riche.—"There is none of us here that seeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak."

Philpot.—"Although I mistrust not your honourable Lordships that be here of the temporality; yet here is one that sitteth against me [pointing to my Lord of London] that will lay it to my charge, even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your Honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the Scripture, I will show you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my Lord of London will not let me to utter my mind."

Riche.—"My Lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to show his mind."

London.—"I am content, my Lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him."

Philpot.—"That which I do intend to speak unto you, right honourable lords, I do protest here, first, before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against the which I dare not do, for fear of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, for that I love not the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart); but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness. There be two things principally, by the which the clergy at this day do deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say now as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's Majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen's Majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life: the which to do, if it were not

upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation. And whereas they take on them the name of the catholic church, (whereby they blind many folk's eyes,) they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, (as they shall never be able to do,) I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my Lords, to be a mean for me to the queen's Majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm: and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points." And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

London.—"It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale."

Riche.—"All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a sevensnight in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of Canterbury and Bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her. But she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning: but she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now."

Philpot.—"As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman, (I knew her well,) and a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scriptures. And such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I have God's word thoroughly on my side to show for that I stand in."

London.—"I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together: *Pater major me est*; and *Pater et ego unum sumus*. I must interpret the same, because my Lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, The Father is greater than I; and, I and the Father are one: but I cry you mercy, my Lords, I have mispoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you

understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my Lord Chandos and Master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can."

Philpot.—"Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the Divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, The Father is greater than I. But in respect of his Deity he said again, The Father and I be one."

London.—"But what scripture have you?"

Philpot.—"Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels. It is the 15th Psalm, beginning *Cœli enarrant.*" And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my Lord took me:

London.—"It is in *Domine Dominus noster.* Ye may see, my Lords, how well this man is used to say his matins."

Philpot.—"Though I say not matins in such order as your Lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that *Domine Dominus noster*, and *Cœli enarrant*, be not far asunder. And albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved."

London.—"What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?"

Philpot.—"The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father: and this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them."

London.—"How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, That the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life."

Philpot.—"St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in itself killeth (which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord); but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world. And therefore St. Paul said, That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death. Also an example hereof we have in John vi., of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby: wherefore Christ said, The flesh profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

London.—"What! do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John so?"

Philpot.—"It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man, which is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things."

London.—"You see, my Lords, that this man will have his own mind; and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him."

Philpot.—"The words that I have spoken be none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my Lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or by any other in this realm."

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the lords "to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world, if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my Lord of London would make you believe me to be."

Riche.—"What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?"

Philpot.—"Yea, my Lord; I was Sir P. Philpot's son of Hampshire?"

Riche.—"He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him."

Philpot.—"I thank your Lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner."

Riche.—"In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet, to do you good."

Chamberlain.—"He may do well enough, if he list."

St. John.—"Master Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well."

Riche.—"You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, your Lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility in this realm. It was no part of my mind; but I meant of the best learned on the contrary side."

Riche.—"Well, I take your meaning. What if means be made to the queen's Majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, it is not meet, that a man should be judged by his adversaries."

Riche.—"By whom then would you be judged?"

Philpot.—"I will make your Honours judges, that shall be hearers of us."

Riche.—"I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's Majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you; will you promise here, afore my Lords, so to do?"

Philpot.—"I will be contented to be judged by them."

Riche.—"Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?"

Philpot.—"There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God."

Riche.—"Oh, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church; which is, first that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spirituality and temporality was gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment. And such kind of judgment I will stand to."

London.—"My Lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of."

Philpot.—"In the Epistles of St. Cyprian I am able to show it you."

London.—"Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian hither."

Philpot.—"You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh." And Dr. Chedsey, his chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his book) whispered the bishop in his ear, and fetched not the book, by likelihood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof, if the book had been fetched. "Well my Lord," quoth I, "Master Doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetched the book ere this."

Riche.—"You would have none other judge, I see, but the word."

Philpot.—"Yes, my Lord; I will be tried by the word, and by such as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your Lordship and another, upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?"

Riche.—"No marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof."

London.—"He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be."

And here the bishop thought he had good hand-fast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

The lords.—"He hath overthrown himself by his own argument."

Philpot.—"My Lords, it seemeth to your Honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in to express my cause: but, if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask my Lord Riche here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?"

Riche.—"He cannot so do."

Philpot.—"Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false Church of Rome doth in many things." And with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Riche.—"I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, This is my body, and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you? and was not his very body betrayed for us? therefore it must needs be his body."

London.—"My Lord Riche, you have said wonderful well and learnedly; but you might have begun with him before also in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, The bread which I will give is my flesh. How can you answer to that?"

Philpot.—"If it please you to give me leave to answer first my Lord Riche, I will also answer this objection."

Riche.—"Answer my Lord of London first, and after come to me."

Philpot.—"My Lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively repre-

sentation and an effectual coaptation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, I am the bread that came down from heaven; but yet he is not material natural bread neither: likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

"And now to my Lord Riche's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, This is my body, but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken; they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaïtes took carnally, as the papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually, and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared, any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles, and by the decree of the council of Antioch, may appear."

London.—"No, that is not so; they were only *catechumeni* which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other."

Philpot.—"It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive."

London.—"What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my Lord Riche hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet, if he will."

Philpot.—"As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; as that is blasphemy which my Lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, as I have learned of ancient writers, 'God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature,' as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature. Wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain."

London.—"Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? or do you deny it?"

Philpot.—"I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament to the receiver thereof, according to Christ's institution."

London.—"What mean you by really present?"

Philpot.—"I mean by really present, present indeed."

London.—"Is God really present every where?"

Philpot.—"He is so."

London.—"How prove you that?"

Philpot.—"The prophet Isaiah saith, that God filleth all places: and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them."

London.—"What? his humanity?"

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded."

Riche.—"My Lord of London, I pray you let Master Doctor Chedsey reason with him; and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's Majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him."

London.—"My Lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave Master Doctor and him reasoning together awhile, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again." He went (as I suppose) to make room for more drink, after the lords had drunken. My Lord Riche said to the lords, "I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty;" and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all. God requite it him, for I was athirst indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedsey began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect.

Chedsey.—"Master Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-house before your Lordships, that he hath lain thus long in prison, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring; and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping. I was there present and can testify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will show you the truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the doctors."

Philpot.—"It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered whiles I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of

the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many of noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honourable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have. But my weeping was, as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her; and I, foreseeing then the destruction which you (through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinity more, have felt and shall feel."

All these words I did not then speak out, being interrupted by my Lord Riche, saying that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every article. But he promised more than he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the consent of the spirituality to his promise, which now rule the roost. God shorten their cruel days, for his elect's sake. And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lest any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedsey's sayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every argument, as Master Dean of Rochester, and Master Cheyney, archdeacon of Hertford, (yet being alive, and within the realm,) can testify.

Chedsey.—"You have of Scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, This is my body. They say not as you would have me to believe, this is not the body. But specially the sixth of John proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Philpot.—"My Lord Riche, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ. For if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then needed he not to have died, after he had given the sacrament."

Riche.—"Let Master Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can."

Chedsey.—"You must note that there is twice *dabo* in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar; and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross. And besides these manifest scriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian" [whose authority he recited at large, which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same].

Riche.—"Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard."

Philpot.—"My Lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, This is my body, with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your Lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require Master Doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your Honours that I think as reverently of the sacrament as a Christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and, contrariwise, it is most discomfort and abominable, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now-a-days. And now to my question, which is this: Whether these words only, This is my body, spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose, or no?"

Staggering what he might say, at last Chedsey said, "That these words alone, pronounced by the priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really."

Philpot.—"That is blasphemy to say, and against all the scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian saith, 'In the sacrifice which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed.' And by the law it is forbidden to add or take away from God's word. And St. Peter saith, If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God. Wherefore, whosoever saith that these words only, This is my body, do make a presence of Christ, without Bless, take, and eat, which be three as substantial points of the sacrament as This is my body, he is highly deceived. Therefore St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament:' so that if the entire words of Christ's insti-

tutions be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament; as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore, except blessing be made after the word, (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ,) and also a showing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified, and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment—except (I say) these three parts be first performed, (which is not done in the mass,) these words, *This is my body*, which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, *Take ye, eat ye, as This is my body.*"

Chedsey.—"Christ said, *Take, eat, this is my body*, and not, *Take ye, eat ye.*"

Philpot.—"No did, Master Doctor? Be not these the words of Christ, *Accipite, manducate?* and do ye these words in the plural number signify *Take ye, eat ye*; and not, *Take thou, eat thou*, as you would suppose?"

Chedsey.—"I grant it is as you say."

Philpot.—"Likewise of consequence, you, Master Doctor, must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, *This is my body*, being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said."

Then came in the bishop of London again and said, "What is it that you would have Master Doctor deny?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, Master Doctor hath affirmed that these words, *This is my body*, spoken by the priest, only do make the sacrament."

London.—"Indeed if Master Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor hath said otherwise."

London.—"I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced."

Philpot.—"Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, *This is my body*, hath no place, except bless, take, and eat, duly go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before *This is my body*, but preposterously follow, in your sacrament of the mass, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present."

Chedsey.—"If *This is my body* only do not make the sacrament, no more do bless, take, and eat."

Philpot.—"I grant that the one without the other

cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution."

Chedsey.—"Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?"

Philpot.—"No, verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution."

London.—"Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on the table, though nobody eat thereof?"

Philpot.—"It is not likely, my Lord; for a loaf is a loaf before it be set on the table. But so is not the sacrament a perfect sacrament before it be duly ministered at the table of the Lord."

London.—"I pray you, what is it in the meanwhile, before it is received?"

Philpot.—"It is, my Lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign, and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution."

Windsor.—"There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, *This is my body*?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For an example; Christ biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: if a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, these words only pronounced, do not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by."

Chamberlain.—"I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?"

Philpot.—"If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him, and he to Christ."

Chamberlain.—"I am answered."

London.—"My Lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, *Take, eat, this is a fat capon*, although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still? And

likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine; if I say, Drink, this is a cup of wine, is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare; and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil; and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of the which, Take ye, and eat ye, be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no sacraments. And therefore in Greek, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called *κοινωνία*, i. e. communion, and likewise in the gospel Christ commanded, saying, Divide it among you."

Chedsey.—"St. Paul calleth it a communication."

Philpot.—"That doth more expressly show, that there must be a participation of the sacrament together."

London.—"My Lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now." And with that the Lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment: God work it to good!

Thus endeth the sixth part of this tragedy: the seventh look for with joy.

The seventh examination of John Philpot, had the nineteenth of November, before the bishops of London and Rochester, the chancellor of Lichfield, Dr. Chedsey, and Master Dee, bachelor of divinity.

London.—"Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Master Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming."

Philpot.—"My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list. But as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately."

London.—"We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would

you have come to mass, or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, that is another manner of question."

London.—"Lo, Master Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the spiritual lords and temporal, and thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed."

Philpot.—"I reckon, I answered your Lordship before the lords plain enough."

London.—"Why answerest thou not directly whether thou wouldst have gone to mass with us or no, if thou hadst come in time?"

Philpot.—"Mine answer shall be thus; that if your Lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will."

London.—"Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm, do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

Philpot.—"If to lie in a blind coal-house may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your Lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

London.—"Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

Philpot.—"My Lord, we have no such resort to us as your Lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I wot of: wherefore your Lordship hath mistaken your mark."

London.—"Nay; now you think, because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will despatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I had not thought that I

should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

Chancellor.—"Cast not yourself wilfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

Philpot.—"My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God cause me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure."

Chancellor.—"You are not so sure, but you may be deceived."

London.—"Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee *ex officio*: and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them." And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles: and when he had done he bade me answer.

Philpot.—"Your libel, my Lord, containeth in sum two special points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your Lordship upon divers suspects and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary-office: the which first is not true, for that I am not of your Lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I, being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them; the which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized unto."

London.—"What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now, I pray you?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is in your diocese, yet I am not of your diocese."

London.—"You were sent hither unto me by the queen's Majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary."

Philpot.—"I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction, neither maketh it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do: no more than a sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought."

Chedsey.—"Hath not the queen's Majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will? and ought you not to obey herein?"

Philpot.—"I grant that the queen's Majesty (of her just power) may transpose my body, whither it shall please her Grace to command the same. But yet, by your laws, 'spiritual causes be not subject to the temporal power.' As for example; you, Master Doctor, if the queen's Majesty would to appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent spiritual judges in your causes?"

London.—"Doth not a man, I pray you, *sortiri forum ratione delicti*?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spiritual causes it is not so, which be otherwise privileged."

London.—"What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved."

London.—"Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second—that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church, now, as you were baptized in?"

Philpot.—"I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church, which is of Christ, the pillar and stablishment of truth."

London.—"Nay, that you are not."

Philpot.—"Yes, that I am."

London.—"Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now."

Philpot.—"I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith or my godmothers', but into the faith and into the church of Christ."

London.—"How know you that?"

Philpot.—"By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church."

London.—"How long hath your church stood, I pray you?"

Philpot.—"Even from the beginning; from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors."

Chancellor.—"He will prove his church to be before Christ!"

Philpot.—"If I did so, I go not amiss: for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one catholic church."

Chancellor.—"It is so indeed."

Philpot.—"I will desire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in of your side,

to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity."

London.—"Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is? He would seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him."

Philpot.—"My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them."

London.—"No, that thou shalt not have. You shall see how he lieth. St. Cyprian saith, 'There must be one high priest, to the which the residue must obey;' and they will allow no head, neither vicar-general."

Philpot.—"St. Cyprian saith not that there should be a vicar-general over all. For in his book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, I am sure he saith the contrary. 'There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.'"

London.—"Fetch hither the book; thou shalt see the manifest place against thee."

Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited these words in sum, "That it went not well with the church, where the high priest was not obeyed," and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, you misconstrue the place of St. Cyprian: for he meaneth not there by the high priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius he meaneth by the high priest, himself, which was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and saith, 'The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, after the judgment of the Scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.'"

London.—"Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar in earth, even from Peter?"

Philpot.—"No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority than the bishop of London hath."

London.—"Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the bishop of Rome, which is his successor, the same authority?"

Philpot.—"I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had. But Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had."

Chancellor.—"Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him."

Philpot.—"St. Augustine answereth otherwise to the objection, and saith, 'That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The which if Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not.'"

London.—"What if I can prove and show you out of the civil law, that all Christendom ought to follow the holy catholic Church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, *De catholicâ fide et sanctâ Romanâ ecclesiâ*?"

Philpot.—"That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man's laws; and divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man."

A doctor.—"What will you say, if I can prove that Christ builded his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?"

Philpot.—"I know what St. Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it."

A doctor.—"St. Cyprian hath these words, 'That upon Peter was builded the church, as upon the first beginning of unity.'"

Philpot.—"He declareth that in an example, that unity must be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, saying, 'In the person of one man, God gave the keys to all, that he, in signification thereby, might declare the unity of all men.'"

A doctor.—"What! will you understand St. Cyprian so? That were good indeed!"

Philpot.—"I think you cannot understand St. Cyprian better, than he doth declare himself."

London.—"I will desire you, Master Chancellor, to take some pains with Master Doctor Chedsey about his examination, for I must go to the parliament-house. And I will desire you to dine with me."

Then the doctor took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabouts he went; and therewithal he laughed. And I said his divinity was nothing but scoffing.

A doctor.—"Yea, then I have done with you: and so went away."

Philpot.—"You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you be learned in other things more than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you: therefore be not too hasty to judge that you do not perfectly know."

Chancellor.—"Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in St. John thrice, Feed my sheep."

Philpot.—"That is no otherwise to be taken, than Go ye and preach, which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, Feed my sheep, it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take *Pasce oves meas*, for to be Lord of the whole world?" In this mean while came in the bachelor of divinity, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help Master Chancellor."

Scholar.—"What will you say if I can show you a Greek author, called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?"

Philpot.—"Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils."

Scholar.—"In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?"

Philpot.—"In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome."

Scholar.—"Nay, that is not so."

Philpot.—"Then I perceive you are better seen in words, than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so; as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils."

Scholar.—"I will fetch Eusebius and show the contrary, and the book of General Councils." He went into my Lord's closet, and brought Eusebius; but the General Councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to show the same, and so shrank away confounded.

Chancellor.—"The Church of Rome hath been always taken for the whole catholic church; there-

fore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you: and why will you be so singular?"

Philpot.—"I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of this realm do persecute the true church, and condemn such as be more righteous than you."

Chancellor.—"Do you hear, Master Doctor, what he saith, that the Church of Rome is the devil?"

Chedsey.—"I wish you did think more reverently of the Church of Rome. What will you say if I can show you out of St. Austin, in his Epistle written unto Pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the Church of Rome to be chiefest over all other?"

Philpot.—"I am sure you can show no such thing." And with that he fetched the book of St. Austin, and turned to the Epistle, but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise:—

Chedsey.—"Here you may see, that the council of Carthage writing to Innocent the bishop, calleth the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbations in the same; which they would not have done, if they had not taken the Church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Austin doth prove the Church of Rome to be the catholic church by continual succession of the bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St. Austin we say now, that the Church of Rome is the catholic church."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Augustine; and, contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolic see, that is not material to prove the Church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the apostolic see, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the apostolic see of that true religion and sincerity, as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; the which if ye could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolic see: otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ.

"And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto Pope Innocent, certifying him of that was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council proveth nothing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocess. The which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

"And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine, neither such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the succession of bishops of Rome, (whereof you do glory,) that such doctrine hath not been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare."

Chancellor.—"Well, Master Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him. Let us minister the articles which my Lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Master Philpot, to these articles? Master Johnson, I pray you write his answers."

Philpot.—"Master Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of London's diocess; and, to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop."

Chancellor.—"Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away."

Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

The sum of a private conference or talk between Master Philpot and the bishop of London.

The next day, in the morning betimes, the bishop sent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his chapel to hear mass.

Bishop's man.—"Master Philpot, where be you?"

Philpot.—"Who is it that calleth me?"

Bishop's man.—"My Lord's will is, you should rise and come to hear mass. Will you come or no?"

Philpot.—"My stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my Lord I am sick." After this the keeper was sent to bring me to my Lord.

The keeper.—"Master Philpot, you must rise and come to my Lord."

Philpot.—"I am at your commandment, Master Keeper, as soon as I can." And going out of the prison, he asked me, saying:

The keeper.—"Will ye go to mass?"

Philpot.—"My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning." After this my keeper presented me to the bishop in his hall.

London.—"Master Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such articles as my chaplain, Master Dee, and my registrar, have from me to object against you; go and answer them."

Philpot.—"My Lord, all judgments ought to be public. Therefore, if your Lordship have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty: otherwise in corners I will not."

London.—"Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough: thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; go thy ways with them, I say."

Philpot.—"I may well go with them at your Lordship's pleasure; but I will make them no further answers than I have said already."

London.—"No, wilt thou not, knave? I have him away, and set him in the stocks: What! foolish knave?"

Philpot.—"Indeed, my Lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and we must be content to be made fools at your hands; stocks and violence be your bishop-like alms. You go about by force in corners to oppress, and be ashamed that your doings should come to light: God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy's sake!" And I was put by and by into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows. God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience.

Another conference between Bonner, bishop of London, and Master Philpot and other prisoners.

The next day after, an hour before day, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

The keeper.—"Master Philpot, arise, you must come to my Lord."

Philpot.—"I wonder what my Lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early. I fear he will use some violence towards me: wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him."

Keeper.—"I will go tell my Lord what answer you make." And so he went away to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop's men, saying that I must come, whether I would or no.

Philpot.—"If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go, otherwise I will not." And therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

London.—"What, thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched."

Philpot.—"I am brought indeed, my Lord, by violence unto you; and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your Lordship would gently proceed against me by the law."

London.—"I am blamed of the lords the bishops, for that I have not despatched thee ere this. And in faith I made suit to my Lord Cardinal, and to all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee. And my Lord of Lincoln stood up, and said that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the last word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the lords openly: and they say it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory so of yourself. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee; and, in good faith, if you will not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of Master White, bishop of Lincoln, I pass not; who is known to be mine enemy, for that I, being archdeacon, did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ my Master were called a mad-man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantic."

London.—"Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me, (marry, I am counselled to take heed of thee,)

to kill me? But I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the best thou canst."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat thought I was without a knife, and so put it in. But other things your Lordship needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife since I came into prison. And touching your own person, you should live long, if you should live until I would go about to kill you: and I confess by violence your Lordship is able to overcome me."

London.—"I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand of thee."

Philpot.—"I will first know your Lordship to be mine ordinary, before I swear herein."

London.—"What, we shall have an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge!"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I am no Anabaptist; I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your Lordship, because you are not mine ordinary."

London.—"I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese." [And here he bade call in more to bear him witness.] "And I make thee" [taking one of his servants by the arm] "to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles:" to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, "Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him."

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, "Master Sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain;" and so he read a rablement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of Christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides; and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

Philpot.—"Hah, my Lord! have ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me! You might as well have said I had killed your father.

The Scriptures say, that God will destroy all men that speak lies. And is not your Lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman, (who is unknown to me,) that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible."

London.—"I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thyself of them."

Philpot.—"Then it was not justly said of your Lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since almost I hold none of these articles you have read, in form as they are written."

London.—"How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them or no?"

Philpot.—"I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things; and then afterward, being lawfully called in judgment, I will show my mind fully thereof; and not otherwise."

London.—"Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witnesses hercin against thee. Where are they? Come!"

Keeper.—"They be here, my Lord."

London.—"Come hither, sirs: hold them a book. You shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man. And take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors."

Prisoners.—"My Lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him."

Philpot.—"I wonder your Lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses: for your Lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness."

London.—"Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And Master Sheriff, I will make one of them to be witness against another."

Philpot.—"You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you list."

Prisoners.—"No, my Lord."

London.—"No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I ween they be Anabaptists, Master Sheriff: they think it not lawful to swear before a judge."

Philpot.—"We think it lawful to swear for a

man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner."

London.—"Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here in the presence of Master Sheriff object the same articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you, under the pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined by my registrar and some of my chaplains."

Prisoners.—"My Lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your Lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why."

London.—"Master Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men." And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with Master Sheriff.

Philpot.—"Master Sheriff, I pray you record how my Lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us."

And after this [we] were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

Another private conference between the bishop of London and Master Philpot in the coal-house.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before: whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners, seeing he was never with them that have been so nigh his nose. And he came not then for any good zeal, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me; and therefore, after supper, between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying—

London.—"Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and the council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty. And besides that, you are yonder, and strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough. I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand despatch you, as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man."

Philpot.—"My Lord, you have my body in your custody; you may transport it whither you please: I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as, you

say, I long there-for ; and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I.

London.—"Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?"

Philpot.—"My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, the which if any can show me, I will be pliant to the same. Otherwise, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain."

London.—"Have you then the truth only?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God ; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations : he hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably. I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion ; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can." With this saying he was silenced.

London.—"That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before."

And he followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me, (as the sequel did declare.) and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed. And afterwards I passed through Paul's, up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the west side of Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits ; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet of breadth, and thirteen of length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them : and whoso walketh in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel, may see my window and me standing in the same. And as I was come to my place the keeper plucked off my gown, and searched me very narrowly, and took away penner, inkhorn, girdle, and knife ; but (as God would) I

had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where, full sore against my will, I cast away many a sweet letter and friendly : but that I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my leg, the which he by feeling did soon espy, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters : and with that he was very busy to have them out. "Let me alone," said I, "I will pluck them out." With that I put in my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing to my pocket-hole, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance ; the which, to make a show that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me ; and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

After this he went his way, and as he was going one of them that came with him said, that I did not deliver the writings I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. "No did?" quoth he, "I will go search him better : " the which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written into another place beside my bed, and took all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again ; and as he came I threw the same out of my window, saying that I heard what he said : wherefore I did prevent his searching again, whereof I was right glad. God be praised that gave me that present shift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of more straiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The eighth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, and others, in the bishop's chapel.

The next day after, my keeper came before day in the morning to call me down, and so was I brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, one of the queen's council, Master Archdeacon of London, and before a great many more Balaamites. And the bishop spake unto me in this wise :—

London.—"Sir, here I object and lay unto you, in the presence of my Lord of St. David's, and of Master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained."

And openly he read them. To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would when he had said. "And unto these here I add another schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of King Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely, my Lord of St. David's, Master Mordant, and Master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and unreverent behaviour he did there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a book!" And receiving one, he opened the same, saying, I will teach him here one trick in our law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of St. David's, because you are a bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear, by looking on the gospel book, without touching of the same." And so he opened the book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and willed them to resort to his registrar to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, "Now sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea, or nay?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?"

London.—"Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time."

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

Philpot.—"Then my two words you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge."

London.—"Indeed, Master Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her Majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands."

Philpot.—"You will do what you list, my Lord, you have the law in your hands."

London.—"Wilt thou answer or no?"

Philpot.—"I will not otherwise than I have said."

London.—"Registrar, note his answer that he maketh."

Philpot.—"Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law: as well you may do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now-a-days; God of his mercy destroy your cruel kingdom." And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste.

St. David's.—"Master Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law."

After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

The ninth examination of Master Philpot before the bishop of London, and his chaplains.

In the morning, the next day, I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained until the bishop had heard his mass; and afterward he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said:

London.—"I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles; and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I wis all your exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, the which is, free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise."

London.—"Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles."

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried."

London.—"Well, thou shalt hear them."

And with that he began to read them. I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book. And after he had read them over he said unto me,

London.—"I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough if thou list. It is but a singularity. Dost thou not see all the realm against thee?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word; and if your Lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same."

London.—"What! thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is past shall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldest desire."

Then I, perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope that, for fear or love of the world, will recant: I said, "My Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; or else what will they say, but that, either for fear or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth? And if I hear any kind of learning openly showed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me."

London.—"Yea, marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house: call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament."

London.—"What! do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your

mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ's institution: and first, it must be proved a sacrament, before there can be any presence granted."

London.—"Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?"

Philpot.—"Yes, verily, that it is."

London.—"Then I make this argument unto you: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: but the mass is the sign of a holy thing; ergo, it is a sacrament."

Philpot.—"You must add this to your major, or first proposition, as St. Augustine doth mean, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and commanded: for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for all men cannot make a sacrament."

London.—"I grant that: and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ's institution."

Philpot.—"I deny that, my Lord."

London.—"I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will go show you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is without there? Call me Master Doctor Chedsey, Master Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and other chaplains hither."

"Here, my Lord. Master Doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and Master Archdeacon was here even now."

London.—"Master Cosins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before."

Cosins.—"I trust, my Lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?"

Philpot.—"Master Cosins, I have told my Lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me: but, if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you."

Cosins.—"No, will you? Why, what is that, then, that is in question between my Lord and you?"

Philpot.—"Whether your mass be a sacrament, or no."

Cosins.—"What, the mass to be a sacrament? who ever doubted thereof?"

Philpot.—"If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof."

Cosins.—"Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing: ergo, it is a sacrament."

Philpot.—"I deny your antecedent."

Cosins.—"What, will you so? then there is no reasoning with you."

Thus Master Cosins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and with that Master Harpsfield came out from my Lord with St. Augustine's Epistles, saying,

Harpsfield.—"My Lord hath sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth: I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbath and holy-days."

Philpot.—"I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament of the mass."

Harpsfield.—"No! doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more plain?"

Philpot.—"St. Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; or this word 'mass' hath been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what *missa* doth signify. I think not many that say mass can well tell."

Cosins.—"No? cannot? That is marvel."

Philpot.—"Then tell me, if you can." But Master Cosins and my morrow-mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Master Harpsfield for help; and at length he spake.

Harpsfield.—"You think it cometh of the Hebrew word *massah*, as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you."

Philpot.—"I have not gone so long to school, to derive the signification of *missa* out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called *missa*, (sent,) *a mittendo*, (from sending,) of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought after their devotion and ability, and required the minister, in the celebration of the communion, to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this cause was it called *missa*, as learned

men do witness. At the which celebration of the mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in St. Augustine's time. But unless you can show that your mass is used as then it was, ye shall never by the name of mass (which St. Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion) prove your private mass to be a sacrament, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then, which is clean contrary."

Harpsfield.—"What! deny you the mass to be a sacrament? for shame, speak it not."

Philpot.—"I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it."

Harpsfield.—"Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament."

Philpot.—"You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament, for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice."

Harpsfield.—"Why? doth not Christ say, This is my body? and doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?"

Philpot.—"The pronounciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no baptism unless there be a Christian person to be baptized."

Harpsfield.—"Nay, that is not like; for *Hoc est corpus meum*, is an indicative proposition, showing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine."

Philpot.—"It is not only an indicative proposition, but also imperative or commanding. For he that said, This is my body; said also, Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the institution of Christ's sacrament be accomplished according to the communion, the latter, This is my body, can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will."

Morrow-mass chaplain.—"Why then you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament."

Philpot.—"I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament, but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it cannot be a sacrament; because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, Take ye, eat ye, which you do not in your mass according to Christ's institution. Wherefore it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ's institution."

Cosins.—"We do forbid none to come to it, but

as many as list may be partakers with us at the mass, if they require it."

Philpot.—"Nay, that they shall not, though they require it; you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that, you ought, before you go to mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving, for Christ's passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's commandment, saying unto all that be present, Take ye, eat ye: and likewise, by preaching, show forth the Lord's death, which you do not."

Cosins.—"What if all things be done even as you would have it, and whilst the minister is about to minister the sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a certain hurly-burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that none have communicated beside the priest?"

Philpot.—"In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident necessity had not let, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true sacrament." After this the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason:

The morrow-mass priest.—"If the sacrament of the mass be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, Take ye, eat ye; then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament where there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his apostles, Go preach the gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father, &c."

Philpot.—"In that saying of Christ, baptizing all nations is a commandment to the apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew; not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of John, and in the eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but contrariwise, by the express words of St. Paul, you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together, As oft as ye come together to eat [meaning the Lord's supper] tarry one for another. And also the minister in the celebration of the sacrament speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, to communicate with him, saying, Take ye, and eat ye. Wherefore, as many as be present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same. And the minister is no just minister that doth not distribute the sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed,

there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament."

Harpsfield.—"What! would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?"

Philpot.—"I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers; as St. Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, saith, 'that the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the priest.' If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?"

Cosins.—"You are such another fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the mass to be a sacrament: you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go [pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain]: we will leave you, Master Archdeacon, and him together." And so they went away. Afterward the archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

Harpsfield.—"Master Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford many years. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you so think of me."

Philpot.—"I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived, (as I am sure you are,) I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you; for afore God, I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false religion, and be not those men you take yourselves for; and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time. I give you warning, for else, in the day of judgment, I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this, here talking together."

Harpsfield.—"Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion. I perceive you are now still that man you were in Oxford."

Philpot.—"I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there."

Harpsfield.—"I can say no evil of your conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation *in parvis*, you would not lightly give over; and for that cause I speak what I have said."

Philpot.—"Master Harpsfield, you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now, our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought

now to be earnest in my Master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so godly a show: wherefore I pray you judge not so of me now."

Harpsfield.—"What, will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?"

Philpot.—"My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of God's word."

Harpsfield.—"Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart."

Philpot.—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield.—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

Philpot.—"I pray you, Master Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun *hoc* doth demonstrate and show, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body?"

Harpsfield.—"It doth demonstrate the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body."

Philpot.—"Is the substance of the bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body?"

Harpsfield.—"Yea, that it is."

Philpot.—"Why, then Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before; and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think."

Then Harpsfield fetched about again, and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconvenience of his first assertion, of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, he said, that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the omnipotency of God."

Philpot.—"This is another song than you sang first; and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves: for indeed your schoolmen do hold, that the very substance of bread is really turned into the substance of Christ's body. And now, you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated, contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh, what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth!"

Harpsfield.—"Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?"

Philpot.—"But his omnipotence will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings-away of the bread as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it bread many times after the consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament, as, Take ye, eat ye; Drink ye all of this; Do ye this in remembrance of me: and to place in their steads, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me."

Harpsfield.—"I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together which make for your purpose: I will talk no longer with you."

Philpot.—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield.—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

The tenth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, his registrar, and others.

The next day after dinner I was brought into my Lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his registrar, and before Dr. Chedsey, in the presence of two homely gentlemen, and a priest which I knew not: at what time the bishop said,

London.—"I do here lay unto this man in your presence, (requiring you to be a witness against him, as much as you know in any of them,) these articles, this book of the catechism made in King Edward's days, also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also I lay unto him, that he hath despised the censures of the church, and hath stood accused more than this twelvemonth, and never required absolution thereof. How say you, wast thou not accused by my Lord Chancellor?"

Philpot.—"I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law; being never personally cited."

London.—"Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldst not hear mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicated?"

Philpot.—"More than a twelvemonth and a half."

London.—"Lo, you may hear what he saith: write it."

Philpot.—"But as you would have written, that I have said I have been thus long excommunicated; so also let him write, that I did require of my Lord Chancellor that did excommunicate me, my absolution, but he would not give it me, saying, that I was *excommunicatus ipso jure*, because I was a heretic, as it pleased him to call me; therefore accursed by your law: and so commanded me to prison, where I remain."

Gentleman.—"Why do you not require absolution at my Lord's hands here now?"

Philpot.—"Because he is not mine ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right."

London.—"What an obstinate fool is this! I tell thee I will be thine ordinary, whether thou wilt or no."

Philpot.—"And because of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, Master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered in writing."

London.—"Have you heard such a froward fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my diocess."

Philpot.—"I am of Winchester diocess, and not of London diocess."

London.—"I pray you may not a man be of two diocesses at once?"

Philpot.—"No, that he cannot."

London.—"Lo, will you see what an ignorant fool this is in the law, in the which he would seem to be seen! I tell thee a man may be of three diocesses at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reason thereof thou shouldst be of my diocess: or else if thou wert not born here, but hadst a dignity, also thou art to be counted of my diocess: or else by reason of thy habitation in my diocess."

Philpot.—"In none of these respects I am of your Lordship's diocess. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at Winchester, am at that present of London diocess."

London.—"What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?"

Philpot.—"But what shall I win, if you do not?"

London.—"I will give thee my bishopric, if I prove it not."

Philpot.—"Yea, but who shall deliver it me if I win?"

London.—"Thou art an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses' depositions. I must be gone to the parliament-house."

After this spake unto me a priest standing by, asking me whether I was kin to my Lord Riche, or no.

Philpot.—"I said, 'He said so himself to me the other day, but how, I know not.'"

Chedsey.—"I heard him say he was his nigh kinsman."

Balaamite.—"Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my nigh kinsman. How chanceth it that you and I be of contrary judgments?"

Philpot.—"It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied, That the father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, for my truth's sake."

Balaamite.—"You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass."

Philpot.—"If you can prove it a sacrament, I will not hold against you."

Balaamite.—"What, prove it a sacrament, quoth he! Doth not St. Paul say, That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?"

Philpot.—"That saying of St. Paul concerneth nothing your sacrament; but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful believers."

Balaamite.—"Why, then I perceive you understand not St. Paul. By God, you are deceived."

Philpot.—"You ought not to swear, kinsman, if you will that I shall so call you; and without disworship of our kindred, I understand St. Paul as well as you, and know what I say." [And with that showed him a Greek Testament with Erasmus's translation, and with the old also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted withal.]

Balaamite.—"I knew Greek too once, as well as you; I care not which you read."

Philpot.—"You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other." With this my Balaamite kinsman departed in a fury.

The next day after I was brought down again, after dinner, to the chapel, and there my Balaamite kinsman (to verify the Scriptures, that a man's own kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the bishop as a witness against me: and there the bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a priest also; saying, "You shall swear

to depose all the truth of certain articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy presence."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me: and require you, Master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour."

Registrar.—"Your appeal shall be entered at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me."

Philpot.—"I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbishopric of Canterbury; for I know not who is bishop thereof at this present." With that the bishop went away, and my Balaamite kinsman, looking big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haste scribbled out all my examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the papists' unjust proceedings, and nakedness in their false religion, might be known to their confusion. Jesus is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. Amen. 1555.

The examinations of Master Philpot in open judgment, by Bishop Bonner, in the consistory at Paul's, on the thirteenth and fourteenth of December.



THE bishop, having sufficiently taken his pleasure with Master Philpot in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now

high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at Paul's, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other, had the eleventh day of the same month in his chapel, appears in a manner to be all one. The bishop therefore first speaking to Master Philpot, said:—

"Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal. The first is, that you, being fallen from the unity of

Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And the third is, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can show you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can show, why I should not now give sentence against you?"

Philpot.—"Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spake against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, as in the reign of good King Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep, *quia teneor reddere Domino juramentum*. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you; otherwise not."

Bonner then, not able, with all his learned doctors, to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatenings, to return to their church: to the which Philpot answered, "You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

Upon these words, the bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on Monday the sixteenth day of the same month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence

of condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

*The last examination of Master John Philpot :
December the sixteenth.*

At which day and time, Master Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner, bishop of London, began to talk in this manner.

London.—"My Lords, Stokesley my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer: *Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisque tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christianâ professione censentur, et illa respicere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum.* Amen. Which I will follow." And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which Master Philpot said, "I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for Paul will eth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand."

Whereupon the bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to his name;" Philpot said, "Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name, (meaning Christ's name,) and God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand."

London.—"Whom do you mean?"

Philpot.—"You, and all other that be of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this realm." And then turning himself unto the people, he further said, "Oh! all you gentlemen, beware of these men, (meaning the bishops,) and all their doings, which be contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what authority you proceed against me."

London.—"Because I am bishop of London."

Philpot.—"Well, then ye are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocess. And moreover I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me; especially being brought hither from another place by violence."

London.—"Why, who sent you hither to me?"

Philpot.—"That did Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other the king and queen's commissioners. And, my Lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but ye must also meddle with other men's sheep?"

Then the bishop delivered to Philpot two books, one of the civil law, and the other of the canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Master Philpot then, perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said unto the bishop, "I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, it is not yet known. At last Bonner spake unto him, and said, "Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case; for it is written in the law, *A iudice dispositionem juris exequente non est appellandum.*"

Philpot.—"My Lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the law: for, if ye did, ye would not bring in that text."

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, that it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a Christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge, that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered, "No, I am no Jew, but you, my Lord, are a Jew; for you profess Christ, and maintain antichrist; you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition: and ye be able to charge me with nothing."

London and other bishops.—"With what can you charge us?"

Philpot.—"You are enemies to all truth; and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, saving in the article of the Trinity."

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriffs of the same city, and sat down with the said bishops in the said consistory; where and what time Bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as followeth: "Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a prayer both in English and in Latin, which Bishop Stokesley, my predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give sentence against a heretic."

And here Bonner did again read the said prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said, "Philpot,

amongst other, I have to charge you specially with three things. First, whereas you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could show unto you. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination. And thirdly, that you have spoken and holden against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same."

This being spoken, the bishop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop Bonner's exhortation to John Philpot.

"Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and Christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ: if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be: if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic (as ye be indeed). Now do you choose what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably."

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, Master Philpot turned himself unto the lord mayor, and said: "To you, my Lord Mayor, bearing the sword, I speak; I am glad that it is my chance now to

stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word. But I am sorry to see that the authority which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist; and ye" [speaking to the bishops] "pretend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ, and yet be the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. And I am glad that Christ hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ. Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be the catholic church) is the Church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the catholic church: of that church I am not. As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's word. Therefore ye have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which ye make a masquing. Thirdly, whereas you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ. And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope.

"Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist's name; prove me that to be of the catholic church, (which ye shall never do,) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be also traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail upon good kings, as King Henry, and King Edward his son, which have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can show me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good queen."

Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to show where the true church was, say-

ing, "The true catholic church is set upon a high hill."

Philpot.—"Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical church."

Coventry.—"No, in our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church."

Philpot.—"Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be."

Coventry.—"Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of."

Philpot.—"I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same; for it is *una, catholica, et apostolica*, and doth follow the doctrine that the apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward's days was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholic church?"

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince Master Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore, turning himself unto the lord mayor of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and said:

"My Lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so was it sent him, being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal; for when his keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my Lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is."

Philpot.—"Ah, my Lord! have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the Church of Rome to be a catholic church?" &c.

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have

mention before. Also he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the catechism made in King Edward's days, anno 1552, the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed. Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to Master Philpot's charge, two letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts, which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenor whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

A letter exhibited by Bonner, written by some friend of Master Philpot's, and sent to him, concerning the handling of Master Green in Bishop Bonner's house at London.

"You shall understand that Master Green came unto the bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received: for what policy the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my Lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr. Chedsey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men, (who were suitors for him, but to him unknown,) that he in no case should be examined; before which, Master Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the bishop objected against him singularity and obstinacy, his answer thereunto was thus: 'To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young, and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned, (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord,) yet let me have such books as I shall require; and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby answer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you.' Whereunto the bishop, and his, assented, permitting him at the first to have such books: who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and rife in the Scripture and godly fathers, that since, they have not only taken from him such liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him so much as the New Testament. Since, they have baited and used him most cruelly. This Master Fecknam reported, saying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become further of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I understand. Concerning your bill, I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same court is able to redress the same: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it

concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his."

The copy of another letter, written by the faithful and Christian-hearted lady, the Lady Vane; to Master Philpot, exhibited likewise by Bishop Bonner.

"Hearty thanks rendered unto you, my well-beloved in Christ, for the book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolations, and, according to the doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanish back to the burdens of reproof. And so, in the strength of my God I trust to leap over the wall; for his sweetness overcometh me daily, and maketh all these apothecary drugs of the world even medicinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseech thee, my dear fellow-soldier, make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladsome conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you so often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and small relief to you. But if you would love me so much that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be such, as agreed with my heart. And for the short charges ye speak of, the means are not so pleasant, if God (whom my trust is in) will otherwise prepare; but Solomon saith, All things here have their time; you to-day, and I to-morrow, and so the end of Adam's line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time, his glory be not defaced through our weakness! Because you desire to show yourself a worthy soldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the scarf ye wrote of, that ye may present my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense, which our beloved Christ offereth for his own; to whom I bequeath both our bodies and souls.

"Your own in the Lord,

F. E."



ver and besides these letters, the bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by Master Philpot unto the high court of parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the

two letters last mentioned; the copy whereof doth here ensue as followeth:

"To the king and queen's Majesty's Highnesses, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled.

"In most humble wise complaineth unto this honourable court of parliament John Philpot, clerk, that whereas there was by the queen's Highness a parliament called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a convocation of the clergy, your suppliant then being one of the said convocation-house, and matters there rising upon the using of the sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there spoken: and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the said parliament, your said suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to prison to the King's Bench by the late lord chancellor, where he hath remained ever since, until now of late that my Lord the bishop of London hath sent for your said suppliant to examine him (being none of his diocess) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your orator to declare his conscience, which, the said bishop saith, he hath authority to do, by reason of an act of parliament made in the first and second years of the king and queen's Majesties' reigns, for the reviving of three statutes made against them that hold any opinion against the catholic faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every ordinary may, *ex officio*, examine every man's conscience. And for that your said orator hath and doth refuse, that the said bishop of London hath any authority over your said orator, for that he is neither his diocesan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the catholic faith, (notwithstanding the said bishop of London detaineth him in the coal-house, in the stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but straw,) and for that your said orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the said bishop, to any other judge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by their law, and therefore hath no succour and help, but by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the said act; therefore may it please you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen's Majesties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no bishop nor ordinary shall commit or detain in prison any suspected person or persons for the catholic faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the catholic faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two

lawful witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convicted for any such offence or offences; the said former statute, made in the said first and second year of our said sovereign lord and lady notwithstanding: whereby your said orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers others now remaining in prison; but also the blood of divers of the queen's Majesty's true and faithful subjects preserved."

*The condemnation of the worthy martyr of God,
John Philpot.*

These books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, If the book intituled, "The true Report of the Disputation," &c., were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, that it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting-forth.

The bishops, waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, felt by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of Master Philpot, (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you,) whether he had any just cause to allege, why he should not condemn him as a heretic. "Well," quoth Master Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend; but ye cannot, nor ever shall."

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmovable steadfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, *Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, et impœnitentem*, &c., Master Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic, out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church."

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My Lord, my Lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no." Then Bonner said, (full like himself,) "O let him alone;" and so read forth the sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the

sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster Row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him he said, "Ah! dear master."

Then Master Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again."

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah! good people; blessed be God for this day." And so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would go speak with my master." Master Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

Then the under-keeper said to Master Philpot, "Is this your man?" and he said, "Yea." So he did license his man to go in with him: and Master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander the chief keeper did come unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him with these words; "Ah!" said he, "hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said Master Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment: and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance." "Well," said Alexander, "I will show thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me." Then said Master Philpot, "I pray you show me what you would have me to do." He said, "If you would recant, I will show you any pleasure I can." "Nay," said Master Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Master Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none." "No!" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? That I will know, for I will search thee." "Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant: "he hath given me a token or two to send his friends, as to his brother and sisters." "Ah!" said Alexander unto Master Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics: thy man should have gone to some of

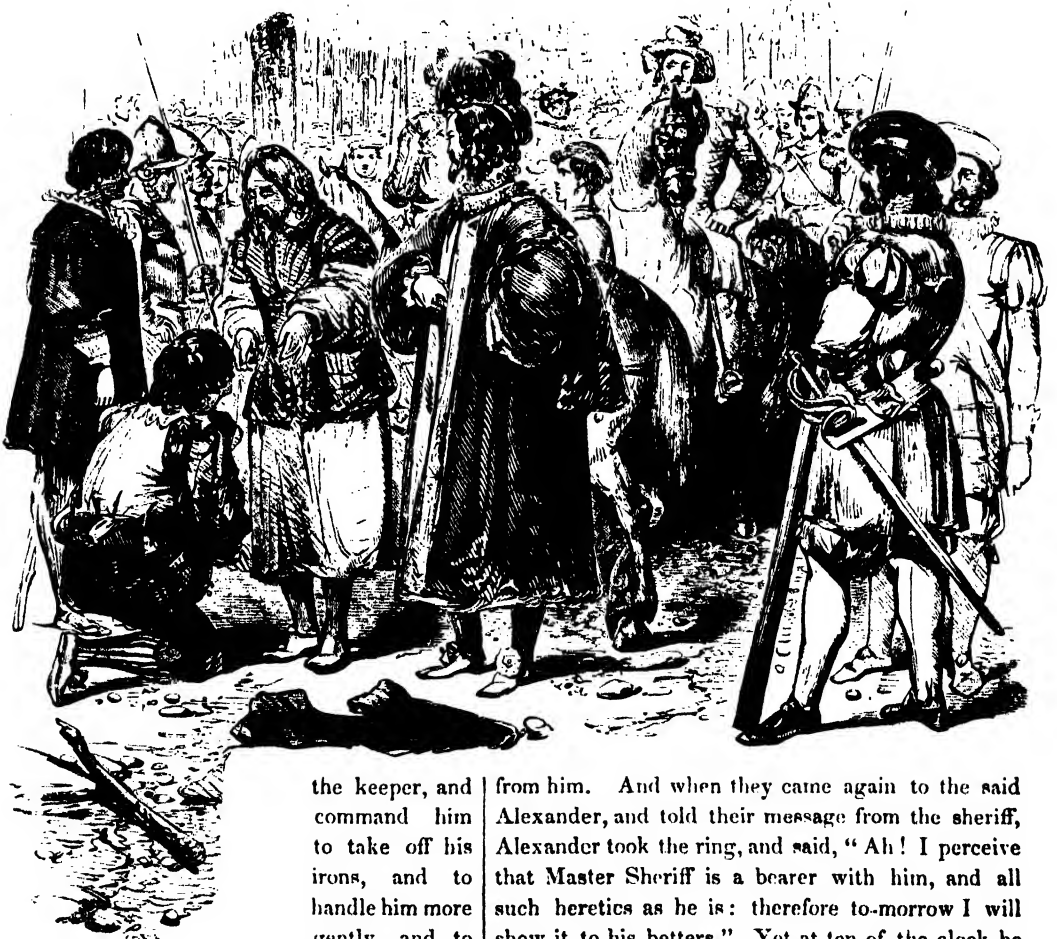
thine affinity; but he shall be known well enough." "Nay," said Master Philpot, "I do send it to my friends: there he is, let him make answer to it. But good Master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off." "Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still." Then said Master Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said four pound was his fees. "Ah," said Master Philpot, "I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison." "What wilt thou give me then," said Alexander? "Sir," said he, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will lay my gown to gage. For the time is not long (I am sure) that I shall be with you; for the bishop said I should be soon despatched."

Then said Alexander unto him, "What is that

to me?" And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo. And so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Master Philpot said to his man, "Go to Master Sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire Master Sheriff to be good unto me." And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Master Sheriff, (which was Master Macham,) and showed him how Master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff, hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Master Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander



the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken

from him. And when they came again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said, "Ah! I perceive that Master Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters." Yet at ten of the clock he went in to Master Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the seventeenth day of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered and said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, "Ah! dear master, farewell." His master said unto him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What! will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first, coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the 106th, the 107th, and the 108th Psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto that constant martyr, who the eighteenth day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the life and doings of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: first penned and written with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written; for the which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison, of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all

this malicious purpose of the bishops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

A prayer to be said at the stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

"Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort; gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign Holy Spirit! which in the midst of all crosses and death didst comfort the apostle St. Paul with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known. O be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice doth require (in respect of my sins) that now thou shouldst not hear me,—measuring me in the same measure with which I have measured thy Majesty, contemning thy daily calls,—yet let thy mercy, which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake, in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life there-for (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, no, not the thief that hanged with him on the cross): I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy name's sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted; and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, where-through the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that

most gracious Spirit ; which now plenteously endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight, dear Father ! whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea, even before the world was made ; to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea, even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure ; beseeching thee entirely to give once more to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same. O dear Father ! now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purify me by this fire in Christ's death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, world without end, Amen."

LETTERS OF MASTER PHILPOT.

A letter which he sent to the Christian congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous service of the papists, and to serve God after his word.



It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women, from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion,

which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. If that earth be cursed of God, which, eftsoons, receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly ; how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which, having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not show forth God's worship after the same ! If the Lord will require in the day of judgment a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women ; how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto us, (which is of all other talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life,) if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory,

and edifying of his church by true confession ! God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his name.

"It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St. Paul writeth to the Romans, The belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe. It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to show forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith, Either make the tree good and his fruits good ; or else make the tree evil and the fruits evil : because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits. So that the person which knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. And, Not all they which say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father. And, Whosoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my words, of him the Son of man will be ashamed before his Father. After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders into the true church of God, upon the rock and not on the sand ; and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us, The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you might keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh ; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for example aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the pass-over, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

“Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God’s word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, Go behind me, Satan; thou savourest not the things of God. Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me? For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ’s martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity: we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

“Now since the time is come that we must show our faith, and declare whether we will be God’s servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord’s covenant, and true members of his church, in the which, through knowledge, we are ingrafted; from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God’s cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength. But they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions; for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

“God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and

of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto the which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold, through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked. In the Apocalypse the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos. Also we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted as whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God than the adulterous abuse of the body. Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, he said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass, (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man’s traditions above God’s precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and advoutry?

“Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul. Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh! Better it were for him to have a

millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the Head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave unseparably to the gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise, in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

"St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him: therefore he saith also, that we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life. St. John in the Apocalypse telleth us plainly that none of those who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads, or else in their hands; that is, apparently or obediently.

"St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which signifieth that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward; that with a clean spirit and rectified body, we might serve God justly in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

"Finally in the Apocalypse, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass. St. Paul to the Thessalonians commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

"Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain; which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used of us with the papists in

their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing. And if they do not agree with this adversary, (I mean the word of God,) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is, to the devil; and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell-fire, (where is the portion of all hypocrites,) with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end. But yet many will say, for their vain excuse, 'God is merciful, and his mercy is over all.' But the Scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him. Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God that serve him; and to fear God is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

"Another sort of persons do make them a cloak for the rain, under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Caesar that is Caesar's, and to God that is due to God; and with St. Peter, to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word; otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death therefor, as we have the apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates, as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, Judge you whether it be more righteous that we should obey man rather than God.

"Also Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, than to obey the king's wicked commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man doth it voluntarily or at commandment: although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that, for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved, whatsoever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election, and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels

through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as St. Paul saith. God's predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation, according to God's word, and not set cock in the hoop, and put all on God's back, to do wickedly at large. For the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness after that they be once called to true knowledge: for so saith St. Paul to the Ephesians, that God hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in his sight.

"Therefore St. Peter willeth us, through good works, to make our vocation and election certain to ourselves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel: and he that conformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they fall, they do not lie still.

"Let all vain excusations be set apart, and while ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. Oh! that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

"But what said I, conscience? Many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling of mind is called *conscientia*, which soundeth by interpretation, as much as, with knowledge.

"And therefore, if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused, as St. Paul beareth witness, saying, Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified. And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure

heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments; a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all; and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby. The Lord, which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation, Amen.

"John Philpot, prisoner in the King's Bench,
For the testimony of the truth. 1555."

*To his dear friend in the Lord, John Careless,
prisoner in the King's Bench.*

"My dearly beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters full of love and compassion, insomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to see you so careful for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been and am in Christ's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you cease not to pray for me, but cease to weep for him who hath not deserved such gentle tears: and praise God with me, for that I now approach to the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament. God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation! Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deserts down into hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful brethren in the King's Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same the consolation of heaven, I praise God; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me, as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench.

"You know, brother Careless, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ugliness of mine imprisonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort. if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you, in these cruel days, in the which the devil so rageth at the faithful flock of Christ: but in vain (I trust) against any of us, who be persuaded that neither life, neither death, is able to separate us from the love of Christ's gospel, which

is God's high treasure committed to our brittle vessels to glorify us by the same. God, of his mercy, make us faithful stewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing, whatsoever in his good pleasure we shall suffer for the same. That I have not written unto you erst, the cause is our strait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day serveth us but a while in our dark closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations; and I am fain to scribble it out in haste.

"Commend me to all our faithful brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken his prest money a great while, and now let them show themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember that in the Apocalypse the fearful be excluded the kingdom. Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. Blessed is the servant, whom, when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earnestly one for another, that we be not led into temptation! Be joyful under the cross, and praise the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and desire him to love and continue in the unity of Christ's true church, which he hath begun, and then shall he make me more and more to joy under my cross with him. Tell my brother Clements, that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in signification of an unfeigned unity with us; let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, Master Mering, Master Crooch, with the rest, and specially Master Marshal and his wife, with great thanks for his kindness showed unto me. Farewell, my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil awhile, but now I am over the shoes: God send me well out.

"Out of the coal-house, by your brother,
JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter to John Careless, profitable to be read of all them which mourn in repentance for their sins.

"The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil, Amen.

"That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice, to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to

think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any others, and oftentimes do set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God: Oh that I had the like contrite heart! God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable iniquities. Praised be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness, and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalene wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her seven-fold sins?

"Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest penny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow, laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: Blessed be they, saith Christ, that mourn, for they shall be comforted. They went forth and wept, saith the prophet: such shall come again, having their gripes full of gladness. And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of his sins, be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by much sorrow. St. Paul would not the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men which have no hope. Such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For God, to this end, by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall superabound; and bringeth them down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven. Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin: yea, and he will forgive him, which with hope is sorry for his sins.

"But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the help of God's Spirit, to do that is good, the evil spirit, Satan, layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mix the detest-

able darnel of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how that continually he assaulteth that good, which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours; yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

"Be not discomforted that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the same to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares, but overcome he shall not: yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever; and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

"This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God: for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong Goliath hath the hold, all things are in peace which he possesseth; and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's promises smite him on the scalp: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, Resist the devil, and he will fly from thee. It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet; or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory: for he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults which be occasions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a sinner repenteth him of his sins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? first, your vocation to the gospel, and after your vocation the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the

same? Seeing you are God's own dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind for these temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require.

"Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be *Careless*, why do you make yourself *careful*? Cast all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right side, that you should not be then moved. Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to Master F., and thank him for his law books: but neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty. I would for your sake the unjust dealing were noted unto the parliament-house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop meetly plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written far uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you.

"Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ,
JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter, to certain godly women, forsaking their own country for the gospel, full of fruitful precepts and lessons for all good women.

"The Spirit of truth, revealed unto you my

dearly beloved, by the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

"I read in the Evangelists, of certain godly women, that ministered unto Christ; following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until that he had showed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them show unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was risen, and that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you, my loving sisters in Christ, who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministered to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable assistance, even to the death. And now, since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them whom the tyrants have slain, he willed you to go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity; and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways which he, with his holy martyrs, hath gone on before.

"God therefore, entire sisters, direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias, unto a strange land! God give you health both of body and soul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed martyrs and saints. Let there be continual ascensions unto heaven in your hearts: let there be no decrease of any virtue which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as, Solomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobriety, to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your godly conversation speak where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the counsel of St. James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contentions among the saints. Let your faith shine in a strange country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven may be glorified by you to the end.

"This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful,

(which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same,) but as one that would have you understand that he is mindful of your godly conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be as a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

"Farewell again, mine own bowels in Christ! and take me with you wheresoever you go, and leave yourselves with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their country without witness of the gospel, after that we all be slain, which already be stalled up and appointed to the slaughter; and in the mean season to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

"Yours for ever,

JOHN PHILPOT."

An exhortation to his own sister, constantly to stick to the truth, which she had fruitfully professed.

"God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, he sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

"I have occasion, mine own dear sister, to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to show yourself a natural loving sister to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have oftsoons testified being absent, as also by presently visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith after Christ's gospel, I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other; and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege sister, give you grace so to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever.

"Look therefore that you continue a faithful sister, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Christ, yea, to Christ himself, who voucheth you, in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal portion of the everlasting inheritance of Christ, if now in no wise you do show yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will never for any kind of worldly respect do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people through a sieve of great affliction: for so Satan desireth us to be sifted, that through fear of sharp troubles we might fall from the stableness of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which are prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, to prepare themselves to suffer temptations.

"Since then that, for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand, this, Christ, our first-begotten Brother, looketh for at our hands; and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith, through afflictions, to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number; and the universal church, here militant, rejoiceth at our constancy, whom all, by the contrary, we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked world; prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And if you see any untowardness in you, (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God,) ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh, and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that tendeth to our salvation.

"You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you

shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the prophet David, Unto the saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them. You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholy and defiled, lest the last be worse than the first. I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have had so good experience; but, because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of every one of us to exhort and stir up one another, I am bold to put you, my good sister, in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy together eternally, with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory. None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord shall make you one of those faithful virgins, that shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth; the which Christ grant both you and me. Amen.

"Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his gospel! That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you, by all means you can, to accomplish my request, that my sureties might be satisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged: therefore I pray you help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look for daily; but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long imprisonment, for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live.

"The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith
as in body, JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter of exhortation to certain godly brethren.

"The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the con-

solation of the Holy Ghost our Comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end. Amen.

"I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; who do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for the which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted church. Therefore that ye may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you, with the wise man, to prepare yourselves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so saith our Saviour in his gospel: Blessed are they that persevere to the end.

"Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise merchantman, after the gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same. God, in the Apocalypse, doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth; from the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word there is called the word of patience; to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

"Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory; and St. Peter telleth us, now we are afflicted with divers assays, as it is need it should so be, that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. St. Paul to the Hebrews sheweth us, that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we, being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of

the world, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said Epistle is written, My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he receiveth, &c. Christ, in the Gospel of St. John, biddeth his disciples to look after afflictions, saying, In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the twenty-first of St. Luke, he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, saith he, is at hand. And in the twenty-second, he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, You are those that have abiden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom.

"Oh how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly! Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness. Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly examples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

"Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the rewards of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, inasmuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be shewed unto us.

"Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to haste the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession

his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rout which came to apprehend him, saying, I am he whom ye seek. It is commanded us by the gospel, not to fear them that kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we may fear God more than man! The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him! Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love we will stick. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christ's sake, if the confession of the truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth a hundred-fold more in this life, (as our Saviour said to Peter,) and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this life receiveth a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say, If I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all: but where is this hundred-fold in this life to be found? Yes truly; for instead of the worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than a hundred-fold? Is not the peace of God, which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ, (which the world cannot take from us,) ten-thousand-fold more than those things that most highly be esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

"Oh that we would weigh this with indifferent balances! Then should we not be dismayed of this troublous time, neither sorrow after a worldly man-

ner, for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory; for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy, If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ: and if we deny him, he will deny us.

"Oh that we would enter into the veil of God's promises! Then should we, with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ. God, which is the lightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our own religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies; and then death shall be as great a gain to us, as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more present with us than when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father. Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which, by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

"I beseech you, with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not

after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, horribly afflicted, cause us to say, The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord! Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass. If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now, as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac by interpretation doth signify mirth and joy; who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live, and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signify that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh, entangled through sin with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

"And to withstand these present temptations wherewithal we are now encumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample; that if the devil himself, or any other by him, willethe you to make stones bread, (that is, to take such a worldly-wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands, and goods, to live on still,) ye must say, that man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

"Again, if the devil counselleth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content herewith; ye must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

"Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship idols in his synagogue, ye must say, Go behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only.

"Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife,

child, kinsman, or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

"Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity,

JOHN PHILPOT, anno 1555."

*To his friend and faithful brother in the Lord,
Master Robert Harrington.*

"Gentle Master Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of others our afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God, for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness of so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever.

"Methinketh I see you desiring to be under the same. The flesh draweth back, but the Spirit saith, it must be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to show himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified. I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me most unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ.

Oh what unspeakable condition is that! May any worldly thing stay us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us?

"Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the savour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore, dearly beloved in the Lord, let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten-thousand-fold greater than the price.

"Since you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this mart, but you must bring your wife for a usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring you that we are made worthy through Christ of the kingdom for the which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end!

"Commend me to Master Heath, and tell him that I would wish him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own: commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to Master Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease in prison; and tell them, that though my Lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful than the queen's palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother.—Written in post-haste because of strait keeping.

"This day I looked to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them, I thank God I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT."

Here followeth another letter of Master Philpot to the Lady Vane: which because, for the length, I could not wholly insert, I have excerpted certain specialties thereout as followeth.

"The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart, worshipful and dear sister in the Lord, may attain and taste, with all the saints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweet cross of Christ, Amen.

"O happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious stone which is hidden in the gospel; for the which we ought to sell all other things, and to purchase the same. O happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy); by this shall ye see whatever your heart can desire; by this ye shall have a full sight of all the beautiful heavenly powers, and of all the celestial paradise; by this shall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end!

"Ah! I lament the infidelity of England, that, after so great light, is stepped into so huge darkness again. The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Ah! great be the plagues that hang over England, yea, though the gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah! the great perjury which men have run into so wilfully against God, by receiving antichrist again and his wicked laws, which do threaten a great ruin unto England. Oh that the Lord would turn his just judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low, (as Nebuchadnezzar was,) that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wishing only. Ah, Lord! take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies (those hypocrites) as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

"Thus, dear heart, you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted brethren and sisters. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks' calamities to heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have so armed me to the Lord's battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to so good and gracious a General of the field, to so victorious a Captain, and to so favourable a Marshal, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no sparkle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your coat-armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The scarf I desire as an outward sign to show our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christ's cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the truth of his gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed, whatsoever torment we do suffer for his name's sake; and our weak brethren, seeing the same, might be more encouraged to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, Amen!

"The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme misery; but our God is omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me, dear sister, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you: for when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God; when they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ? which afflictions do work in us.

"God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy partakers of the same! Let us rejoice in nothing, with St. Paul, but in the cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The cross of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever! While I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate

t tediousness: but you must impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their bosoms. Therefore, though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that come of love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever: Farewell, O elect vessel of the Lord! to the comfort of his afflicted flock: farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the cross most joyfully; and, until we meet, always remember what Christ saith, Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c.

"God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ! until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect, in the everlasting Sion. I send to you the kiss of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of our merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort; hold out your buckler of faith—for by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory: to the which Christ bring both us, Amen, Amen!—The tenth of December, 1555.

"Death! why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

"Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the verity of the gospel for ever.

JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter written to the same lady, being a great supporter of him.

"I cannot but most heartily give God thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding, that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the south shall rise with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon, then shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christ's people, (being a woman of right worshipful estate and wealthy condition,) condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at

the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world, (wherewithal you are sufficiently indued above a great many,) can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you: whereby it appeareth that the seed of God's word which was sown in you, fell neither in the highway, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, a hundred-fold, to the glory of God and the increase of his church. In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith, God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. I that am under the cross with you, (thanks be given to God therefore,) have felt in the same more true joy and consolation than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before: for the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, In me ye shall have joy, but in the world affliction. Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him! For this cause, in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the true church, which Christ in the twenty-first of Luke prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

"Oh that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do possess, nobody can take it away from us; to the which joy all other joys, being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetness sour, all beauty filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this than I. Ask yourself, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not persuaded yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all

those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed, in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil.

"God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and are entered into light; God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation! Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the Amalekites shall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop Leviathan's mouth, that he swallow not up God's silly people, according to his expectation!

"Praise the Lord for the faithful testimony and sacrifice which two of our brethren of late have, through fire, rendered to the truth of the gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray.—The last of May, 1555. Captive in the King's Bench.

"Yours, with heart in Christ,

JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter to the godly Lady Vane.

"God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, increase in your godly heart the faith of the gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your spirit with all spiritual consolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

"I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly, my dear and faithful lady, for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his kingdom: for it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plenteously in well doing; albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such a one

as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star! I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Jesus, and do rejoice of the verity of his word, for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer; and indeed who that giveth a draught of water in the name of a disciple, as Christ promised, shall lose his reward? Therefore what your gentleness doth in the name of him, the Lord recompense unto you in all his blessings which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfeignedly.

"Good lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the world shall lament their infidelity without end.

"I would I were able to do any thing that might show condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God, which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you, and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for commissioners to sit on me and my fellow prisoners in prison, lest the spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not so good as John the Baptist, which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire, for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the cross of Christ; and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he

may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with St. Paul, I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes, nor powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature, is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This faith God plant both in you and in me unmovably. In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

"All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them that here do with patience abide the cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength of him that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity, of our faint gossellers. Christ, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching ourselves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready a way to go unto God, and so good occasion to show our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed: if we lose all that we have, we are blessed a hundred-fold; if we die, we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore, O elect lady, of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in body and soul; and my prayer shall follow you wheresoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to Oxford: I could not before have a convenient messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The twentieth day of August.

"By yours, with all his power in the Lord,
JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter full of spiritual consolation to the said lady.

"The mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost, through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the gospel, Amen!

"As your good Ladyship doth desire to hear from

me, so I am desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the King's Bench into the bishop of London's coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison as any is about London, (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness,) where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my Master, was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocess to London, I trust, to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master! I have been already this seven-night in his coal-house, and have of late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment awhile, in the which God's will be done.

"Pray, dear lady, that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful companions; who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy; for you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wish your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not, dear heart, my strait imprisonment any thing molest you; for it hath added, and daily doth, unto my joy: but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

"Ah, my dear sister! I thank you again for the last letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross be acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire

into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. Oh how do I rejoice, your Ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Methinketh I see you to mourn, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitacle of this body. Oh how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lord's tabernacle! Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us: let us haste and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord! be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now, dear mother, you need not to burden so much yourself, (as my last letters did signify,) for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me: wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. God's peace be with you for ever.

"Out of my Lord of London's coal-house, the last of October. Your own,

JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter to the said lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the dissimulation and perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the pope, and partly he expresseth his joy in his afflictions.

"I cannot but joy with you, my heartily beloved in Christ, of the fall of Sennacherib: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked. God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning myself, I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still live. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation, (and that of such as do know the truth,) do threaten to come.

"The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here, or else in another world, he will punish this gross infidelity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he

punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. We have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest penny of that eternal kingdom, which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him: if we die with him, we shall live with him.

“Wherefore, mine own dear bowels! praise God with me most entirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God! what am I, on whom he should show this great mercy? To Him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory there-for, Amen.

“This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. Oh how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness, and unworthiness of so great glory. The swords which pierced Mary’s heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they shall eternally be comforted! God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, most wretched sinner, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament; but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised there-for for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness! Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation. And it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God; it is mere foolishness and abomination to them.

“Be thankful unto God, mine own dear helper, for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel; and therefore cannot faint, neither

for fire, neither for water. Let us pray, for our weak brethren and sisters’ sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But, touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift, to suffer for his gospel’s sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God! I trust my marriage garment is ready. I will send you my examinations, as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

“God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come.

“Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

“Your own lover, JOHN PHILPOT.”

A letter to a friend of his, prisoner the same time in Newgate: wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of infants to be baptized.

“The God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

“I received yesternight from you, dear brother saint, and fellow prisoner for the truth of Christ’s gospel, a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants; what is the effect thereof. And before I do show you what I have learned out of God’s word, and of his true and infallible church, touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night, while musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelations to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

“Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful city, all of the colour of azure, and white, four square, in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof, yea, the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others, (I cannot tell whom,) and while they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it vaded away.

“This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so

much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven, and that, according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth; for as the prophet David saith, The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God. And, the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world, as the prophet affirmeth, saying, God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house. And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church; for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms: As of joyful persons, is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe it by the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you, with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and stablishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments, and having, with a greater fulness than we have now, the first-fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

"And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves: for there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of

peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

"Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers; for we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow; and they shall teach thee, saith the Lord, and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her; for as St. Paul writeth, If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom.

"Hitherto I have showed you, good brother S., my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and specially answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

"Indeed if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Arians' sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and some others that were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the devil to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy

of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith: for we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: I will set my covenant between thee and me, (saith the Lord,) and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee. To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws: for Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants, (that is, of such as yet believe not,) Let thy little ones come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Again, It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones do perish. Also, He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face. And what may be said more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish: whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto this grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

"Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations: therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, 'all nations.' Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, That thing

which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean. But God doth repute children among the faithful: ergo, they be faithful—except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he. And without all doubt the apostles baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

"The gospel is more than baptism, for Paul said, The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize: not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the apostles. But children be received by the doctrine of the gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded. Who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water? St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, May any body forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants, for he knew certainly, both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

"None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with his Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

"The apostles in times past, being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, Let the babes come unto me. Why then do not these rebellious Anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days else, that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in times past, which brought their children to the Lord; and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and, both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that

children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, 'Why then did not Christ baptize them?' Because it is written, Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

"Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants: therefore baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; being buried together with him through baptism. Behold, Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a Christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministered without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised; albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people. To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise; but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision? Item, the apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children; because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the women, in the Holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same. Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof: therefore we may conclude, that the apostles did baptize infants or children; and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the seventeenth of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

"Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the Scripture by the apostles themselves. Origen, upon the declara-

tion of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter saith, that the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles. St. Jerome maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his Epistle to Leta. St. Augustine reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople, in his first book against Julian, chap. ii.; and he again, writing to St. Jerome, saith, that St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized. The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his Epistle to Fidus. Also St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatists, saith, that the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles.

"Cyril, upon Leviticus, approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to show how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment.

"After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned, &c.

"To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by the baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require; for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers, because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptance, sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

"And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is ap-

parent in 1 Cor. vii. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts proving that such as confessed their faith first were baptized after: I answer, that if the order of the words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us; for in St. Mark we read, that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after. And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise: All power is given me, saith the Lord, in heaven and in earth, therefore, going forth, *μαθητεύσατε*, that is, disciple ye, (as I may express the signification of the word,) that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, baptizing them and teaching: by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Now then baptism goeth before doctrine.

"But hereby I do not gather that the Gentiles, which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end; but this I have declared to show you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught; neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized: but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion. Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess, that which is preached and taught, but so cannot infants: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism. It is a general rule, He that doth not labour must not eat; but who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that children should be famished?

"The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up of his true religion, unto all nations—unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were

out of the covenant of God: and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks, to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

"Even so faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized: when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house; semblably we read in the acts and writings of the apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called *catechumeni*, they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles into the church, whom being yet rude of faith they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them: but the same ancient fathers, notwithstanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

"And because you do require a hasty answer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's true primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me, (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called,) to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn

in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days might take an ensample by you to dissent from Christ's true church. I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same: decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so, with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace. To the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory! Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.

"Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith,

JOHN PHILPOT."

Divers other letters were written by Master Philpot to divers, but these as most principal I have excerpted and inserted: amongst which I thought here, not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous gospeller, (whose name in her writing doth not appear,) who, in defending and commending the quarrel of this Master John Philpot, Christ's most famous and worthy martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before Bishop Bonner; and therefore being appointed by the said bishop to appear upon a certain day to answer for herself, indeed kept not her day with the bishop, but instead of her appearance sent him this letter here following.

A godly letter addressed to Bishop Bonner, reproving his cruelty.

"Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds of England, that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flock? But ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wool. The best fed have ye slain, but the flock have ye not nourished; the weak have ye not holden up, the sick have you not healed, the broken have you not bound together, the out-casts have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly have ye ruled them, Ezek. xxxiv.

"Forasmuch, my Lord, as my business is such that I cannot come to your Lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your Lordship's demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promise with you, in not coming again at the hour appointed, your Lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the angel, which warned the wise men not to come again to Herod, according to their promise, but to turn home again another way. Now, my Lord, I perceiving your Lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor members than ever he was, who, to destroy Christ, killed his own son, I thought good to take the angel's counsel, and to come no more at you: for I see that you are set all in a rage, like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cut-throat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's stall as long as we can; especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, lest you should break your belly: and therefore let them lie still, and die for hunger. Therefore, my Lord, I thought it good to tarry a time until your Lordship's stomach were come to you a little better: for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's flesh yet, and belike you are almost glutted with supping so much blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest die in prison, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows. But yet, my Lord, it were a great deal more for your Lordship's honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roasted in Smithfield at the fire of the stake, yea, and when it is something fat and fair-liking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the dogs come

hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choked ; and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my Lord, that some of the butcherly curs came of late to my house to seek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David saith) grinning, and grudging that they have not meat enough : therefore be-like they have killed my poor brethren and sisters that have lain so long upon the butcherly stall, and eaten them up : for I hear say their friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more. Therefore I perceive now, that if I had come again according to my promise, your Lordship, like a ravening wolf, or else some of your hell-hounds, would quickly have worried me : but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank Him for my deliverance, with continual songs of laud and praise. Thus have I been bold to trouble your Lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again according to my unpurposed promise. I trust your Lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuse ; and not doubting but your Lordship would have done the like, if you had been in my case.

“ Now as concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your Lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle, or rather cruel, demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, good Master John Philpot, I will answer your Lordship simply and plainly, what peril soever shall come thereof. Truly, my Lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he, as a very man of God, died a true martyr and constant confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his sweet soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Also, my Lord, I do verily believe and know that your Lordship hath committed a horrible and most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him ; and that you shall make as heavy an account for his blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather cruel Cain did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am credibly informed that your Lordship doth believe, and have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your Lordship did never any thing in all your life that so much did redound to your Lordship's dishonour and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the body of this blessed prophet doth ; especially seeing that he was none of your diocess, nor had offended any of your Lordship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every body say in all places where I come, that your

Lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellows—bite-sheep bishops, I would say ; yea, the very papists themselves begin now to abhor your blood-thirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me, my Lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call you by your name and say, ‘ Bloody Bonner is bishop of London ; ’ and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers' ends, as his Pater-noster, how many you, for your part, have burned with fire, and famished in prison : they say, the whole sum surmounteth to forty persons within this three quarters of this year. Therefore, my Lord, though your Lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your Lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long ago, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true Christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison ; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most ; yea, even your old friends, the rankest papists that be. For, say they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him necessary relief ; and therefore it is a very great shame and sin, to see a bishop that beareth the name of a Christian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than a heathen, Turk, or infidel. This is men's sayings in every place, not only of this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and the common talk they have of your Lordship ; therefore I thought to be bold so with your Lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your Lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for.

“ Finally, my Lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant martyr and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom, than you shall ever be able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and set as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will ; yea, though prating Pendleton, that wicked apostate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my Lord, by all men's reports, his blessed life could never have done the like sorrow to Satan's synagogue, whereof some say your Lordship is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious nard contained therein is so notably therewithal shed abroad, that the sweet savour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking savour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your Lordship's Judases do set them to sale

every where to fill your bags. I put your Lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loathe your popish pedlary wares.

"Thus have I (according to your Lordship's commandments) showed you simply what I think of that good man's death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your Lordship's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of hosts, who will shortly avenge the same upon your pilled pate, and upon the rest of all your poll-shorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great antichrist of Rome. The measure of your iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then I, when your new-made proselytes will be glad to cover their crowns with cow-dung (saving your Lordship's reverence, I should have said first)—Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion; the Lord send the one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory. Amen.

"I signify also unto your Lordship, that the railing words which your lying preacher showed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday against the dear servant of God, good Master Philpot, do greatly redound to your Lordship's dishonesty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Verily I see that the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea, contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belie him now he is dead? O viperous generation, seed of the serpent, and right children of the devil! Full well do you counterfeit your father's steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, lying and murder. For those whom ye cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof; yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very disciples of Christ, for he hath said, Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my name's sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your

reward in heaven. And doubtless great is that good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your Lordship's damnation shall be great in hell, except you repent and surcease from shedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh's was, seeing that with Judas ye have sold and betrayed your Master. Take heed, my Lord, lest you come to the same end, or a worse than he did; for verily I cannot perceive how you should escape it long. Therefore say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do: for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months.

"It is found very true that one holy doctor saith, 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel; when one is put to death, a thousand do rise for him.' And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people showed unto good Master Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adder's brood would bear men in hand: but they worshipped God, which gave such strength to his dear child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, unto the utter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your Lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famish men in prison again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own tormentors, that the six prisoners that you have in your prison, be put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the stocks. Forsooth, my Lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the country, and yet all will not help your Lordship's pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same; for Zerubbabel will be found no liar, which said, The truth shall have victory. You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the prick. The Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought, (as knoweth the Lord God,) who of his great mercy shortly convert your Lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you. Amen!

"Your Lordship's orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds. Anno 1556."

*The story of seven martyrs suffering together at London, for the testimony of Christ's gospel.
January 27, Anno 1556.*



THE catholic prelates of the pope's band, being as yet not satisfied with this their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal mem-

bers of Christ's church, (whereof there were now very few which either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for the avoiding of their popish rage, compelled to fly their natural country,) continued still this next year also, which was anno 1556, in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people, (I mean in degree, though, God be praised, not in steadfastness,) having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this story shall appear. Wherefore, as the first fruits thereof, to begin this year withal, about the twenty-seventh day of January were burned in

Smithfield at London these seven persons hereafter following, to wit: Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Browne; Isabel Foster, wife; Joan Warne, alias Lashford, maid.

All which seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewise all upon one sort and form of articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverse, (some more abounding in knowledge than others,) their dealings withal were also diverse, as shall be more plainly perceived in the discoursing of their several processes hereafter following. And therefore for the better understanding hereof, I will first, (by the leave of the Lord,) passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house, set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles there ministered unto them; with their answers also unto the same, according as they all agreed after one manner and sort together, as here by the words both of the articles, and their answers underwritten, may appear

The form and words of Bonner's articles ministered to the seven persons above-mentioned in his consistory, with their answers.

And first, to behold the manner of speech in these bishops, sitting in their majesty to terrify the ears of the simple withal, let us hear the pontifical phrase of this bishop, beginning in this sort:—

“The within written articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund, by the permission of God, bishop of London, do object and minister to thee Thomas Whittle, &c., of our mere office, for thy soul's health, and for the reformation of thine offences and misdeameanours, monishing thee in the virtue of obedience, and under the pains of both censures of the church, and also of other pains of the law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

“1. First, that thou, N., hast firmly, stedfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now believe at this present, that there is here in earth a catholic church; in the which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained, of all faithful and true Christian people.

“2. Item, That thou, the said N., in times past hast also believed, and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

“3. Item, That thou, the said N., was in times past baptized in the faith of the said catholic church, professing by thy godfathers and godmother, the faith and religion of Christ, and the observation thereof, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works; and was by the said sacrament of baptism incorporate to the catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof.

“4. Item, That thou, the said N., coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said profession and faith, nor didst mislike any part of the same faith or doings; but didst, like a faithful Christian person, abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

“5. Item, That thou, the said N., notwithstanding the premises, hast of late, (that is to say, within these two years last past,) within the city and diocess of London, swerved at the least way from some part of the said catholic faith and religion: and amongst other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken

against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the see of Rome, and the faith observed in the same.

“6. Item, That thou, the said N., hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present, to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said see of Rome to be lawful.

“7. Item, That thou, the said N., misliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, hast refused to come to thy parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament; and hast also expressly said, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly; but hast affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the sacrament of the altar there is none other substance, but only material bread, and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in nowise in the said sacrament of the altar.

“8. Item, That thou, the said N., being convicted before certain judges or commissioners for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful, and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

“9. Item, That all and singular the premises have been and be true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London; and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convicted: and also by me to be punished and reformed.”

Here follow likewise their answers, in general, made to the articles above rehearsed.

Answers to Bonner's articles.

“And first, concerning the first article, on believing there is a catholic church—to the *first* article they, altogether agreeing, affirmed the same to be true: John Tudson, and Thomas Browne, further adding, that the Church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true catholic church.

“Concerning the *second* article, that there be in the church seven sacraments—they answered, that they acknowledged but only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord: John Went and Tud-

son affirming, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and no sacrament at all.

"Concerning the *third* article, that they were first baptized in the faith of the catholic church, professing by their godfathers the profession of the same, &c.—they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward, during the time of King Edward the Sixth, they, hearing the gospel preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said King Edward.

"Concerning the *fourth* article, that they for the space of certain years did ratify or allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same church—to this fourth article they granted also and agreed: John Went adding moreover, that about seven years past, he (then being about twenty years of age) began to mislike certain things used in the Church of England, as the ministration of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church: and did likewise at that present time mislike the same as they were used, although his godfathers and godmother promised for him the contrary.

"John Tudson added also in much like sort, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is, about nine years past, (being about eighteen years of age,) he did mislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the Church of England, saving in King Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth. And further said, that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet to the true catholic church that Christ speaketh of.

"Isabel Foster with other granted, adding likewise, and saying to the said four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion which she was baptized in, after she came to the years of discretion, as other common people did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King Edward the Sixth: at which time she, hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and set forth.

"Concerning the *fifth* article, that they of late years have swerved and gone away, misliked and spoken against the profession of the same church, at least some part thereof, especially the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the Church of Rome—they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle adding moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole, but in part, not from the whole catholic church, but from

the Church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the see of Rome.

"Joan Lashford, (alias Joan Warne,) granting with the other the said article, addeth moreover, that she never hitherto swerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion. But saith, that from the time she was eleven years of age, she hath misliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the see of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they be against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

"Bartlet Green, answering with the other to this article, addeth and saith, that he swerved not from the catholic faith, but only from the Church of Rome, &c.

"Concerning the *sixth* article, that they refuse to be reconciled to the unity of the said Church of Rome—they answer and confess the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same church and doctrine, therein set forth and taught, disagreeeth from the unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, &c.

"Whereunto Bartlet Green answered, that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but not of the Church of Rome.

"In like manner added also John Went.

"Concerning the *seventh* article, that they refuse to come to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, calling it an idol, &c.—they answer, and confess the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing: for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the Church of England, is dissonant to the word and teaching of the people, &c.

"John Went furthermore said, as concerning the mass, that he believeth no less but the mass, which he calleth the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far as he seeth it. Howbeit, he saith that since the queen's coronation, by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

"Isabel Foster also, answering to the said articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since Queen Mary's reign she hath not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it was ministered: for she knoweth no such sacrament to be. And being demanded of her belief in the same, she saith, that there is but only material bread, and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament: for so she hath been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of King Edward, whom she believeth to have preached the truth in that behalf.

"Concerning the *eighth* article, that they were sent by the commissioners to the bishop to be examined and imprisoned—they grant the same and the contents thereof to be so: Thomas Whittle adding and affirming, that the lord chancellor that then was sent him up to the bishop there present.

"Bartlet Green added, that he was sent up to the said bishop, but for no offence herein articulate.

"John Went said, that Dr. Story, Queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament; and because he denied the real presence, he [Dr. Story] presented this examine to the bishop.

"John Tudson likewise, examined by Master Cholmley and Dr. Story, upon the same matters, and for not coming to the church, and accused by the same, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the bishop.

"Thomas Browne also said, that he, for not coming to the church of St. Bride's, was brought by the constable to the bishop, &c.

"Joan Warne confessed that she was sent by Dr. Story to the bishop of London, about twelve weeks ago; since which time she hath continued with the said bishop.

"Concerning the *ninth* article—they confess and say, that as they believe the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the same to be manifest, and that they be of the jurisdiction of London."

And thus having expressed their articles, with their answers jointly made unto the same, it remaineth further more fully to discourse the stories and handling of all the seven aforesaid martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with Thomas Whittle.

The story of all these seven martyrs, particularly described, in order here followeth; and first of Thomas Whittle, who, first recanting, then returning again, with great constancy and fortitude stood to the defence of Christ's doctrine against the papists, to the fire.

In the story of Master Philpot, mention was made before, of a married priest, whom he found in the coal-house at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle of Essex; and thus lieth his story. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex where he served, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occasion was ministered, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alabaster, in hope of reward and

promotion, which he miserably gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who then was fallen lately sick of his disease, whereof not long after he died most strangely. But the apprehender for his proffered service was highly checked and rated of the bishop, asking if there were no man unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him: "Hence," quoth he, "out of my sight, thou varlet! what dost thou trouble me with such matters?" The greedy cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, with whom what an evil mess of handling this Whittle had, and how he was by the bishop all-to-beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a letter sent unto his friend, manifestly may appear:—

"Upon Thursday, which was the tenth of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth, upon a pallet, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning, if he had sent for me. Whereunto I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, 'but to your mass,' said I, 'I have small affection.' At which answer he was displeased sore, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

"Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my Lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he, going to Fulham, committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoon should commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very sore to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the registrar pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to detest all errors and

heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly."

The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it please the gentle reader to peruse, so as it came to our hands, we have hereunto adjoined; written and conceived in their own words, as followeth to be seen.

The bill of submission, offered to Thomas Whittle to subscribe unto.

"I, Thomas Whittle, priest, of the diocese of London, acknowledge and confess with my mouth, agreeing with my heart before you, reverend father in God, Edmund bishop of London, my ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of heresies and errors against the sacrament of the altar, or any of the sacraments of the church, which heresies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wise by the catholic church: and I do protest and declare by these presents, that I do both now hold, and also intend by God's grace always hereafter to hold, observe, and keep, in all points the catholic faith and belief of Christ's church, according as this Church of England, being a member of the said catholic church, doth now profess and keep; and in nowise to swerve, decline, or go from the said faith, during my natural life, submitting myself fully and wholly to you, reverend father, my said ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times.—In witness whereof I the said Thomas Whittle, priest, have hereunto subscribed my name, written," &c.

"To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do; and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and respite I desired to have had, but earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had so done, I had little joy thereof: for by and by my mind and conscience told me by God's word that I had done evil, by such a sleighty means to shake off the sweet cross of Christ: and yet it was not my seeking, as God knoweth, but altogether came of them. Oh the crafty subtlety of Satan in his members! Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave fast to Christ; for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man despair of God's help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David saith, A righteous man, though he fall, he shall not be cast away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. For I, for my part, have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found God's present

help and comfort in time of need, I thank him there-for.

"The night after I had subscribed, I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more; being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I, through evil counsel and advisement, had done amiss. And both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

"And when he came, and the registrar with him, I told him that I was not well at ease; but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me: 'and therefore I pray you, Master Harpsfield,' said I, 'let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it.' So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and suffered me to put out my name, whercof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore, Amen.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand; of the which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, which shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, are quiet in Christ; and I, by his grace, am very well willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly. And as for Fountain, I saw him not all this while.

"By me, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister."

Concerning the troubled mind of this godly man, and tearing his name out of the bill, here followeth the report of the same, written in the letters both of the said Harpsfield, and also of Johnson the registrar, being then present thereat, and reporters

of the same unto the bishop, as in their letters here-to annexed is to be seen.

The copy of Nicholas Harpsfield's letter, written to Bonner, bishop of London, declaring how Thomas Whittle rent his subscription out of the bishop's register.

"Pleaseth your good Lordship to understand, that yesterday I dined with my Lord of Exeter, who soon after my first coming to him, asked me what news? I answered, none but good, that I had heard. 'No!' saith he: 'why, it is a rumour in the city, that to-morrow the queen's Grace will take her journey towards the king.' I answered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of heretics. 'Yea, and further,' saith he, 'there is a report made abroad of my Lord your master, that he is in discomfort, and therefore will suffer no man to come unto him.' When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: so that my Lord (who before was very sad) afterward knowing the truth, rejoiced much to hear that all was well with your Lordship, and desired me to have his hearty commendations to your Lordship.

"One of my Lord Pembroke's retinue, a very handsome man, and, as far as I can yet learn, a catholic, is a suitor to your Lordship to have licence to erect a school; and the order which he intendeth to use, is contained in this printed paper, which I send herein enclosed to your Lordship. I would be glad, for my Lord of Pembroke's sake, that he understood, that upon my motion your Lordship were content he should teach as he intendeth. Master Johnson and I have travailed with the priest, and he hath subscribed his name to this draft which is herein enclosed, and hath promised he will stand to the same before your Lordship.

"When I had written thus much, suddenly came tidings to me, that *Jordanis conversus est retrorsum*. Cluney coming to the priest, found him lying prostrate, and groaning as though he should have died forthwith. Then Cluney took him up, and set him upon a stool, and came to me, and told me of this revel. It chanced that Master Johnson was with me, and we went to this fond heretic, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards heaven. I caused Thomas More and Cluney to set him on the stool, and with much ado at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned: and weeping he prayed Master Johnson and me, to see the bill whereunto he subscribed; and when he saw it, he tore out his name, *è libro scilicet viventium*. Methinketh by him, he will

needs burn a faggot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young woman.

"I have inquired of the two persons which sue to have a licence to eat flesh. And the woman of Christ's church is indeed very much diseased, and hath been long diseased, and she and her husband both catholic: of the other, yet, I can learn nothing. —Thus Jesus evermore preserve your good Lordship, and my mistress your Lordship's sister, with all yours.—This present Saturday.

"Your Lordship's most bounden servant,
NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD."

Here followeth another letter of Robert Johnson, registrar, touching Thomas Whittle, written to Bonner, bishop of London.

"My bounden duty premised, pleaseth your Lordship to understand, that this last Friday in the afternoon, Master Archdeacon of London did diligently travail with Sir Thomas Whittle. I being present, and perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, devised this submission, and he being content therewith did subscribe the same. But now, this Saturday morning, Master Archdeacon and I, upon Cluney's report, declaring that he feigned himself to be distracted of his senses, went unto him, to whom he declared that Satan in the night-time appeared unto him, and said that he was damned, for that he had done against his conscience in subscribing to the said submission; with other like words, &c. And then Master Archdeacon, at his earnest request, delivered unto him the submission. And thereupon the said Whittle did tear out his subscription, made in the foot of the same, as your Lordship shall perceive by the submission sent now unto your Lordship by Master Archdeacon; where-with the said Whittle was somewhat quieted.

"And as touching Joan Lashford, Master Archdeacon did likewise travail with her, and showing her Sir Thomas's submission, which I read unto her two times, demanded if she could be content to make the like submission, and she desired respite until this morning. And being now aftsoons demanded, in like wise saith, that she will not make any thing in writing, nor put any sign thereunto. Master Archdeacon and I intend this afternoon to examine the said Sir Thomas upon articles: for as yet there doth appear nothing in writing against him, as knoweth Almighty God, who preserve your Lordship in prosperity long with honour to endure! From London this Saturday,

"By your Lordship's daily beads-man, and bounden servant,

ROBERT JOHNSON."

*The condemnation, martyrdom, and death of
Thomas Whittle.*

Concerning the words and answers of the said Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the bishop, upon the fourteenth day of January, the year above-expressed, Bonner, with other his fellow Bonnerlings, sitting in his consistory at afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: "Because ye be a priest," saith he, "as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the right and form of the catholic church, ye shall not think but I will minister justice as well unto you as unto others." And then the said Bonner in further communication did charge him, that whereas in times past he had said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle answering again said, that at such time as he so said mass, he was then ignorant, &c.: adding more-

over, that the elevation of the sacrament at the mass, giveth occasion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

After this the bishop, making haste to the articles, (which in all his examinations ever he harped upon, came to this article,) "That thou wast in times past baptized in the faith of the catholic church."

To this the said Whittle inferred again, "I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I did forsake the Church of Rome. And ye, my Lord, do call these heresies, that be no heresies, and do charge me therewith as heresies; and ye ground yourself upon that religion, which is not agreeable to God's word," &c.

Then the said victorious soldier and servant of our Saviour, constant in the verity received and professed, was again admonished, and with persuasions entreated by the bishop; who because he would not agree unto the same, the bishop forthwith proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and



clerkly habit. The order and manner of which their popish and most vain degradation, before, in the story of Bishop Hooper, is to be seen. Then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he

saw them so busy in degrading him after their father the pope's pontifical fashion, said unto them, "Paul and Titus had not so much ado with their priests and bishops." And further, speaking to

the bishop, he said unto him, "My Lord, your religion standeth most with the Church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ."

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed and formal proceedings, assayed him yet again with words, rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion: who then denying so to do, said, "As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God's word."

The bishop then asked, what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar.

Whittle answered and said, "It is not used according to Christ's institution, in that it is privately and not openly done: and also for that it is ministered but in one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Further, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by Scripture."

"Well," quoth Bonner, "my Lords here and other learned men have showed great learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the secular power," &c. To make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and unmovable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so, in few days after, brought to the fire with the other six aforementioned, sealing up the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for the witness of the truth.

LETTERS OF THOMAS WHITTLE.

A letter to John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

"The peace of God in Christ be with you continually, dearly beloved brother in Christ, with the assistance of God's grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of those things which may comfort and edify his church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his name, and the increase of your joy and solace of soul in this life, and also your reward in heaven with Christ our Captain, whose faithful soldier ye are, in the life to come, Amen.

"I have greatly rejoiced, my dear heart, with thanks to God for you, since I have heard of your faith and love which you bear towards God and his saints, with a most godly ardent zeal to the virtue of Christ's doctrine and religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but specially by the declaring of that valiant captain in Christ's church, that

stout champion in God's cause, that spectacle to the world, I mean our good brother Philpot, who now lieth under the altar, and sweetly enjoyeth the promised reward. And specially I and my condemned fellows give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable letter in the deepness of our trouble (after the flesh) sent unto us to the consolation of us all, but most specially to me, most sinful miser, on mine own behalf, but happy, I hope, through God's loving-kindness in Christ showed unto me; who suffered me to faint and fail through human infirmity, by the working of the arch-enemy in his sworn soldiers, the bishops and priests. In whom so lively appeareth the very visage and shape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to God's word) might well affirm them to be devils incarnate, as I by experience do speak. Wherefore, whoso shall for conscience-matters come in their hands, had need of the wiliness of the serpent to save his head, though it be with the wounding of his body, and to take diligent heed how he consenteth to their wicked writings, or setteth his hand to their conveyances.

"So did they assault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at least to a denegation of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and dissimulation. And, alas, something they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their opinions and false papistical religion, or else doubted of the truth wherein I stand, but only the infirmity of the flesh beguiled me, desiring liberty by an unlawful means: God lay it not to my charge at that day! and so I heartily desire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby: profit to me, in that God suffered Satan to buffet me by his foresaid minister of mischief, showing me mine infirmity, that I should not boast nor rejoice in myself, but only in the Lord; who when he had led me to hell in my conscience, through the respect of his fearful judgments against me for my fearfulness, mistrust, and crafty cloaking in such spiritual and weighty matters, (in the which agony and distress I found this old verse true, *Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus*,) yet he brought me from thence again to the magnifying of his name, suspecting of flesh and blood, and consolation of mine own soul; or else that I might feel disprofit in offending the congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulness in my doctrine and religion, than of human imbecility.

"Well, of the importune burden of a troubled conscience for denying or dissembling the known verity, I by experience could say very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the

warning of others, if God grant time : for now am I and my fellows ready to go hence even for Christ's cause : God's name be praised, who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our course with joy, and at your appointed time you shall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, so will he preserve your life still, to the intent you should labour (as you do) to appease and convince these ungodly contentions and controversies, which now do too much reign, brawling about terms to no edification. God is dishonoured, the church disquieted, and occasion to speak evil of the gospel ministered to our adversaries. But such is the subtlety of Satan, that whom he cannot win with gross idolatry in open religion, them he seeketh to corrupt and deceive in opinions, in a private profession. But here I will abruptly leave, lest with my rude and simple vein I should be tedious unto you, desiring you, my loving brother, if it shall not seem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my fellows yet once again, if you have leisure, and we time to the same.

"Provide me Master Philpot's nine examinations for a friend of mine, and I shall pay you there-for, by the leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear children in this world, that they should not be damned with the world, and trieth the faith of his saints through many tribulations, that being found constant to the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in heaven highly reward them ; whither I trust to go before, looking for you to follow, my faithful friend, that we may sing perpetual praise to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and sin, won for us by Jesus Christ, God and man, our only and sufficient Saviour and Advocate, Amen. Farewell, and pray in faith.

"Yours, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister, and now condemned to die for the gospel's sake, 1556, Jan. 21.

"All my fellows salute you. Salute all our faithful brethren with you."

To my dear friend and brother John Went, and other his prison-fellows in Lollards' Tower.

"He that preserved Joseph prisoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the lions' den, and delivered Paul, Peter, and the apostles out of prison, vouchsafe of his goodness to keep, feed, and deliver you, my good brother Went, with the other our fellow soldiers your prison-fellows, as may be most to his glory, to your consolation, and the edification of his church.

"I cannot but praise God most earnestly, when I hear of your constancy in the faith, and joy in the

cross of Christ, which you now bear and suffer together, with many other good members of Christ, which is a token that by Christ you are counted worthy the kingdom of God, as Paul saith. And though the world counteth the yoke and cross of Christ as a most pernicious and hurtful thing, yet we which have tasted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoice in this persecution as touching ourselves ; inasmuch as the cause for the which we suffer is the Lord's cause and not ours, at whose hand, if we endure to the end, we shall receive, through his liberal promise in Christ, not only a great reward in heaven, but also the kingdom of heaven itself, and also in the mean season be sure to be defended and cared for, so that we shall lack no necessary things, neither a hair of our heads shall perish without his knowledge. O what is he that would mistrust, or not gladly serve, so loving a Father ? O how unhappy are they that forsake him and put their trust in man ! But how blessed are they that for his love and for his holy word's sake, in these troublesome days, do commit their souls and bodies into his hands with well doing, counting it greater happiness and riches to suffer rebuke with Christ and his church, than to enjoy the pleasures of this life for a little short season ! This cross that we now bear, hath been common to all the faithful from Abel hitherto, and shall be to the end ; because the devil, having great wrath against God and his Christ, cannot abide that he should for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Christ to be taken and believed upon for our only sufficient Redeemer, Saviour, and Advocate : and therefore, because we will not deny Christ, nor dissemble with our faith, but openly protest and profess the same before the world, he seeketh by all means to stir up his wicked members, to persecute and kill the bodies of the true Christians : as St. John saith, The devil shall cast some of you into prison. And David saith, I believed, and therefore have I spoken, but I was sore troubled. This notwithstanding, go forward, dear brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lord's battle, considering Christ the Captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, and also highly reward your pains. Consider to your comfort the notable and chief shepherds and soldiers of Christ, which are gone before us in these days ; I mean those learned and godly bishops, doctors, and other ministers of God's word, whose faith and examples we that be inferiors ought to follow, as St. Paul saith : Remember them that have declared unto you the word of God, the end of whose conversation see that ye look upon, and follow their faith. The grace and blessing of God, with the ministry

of his holy angels, be with you for ever; Amen. All my prison-fellows greet you.

“From the coal-house, this fourth of December; by your poor brother Thomas Whittle, an unworthy minister of Christ, now his prisoner for the gospel’s sake. Amen.”

To all the true professors and lovers of God’s holy gospel within the city of London.

“The same faith for the which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary blessed, the Lord God increase and make stable in your hearts, my dear and faithful brethren and sisters of London, for ever and ever; Amen.

“Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ’s passion; that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, &c. Out of these words of St. Peter, I gather most specially these four notes. First, that persecution happeneth to Christ’s church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, so will he have it made manifest to the whole world through persecution; that so it may evidently appear that he hath such a church and people upon earth, which so trusteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kind of persecution, pains, nor death, shall be able to separate them from the love of him. And thus was Abraham tried and Job tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almost in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be so stedfast and strong, that neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy, could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and also standeth by them in the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he seeth best: like as he assisted Lot, and delivered him out of his enemies’ hands; Joseph out of the hands of his brethren and out of prison; Paul from his enemies in Damascus; and the apostles out of the stocks and prison.

“These with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen, and John Baptist, with many others, by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith made them good presidents, and examples to us and all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause; as St. James saith, Take, my brethren, saith he, the prophets for an ensample of suffering adversity and of long patience, which spake unto you in the name of the Lord. Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye

have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocrisy nor ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity, might speedily repent and rise again with Peter, and also that the weak ones might bewail their weakness, and cry with David, Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak. O Lord, heal me, for all my bones are vexed.

“Of this opening of the heart by persecution, spake holy Simeon to Mary, Christ’s mother, when he said, The sword (that is, the cross of persecution) shall pierce thy soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. For like as a king that should go to battle, is compelled to look in his coffers what treasure he hath, and also what number and puissance of men and weapons he hath, so that if he himself be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemy, he surceaseth and taketh truce for a time: even so we, by persecutions, have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to see what faith in Christ we have, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to bear the cross, that if we be rich in these treasures, we might rejoice, and valiantly go to battle; or if we want these things, we might with all speed cry and call upon him which giveth all good gifts to those that ask them. Item, the cross trieth the good people from the bad, the faithful from the worldlings and hypocrites, and also cleanseth and scoureth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthiness both of the flesh and the spirit. And even as iron, except it be often scoured, will soon wax rusty; so except our sinful hearts and flesh be often scoured with the whetstone of the cross, they will soon corrupt and overgrow with the rust of all filthiness and sin. And therefore it is meet and good for us, as the wise man saith, that as gold and silver is tried in the fire, so should the hearts of acceptable men be tried in the furnace of adversity. Abide the trial, dear friends, that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord’s cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive a great reward in heaven hereafter.

“As ye are called Christians, and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, so declare your Christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear. Suffer with him and for his gospel’s sake, rather than to deny him or to defile your faith and conscience with false worshipping of Romish religion.

“Take up your cross my dear hearts, now when

it is offered you, and go up with Christ to Jerusalem amongst the bishops, priests, and rulers, (if God call you thereto,) and they will anon send you to Calvary; from whence, (dying in the cause of the gospel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given their lives,) your souls, I warrant you, through Christ Jesus shall ascend to God that gave them, and the body shall come after at the last day; and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspeakable joy and bliss. O blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, as Christ's people in this Jewish England now do; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven! O my beloved, set your minds on this kingdom where Christ our Head and King is; considering that as the brute beast looketh downwards with the face towards the earth, so man is made contrariwise with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, because his conversation should be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul saith, Set your minds on things which are above, where Christ is. And again he saith, Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body. Oh the glorious estate that we be called unto! The Lord preserve us harmless to his eternal kingdom through Christ Jesus our Lord; Amen.

"The second thing that I note in the foresaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth persecution no strange thing. And truth it is, for which of the prophets were not persecuted with Christ and his apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's sake? Cain killed Abel, Isaac was persecuted of Ishmael, Jacob was hated of Esau, Joseph was prisoned and set in the stocks, the prophet Isaiah was cut in two with a saw, Jeremiah was stoned, Micaiah was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Elias was sore persecuted, Eleazar and the woman with her seven sons were cruelly killed. What Christ and the apostles suffered it is well known. So that by many tribulations (as Paul saith) we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Christ, and his apostles, suffered such afflictions—not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking of the world of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ.

"This is the ordinance of God, my friends, this is the high-way to heaven, by corporal death to eternal life; as Christ saith, He that heareth my words, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but is escaped from death to life. Let us never fear death, which is killed by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever; as Paul saith, There is no damn-

ation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. And again Paul saith, Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which hath given us victory through Jesus Christ.

"Besides this, ye have seen, and daily do see, the blood of your good preachers and brethren, which hath been shed in the gospel's cause in this sinful Sodom, this bloody Jerusalem, this unhappy city of London. Let not their blood be forgotten, nor the blood of your good bishop Ridley, who like a shepherd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his sheep. Good St. Paul saith, Remember them that have spoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their conversation, and follow their faith.

"The devil ever stirreth up false teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude prophesied it should be, to poison and kill our souls with the false doctrine. And when he faileth of his purpose that way, then moveth he his members to persecute the silly carcasses of the saints, because they will not deny nor dissemble their pure faith in our living Christ, and confess a dead bready Christ, and honour the same as Christ, God and man, contrary to God's commandment.

"This is the working of Satan, who, knowing his own just damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the same; such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Christ with subtle temptation to fall down and worship him, then he stirred up his servants the bishops and Pharisees to kill his body, whereby notwithstanding the devil lost his title and interest which he had to man's soul, and man by his precious passion and death was ransomed from the devil, death, and hell, to immortality and life everlasting. And so when Satan thought to have won all in killing of Christ, he lost all. And so shall he do in us, if we abide constant and strong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unto the end. God grant it for his mercy's sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Amen.

"Wherefore, my heartily beloved brethren and sisters, be of good comfort through Jesus Christ, for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Resist the devil, and he will, as James saith, flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees. Touch not pitch, lest you be defiled therewith; eat no swine's flesh, for it is against the law: I mean, defile not yourselves either inwardly or outwardly with this false and wicked religion of antichrist; for it is nothing else but pitch,

and swine's flesh. Beware of the beast's mark, lest ye drink of the cup of God's wrath. If God have given you knowledge and faith, dissemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, lest Christ deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as John biddeth you; and touch no unclean thing, but separate yourselves from the company of the ungodly, as Paul commandeth you. Whatsoever you have done amiss heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption.

"The third thing and note which I gather out of the foresaid words of Peter, is this, that he saith, Rejoice because ye are partakers of Christ's passion. Our sufferings, my well-beloved, are Christ's sufferings; and that injury that is done to us for his sake, he reckoneth it to be done to himself, as he said to St. Paul, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoice in our sufferings, as Paul writeth, which we suffer with Christ and one with another, as Peter saith, and so to fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in our flesh; which Christ hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit his elect must suffer with him and for him unto the world's end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sin in this world, and be made more meet temples for the Holy Ghost, and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suffering for righteousness' sake, according to his promise. And therefore I say, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, Rejoice. Let us rejoice in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to it.

"And why should we so greatly rejoice in the cross of Christ, which we now suffer? Because, saith Peter, when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written: wherein is set out the reward of suffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment, when we shall be raised again. And then shall they that have sown in tears, reap in joy; as Christ saith, Blessed are they that weep here; for they shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men hate you, and thrust you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's sake: rejoice ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promised, (which joy is so great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think, where we shall dwell for ever in the heavenly

city, the celestial Jerusalem, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Mediator, as Paul saith, and in the company of innumerable angels, and with the spirits and souls of all faithful and just men,) rejoice and be glad. And seeing ye be called to so great glory, see that you make your election and vocation sure by good works, and specially by suffering adversity for the gospel's sake: for it is given us of God (saith Paul) not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my course with joy. Have brotherly love amongst yourselves, which is a token that ye be Christ's disciples. Edify and comfort one another in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always. Amen.

"For your liberality and kindness showed upon the prisoners and afflicted people of God in this time of persecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to his deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water bestowed upon his faithful people unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you always. Amen.

"Your brother now in bonds for the gospel,

THOMAS WHITTLE."

To my loving and faithful brother John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

"The same faith for the which Abraham was accounted just, and Mary blessed, whereby also all just men live, the Lord God our loving Father increase and stablish in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

"I cannot worthily and sufficiently praise God, my heartily beloved brother, for the consolation and joy that I have received by reason of your loving letters, repenting me much that I, being so long so near you, did not enterprise to stir up familiarity and communication between us by writing, to mutual consolation in Christ. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoice, (where all things are transitory and vain, yea, man himself, respecting this life,) but, as David saith, the saints that dwell upon the earth, and such as excel in virtue? But here now I consider, that if the fellowship, love, and joy, of faithful men and children of God, (being as we now be in double bondage, the body within clay walls, and the soul within these frail earthly bodies,) be so great and comfortable; how unspeakable will these

joys be, when we shall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, where we shall be present together continually in our glorified bodies beholding the face of our Father presently, (whom now we see but in the glass of faith,) with his dear Son Christ our Redeemer and Brother, and the blessed company of angels and all faithful saved souls !

“ Oh the incomparable good things and heavenly treasures laid up for us in heaven by Christ Jesus ! For the obtaining whereof, we ought to set light by all temporal grief and transitory afflictions, so much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength ; and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lieth still, as the preacher saith, when every one, *causa sua dormit, et causa sua resurget*. For else, before the end, he suffereth his sometime to fall, but not finally to perish : as Peter sank upon the sea, but yet was not drowned ; and sinned grievously upon the land through infirmity denying his Master, but yet found mercy : for the righteous falleth oftentimes. And Christ's holy apostles are taught to say, *Remitte nobis debita nostra*. Yea, though the righteous fall, saith David, he shall not be cast away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Oh the bottomless mercy of God towards us, miserable sinners ! He vouchsafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith, to the obtaining of remission of all my sins in the mercies of God, and merits of Christ his Son ! And thereto I pray you say, Amen.

“ O my dearly beloved, it grieveth me to see the spoil and havoc that Saul maketh with the congregation of Christ. But what remedy ? This is God's will and ordinance, that his people shall here both be punished in the flesh and tried in their faith ; as it is written, Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all ; for by a strait path and narrow door must we enter. Whither ? Into the joyful kingdom of heaven ! Therefore blessed are you and others that suffer persecution for Christ's sake, for the profession of the same. Pray for me and my fellows, good brother, that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the faith, and end our course with joyful gladness ; for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you and all his people in our journey, that we may safely, through a short death, pass to that long lasting life.

“ Farewell, my dear and loving brother and fellow soldier in Christ ! farewell, I say, in him, who receive our souls in peace when they shall depart from these tabernacles, and grant us a joyful resurrection, and a merry meeting at the last day, and

continual dwelling in his eternal heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen !

“ Yours with my poor prayer ; other pleasure can I do you none,

THOMAS WHITTLE, minister.”

To my dear brethren Master Filles and Cutbert.

“ My dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, Master Filles and Cutbert, I wish you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul, is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body, is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this body-life. The soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, lest immortality to joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept and much made of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay ; but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's Holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will gladly take up their cross and follow their Captain, their King, and their Saviour Jesus Christ, (as his poor afflicted Church of England now doth,) against that false and antichristian doctrine and religion now used, and specially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's supper and holy ordinance is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution and to Paul's proceedings : so that that which they have in their mass, is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as St. Augustine saith, a visible sign of invisible grace, when it is ministered to the communicants according to Christ's example, and as it was of late years in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin : for Christ with one sacrifice hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified.

“ Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear according to the doctrine of his gospel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye be hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rose-coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which lead to damnation.

“ Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind :

for Christ suffered for us, leaving us example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake; great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh, saith St. John, shall eat of the tree of life: he shall have a crown of life, and not to be hurt of the second death; he shall be clothed with white array, and not to be put out of the book of life: yea, I will confess his name, saith Christ, before my Father and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewell, mine own brethren and dear fellows in Christ; whose grace and peace be alway with you. Amen.

"This world I do forsake; to Christ I me betake;
And, for his gospel's sake, patiently death I take.
My body to the dust now to return it must;
My soul, I know full well, with my God it shall dwell.

"THOMAS WHITTLE."

Another letter written to a certain godly woman.

"O my dear and loving sister in Christ! be not dismayed in this storm of persecution: for Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, because it is never truly taught, but the cross and cruel persecution immediately and necessarily do follow the same; and therefore it is a manifest token of God's truth, and hath been here and is still abroad; and that is the cause of the rage and cruelty of Satan against Christ and his members, which must be corrected for their sins in this world: their faith must be tried, that after trial and patient suffering the faithful may receive the crown of glory. Fear not therefore, my well-beloved! but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will strengthen you and assist you in all your ways: and if it please him to lay his cross upon you for his gospel's sake, refuse it not, neither shake it off by unlawful means, lest you should (as God forbid) find a more grievous cross and torment of conscience, if you should dissemble and deny the known verity, than is any persecution or death of body. Oh how happy are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake! Their reward is great in heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that shall be showed upon us. O remember the godly women of the Old Testament and New, which lived in God's service and fear, and therefore are now in bliss and commended for ever: and namely Judith, Esther, Abigail, the mother of the seven sons, Mary, Elizabeth, Susanna, Lydia, and Phoebe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Christ; sin is put to flight, and the

gate of immortality and eternal life is set wide open: God grant we may enter therein through the door Jesus Christ. Amen!

"THOMAS WHITTLE."

The story of Master Bartlet Green, gentleman and lawyer, martyr.



FTER the martyrdom of Thomas Whittle, next followeth in order to speak of Bartlet Green, who, the next day after the foresaid Whittle, was likewise condemned.

This Green was of a good house, and had such parents as both favoured learning, and were also willing to bring up this their child in the same; who, after some entrance in other inferior schools, was by them sent unto the university of Oxford, where through exercise and diligent study he so profited, that within short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of sundry profane sciences, as also now, in his last years, unto the godly understanding of divinity; whereunto (through ignorance in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the first an utter enemy, until such time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity lecture in the same university, so that thereby (as by God's instrument) he saw the true light of Christ's gospel. Whereof when he had once tasted, it became unto him as the fountain of lively water, that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria, so as he never thirsted any more, but had a well springing unto everlasting life; insomuch as when he was called by his friends from the university; and was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he yet continued still in his former study and earnest profession of the gospel; wherein also he did not a little profit. Howbeit, (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit,) through the continual accompanying and fellowship of such worldly (I will not say too much youthful) young gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houses, he became by little and little a partner of their fond follies and youthful vanities, as well in his apparel, as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterward (being again called by God's merciful correction) did sore

lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own testimony, notified and left in a book of a certain friend of his, a little before his death, written with his own hand, in manner as followeth.

The writing of Master Bartlet Green, in Master Bartram Calthorp's book.

"Two things have very much troubled me whilst I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which, under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by prayer, earnest and without ceasing. And forso much as vain-glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather, by continual prayer, to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then stealeth it in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study, or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be sober; for our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. And remember what Solomon saith, A patient man is better than a strong warrior, and he that conquereth his own stomach, is better than he that conquereth towns and cities.

"BARTLET GREEN."

"Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and stedfast amity. Farewell, my Bartram, and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewell. At Newgate, Jan. 20, anno 1556.

"Set sober love against hasty wrath.

"BARTLET GREEN."

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by some such means as perhaps they think least of, as he did here this his strayed sheep. And now therefore to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in these his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather, Master Doctor Bartlet, who, during the time of Green's imprisonment, made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forsaking the truth and gospel of Christ) come home again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those his

persuasions (the Lord be therefore praised) took small effect in his faithful heart, as the sequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men (except of the papists, who love none that love the truth); and so he well deserved, for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those that were of the household of faith; as appeared amongst other, by his friendly dealing with Master Christopher Goodman, being at that present a poor exile beyond the seas; with whom this Bartlet Green (as well for his toward learning, as also for his sober and godly behaviour) had often society in Oxford, in the days of good King Edward; which now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he did not lightly forget: and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart, for the loss of his friend, and the other of body, in suffering the cruel and murdering rage of papists. The cause hereof was a letter which Green did write unto the said Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or questions, which were cast abroad in London, (as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his own penning, which he meant to have sent unto Master Philpot, wherein he declareth his full usage before the bishop of London and others,) as also an answer to a question made by the said Christopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was spread amongst them on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead. Whereunto Master Green answered simply, and as the truth then was, that she was not dead.

These letters, with many others, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came, by the apprehension of the said bearer, unto the hands of the king and queen's council; who, at their convenient leisure, (which in those days by some of them was quickly found out for such matters,) perused the whole number of the said letters, and amongst them espied this letter of Master Green's, written unto his friend Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof (amongst other news and private matters) they found these words: "The queen is not yet dead." Which words were only written as an answer, to certify Master Goodman of the truth of his former demand; howbeit (to some of the council) they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason, they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do, (and being yet very loth to let any such depart freely, whom they suspected to be a favourer

of the gospel,) they then examined him upon his faith in religion; but upon what points it is not certainly known.

Nevertheless (as it seemeth) his answers were such as little pleased them (especially the anointed sort); and therefore, after they had long detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London as elsewhere, they sent him at last unto Bonner, bishop of London, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law; as appeareth by their letters sent unto the bishop, with the said prisoner also, wherein it may appear, that Sir John Bourne (then secretary to the queen) was a chief stirrer in such cases, yea, and an enticer of others of the council; who otherwise (if for fear they durst) would have been content to have let such matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakness (if it be his good pleasure) and give them true repentance. Amen.

A letter sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, by the queen's council, dated the eleventh day of November, 1555; but not delivered until the seventeenth of the same month.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send to the same herewith the body of one Bartlet Green, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obstinate standing in matters against the catholic religion, whom the king's and queen's Majesties' pleasures are, (because he is of your Lordship's diocese,) ye shall cause to be ordered according to the laws in such cases provided. And thus we bid your Lordship heartily farewell.

"From St. James's, the cleventh of November, 1555.

"Your good Lordship's loving friends,
 Winchester, Pembroke,
 Thomas Ely, William Haward,
 John Bourne, Thomas Wharton.

"Postscript.—I, Sir John Bourne, will wait upon your Lordship, and signify further the king's and queen's Majesties' pleasure herein."

Now that ye may the better understand the certainty of his handling, after this his coming unto Bonner's custody, I have thought it good to put forth his own letter, containing at large the discourse of the same; which letter he wrote, and did mean to have sent unto Master Philpot, but was prevented belike either by Philpot's death, or else (and rather) by the wily watching of his keeper: for it came (by what means I know not certainly) unto the bishop's hands, and being delivered unto his registrar, was found in one of his books of record, the copy whereof here followeth.

A letter of Bartlet Green, written unto John Philpot, containing, besides other particular matter betwixt him and Master Philpot, a brief rehearsal of his handling, and certain his conferences with Bonner and others, at his first coming to the bishops.

"I marvel much that you will raise such slanders of me: for, what else is a slander than an untrue report of a man, to the hurt of a man? And though you will not seem to hurt me herein, nor did it there-for, yet, being a false report of me to the hurt of other men, methinketh I may count myself slandered therein. Is not the heart offended when the foot is slandered? is not the body troubled when the tongue is belied? is not the hand ready to revenge the dishonour of the head, or hurt of the least part of the body? are we not members all of one body? are we not members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones? If you think them not of one body with us, yet should you not have spoken evil of any man, yet should you not have slandered the rulers. But you have sought my hurt ignorantly: remember you not what happened to Moses and Aaron at the waters of strife, because of the over-great estimation that the people had in them? Were not the people plagued by David, in whom they over-much gloried? *quippe per quâ peccat quis, per eadem puniatur*. None had such praise as had Josiah; and what was the end? The people had Josiah in reverence, and he spake, and it came not to pass! Peter's boldness deserved a fall; Paul had the messenger of Satan sent him; to Peter, after the preferment was given to him, were a foul fall and sharp rebuke; to the same, after the feeding of sheep; Paul withstood him in the face. Let him that standeth take heed he fall not; for if any man seem unto himself to be somewhat when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. Would God you saw my heart, and the sorrows that I sustained thereby; God knoweth whether it were with the desire to be revenged of such lies, or to be delivered from the occasion of vain-glory thereby, (for I must say with David, *Delicta quis intelligit? ab occultis*, &c.,) that I had almost fallen on the other side, to have swerved from the truth thereby. And this say I in truth, *coram Domino*; for I am not ashamed to confess my own weakness, to the praise of the glory of God. Would God you were not carnal, to prefer your friend with lies, to esteem friendship above truth, yea, above God, the author of all truth. *Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur: absit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Christi*, &c. Is this your friendship, O my friend?

"That which was wanting in talk (through my

default) at your being here, I have supplied by writing in your absence, now at the length getting some opportunity and leisure. The seventeenth day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock at afternoon, I was presented before my Lord of London and other two bishops, Master Deane, Master Roper, Master Welch, Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and other two or three, all sitting at one table. There were also present Dr. Dale, Master George Mordant, Master Dec. Then after the bishop of London had read unto himself the letter that came from the council, he spake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cause of their assembly was: to hear mine examination, whereunto he had authority by the council; and had provided Master Welch, and another whose name I know not, (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet desired he my Lord, that I might hear the council's letters,) to be there if any matters of the common law should arise, to discuss them: he entreated my Lord to determine all controversies of Scriptures; and as for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale should take it on them. Wherefore he demanded of me the cause of mine imprisonment. I said, that the occasion of mine apprehension was a letter which I wrote to one Christopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of such news as happened here) among the rest, I wrote that there were certain printed papers of questions scattered abroad. Whereupon, being suspected to be privy unto the devising or publishing of the same, I was committed to the Fleet; but since heard I nothing thereof, after the commissioners had received my submission. The sum whereof was, that as I was sure there neither could be any true witness, nor probable conjecture against me in that behalf; so refused I no punishment, if they of their consciences would judge me privy to the devising, printing, or publishing of those questions. But my Lord, affirming that there was another cause of mine imprisonment since, demanded if I had not after, since I was committed to the Fleet, spoken or written somewhat against the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"Then desired I his Lordship to be good unto me, trusting that he would put me to answer to no new matters, except I were first discharged of the old. And when I stood long on that, Master Welch answered, that it was procured that I should so do, right well. For albeit I were imprisoned for treason, if during the time of endurance I had maintained heresy, that were no sufficient allegation against the ordinary; neither, whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, should it take

away the former fault. Then, my Lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for heresy, and the other gentleman saying that doubtless I was discharged of my former matter; my desire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to hear my accusers.

"Then Dr. Chedsey was sent for, who reported that in the presence of Master Mosley and the lieutenant of the Tower, I spake against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass; and that I affirmed that their church was the church of anti-christ.

"'Is not this true?' quoth my Lord. I said, 'Yea.' 'Will you continue therein?' quoth he. 'Yea,' said I. 'Wilt thou then maintain it by learning?' said he. 'Therein,' quoth I, 'I should show myself to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controversy against so many grave and learned men. But my conscience was satisfied in the truth, which was sufficient to my salvation.' 'Conscience!' quoth Master Roper; 'so shall every Jew and Turk be saved.'

"We had hereafter much talk to no purpose, and especially on my part, who felt in myself, through cold and open air, much dullness of wit and memory. At the length I was asked what conscience was: and I said, 'The certifying of the truth.'

"With that Master Welch rose up, desiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aside into another chamber, said, that he was sorry for my trouble, and would gladly see me at liberty: he marvelled that I, being a young man, would stand against all the learned men of the realm, yea, and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Christ's time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning: I ought not to think mine own wit better than all men's, but should believe them that were learned. 'I promise you,' quoth he, 'I have read all Peter Martyr's book, and Cranmer's, and all the rest of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as Roffensis, and the bishop of Winchester, &c., and could not perceive but that there was one continual truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and those that at any time severed from this unity, were answered, and answered again.' This was the sum of his tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

"Then spake I: 'Forasmuch as it pleaseth your Mastership to use me so familiarly, (for so he behaved himself towards me, as though I had been his equal,) I shall open my mind freely unto you, desiring you to take it in good worth. I consider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would

God it were but a little under the opinion that some men have of me! But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chooseth *infirmamundi, ut confunderet fortia*, neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: for, I will have compassion, saith he, on whom I will show mercy. There is no respect of persons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wise or foolish, fisher or basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth through his free grace, to whom he list. Neither do I think myself only to have the truth, but stedfastly believe that Christ hath his spouse, the catholic and universal church, dispersed in many realms where it pleaseth him, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*: no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the person and qualities of one man. Of this church I nothing doubt myself to be a member, trusting to be saved by the faith that is taught in the same. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controversy; and the true marks of Christ's church are the true preaching of his word and ministering of his sacraments. These marks were sealed by the apostles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at the length they were, through the wickedness of men and the devil, sore worn, and almost utterly taken away. But God be praised that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myself, I call God to witness, I have none hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very small; but I was persuaded thereto by him, as by an instrument that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I sought it of him by continual prayer with tears. Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to speak: but one thing (I say) I wish of God with all my heart—that all men which are of contrary judgment, would seek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many of bishops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughing-stock; but I weigh it not a rush, for God knoweth that my whole study is to please him. Besides that, I care not for man's pleasure, or displeasure.'

"'No, Master Green,' quoth Welch, 'think not so uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your soul's health, as for their own. But, alas, how will you condemn all our forefathers! or how can you think yourself to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?'

"Then I said, 'Sir, I have none authority to judge any man: nevertheless, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, howsoever our learned men here judge of me.'

"'Why then,' said Welch, 'do you suppose your

own wit and learning better than all theirs? if you do not give credit only to them, other learned men shall resort unto you, that shall persuade you by the Scriptures and doctors.'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'God knoweth that I refuse not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things—saving my faith. But concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly persuaded, I cannot submit myself to learn; unless it be, as your Mastership said, that I perused the books on both sides. For so might I make myself an indifferent judge: otherwise I may be seduced.'

"And here we fell out again in a long talk of the church, wherein his learning and wit were much above mine: but in the end I told him I was persuaded, and that he did but lose his labour.

"'Why then,' quoth Welch, 'what shall I report to my Lord?'

"'Even as pleaseth you,' quoth I; 'or else you may say that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both sides.'

"So he going in, the bishops (even then risen, and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He answered, 'In faith, my Lord, he will be glad to learn.' Which words when they were taken, lest they should mistake his meaning and mine, I said, 'Yea, my Lord, so that I may have books on both sides, as Calvin, and my Lord of Canterbury's books, and such others.' 'Well,' quoth my Lord, 'I will satisfy thy mind therein also.' And they all were in great hope that shortly I should become a good catholic, as they call it.

"Then was I brought into my Lord's inner chamber, (where you were,) and there was put in a chamber with Master Dee, who entreated me very friendly. That night I supped at my Lord's table, and lay with Master Dee in the chamber you did see. On the morrow I was served at dinner from my Lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentlemen; where I have been placed ever since, and fared wonderful well. Yea, to say the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his Lordship's house: for my lodging and fare, scarce have I been at any time abroad in better case so long together, and have found so much gentleness of my Lord, and his chaplains, and other servants, that I should easily have forgotten that I was in prison, were it not that this great cheer was often powdered with unsavoury sauces of examinations, exhortations, posings, and disputations.

"For, shortly after supper, the first Monday at night, I was had into my Lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came first into these

heresies. I said I was persuaded thereto by the Scriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alleged by Peter Martyr in his lectures upon 1 Cor. xi., while he entreated there on that place, *De cœnâ Domini*, by the space of a month together. But then my Lord enforced the plainness of Christ's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reason should move me from the literal sense of the words. But I, having no lust to those matters, would have alleged that there were books sufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Œcolampadius: nevertheless when this shift would not serve, but I was constrained to say somewhat, I said I was moved from the literal sense by the manner of speaking, by the circumstance, and by conference of other places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Christ took bread, and that he showed them (they seeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

"Christ affirmed that bread was his body.

"But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true:

"Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

"For this predication, *Panis est corpus Christi*, or *corpus Christi est panis*, is neither *identica*, nor *accidentalis*, nor *essentialis prædicatio*. Wherefore of necessity I must say it was spoken in the like sense, as Christ was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it serve to say, that it was not of bread that he affirmed to be his body; and that for two causes.

"For whatsoever he showed, that was bread; for nought else was seen.

"But that which he showed he affirmed to be his body:

"Ergo, he affirmed of bread that it was his body.

"The second reason is: for that it was not changed before, seeing *benedixit*, is *gratias edit*, or else Christ affirmed no true proposition, and you are without authority.

"In the end of this letter, there were noted these sentences following, collected for confirmation of his former assertions, videlicet,—

"The same phrase is used and spoken upon the cup.

"It is called bread in the same place afterward.

"By the same reason as it may be denied to be bread, it may be denied to be the body.

"His body ascended into heaven.

"In body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (sin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be in two places at once:

"Ergo, Neither his.

"His disciples took it as no miracle nor wonder."

The last examination and condemnation of Master Green.

Thus (as it seemeth) for this time they left off. But not long after, the bishop, perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains, could by the Scriptures refel, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument, I assure you, which without the special grace of our God to flesh is importable. And therefore, using laws as a cloak of his tyranny, the twenty-seventh day of November, the said bishop examined him upon certain points of Christian religion: whereunto, when he had answered, the bishop appointed the registrar (as their most common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confession; which, being afterwards read unto Green, was also subscribed by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions.—The tenor whercof here ensueth.

The confession and saying of Bartlet Green.

"Bartlet Green—born in the city of London, in the parish of Basing-hall, of the diocess of London, and of the age of twenty-five years,—being examined in the bishop's palace, the twenty-seventh day of November, anno 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.: that neither in the time of King Edward, after the mass by him was put down, neither in the time of Queen Mary, after the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith that in the reign of the said queen's Majesty he, (the said Bartlet,) two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides, or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in King Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the diocess of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline, and Christopher Goodman, some time reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline and with one Rimneger, Master of Arts of Magdalene College in Oxford. And this examine also saith, that at both the said communions he, and the others before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread, and sacramental wine, which, he saith, were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the book of communion. In which receiving and using, this examine saith, that the other aforesaid did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof

changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examine saith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's Majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse, to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and ministered in this Church of England, because, he saith, that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same, and that without deadly offence he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ, that is pretended to be there. And as concerning this sacrament of the altar, this examine saith, that he heretofore, during the said reign, hath refused, and now doth refuse, to receive the same as is now used in this Church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and, besides that, contrary to God's word it is there taught, that the thing there ministered is to be adored as the real and true body of Christ. And furthermore this examine saith, that during the said reign he hath not been confessed to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

"BARTLET GREEN."

Many other sundry conferences and public examinations they brought him unto. But in the end, (seeing his stedfastness of faith to be such, as against the which neither their threatenings, nor yet their flattering promises, could prevail,) the fifteenth day of January the bishop caused him, with the rest above named, to be brought into the consistory in Paul's; where, being set in his judgment-seat, accompanied with Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he then, calling for Bartlet Green, began with these, or the like words:

"Honourable audience, I think it best to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you shall not charge me that I go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the council's letters, which they sent with him unto me. The effect whereof is, that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him unto me to be ordered according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles."

Then he read the articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven prisoners,

to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joan Lashford, Bartlet Green.

But when Master Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with promise that he should have time to answer sufficiently; and therefore the bishop proceeding said, that when Green came first to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him. Whereunto Green answered and said, that if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them. Upon which words Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, stood up, and marvelling why he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the doctors. Green then said, that he was content to stand to the doctors' judgment.

"I will then propound unto you," quoth Fecknam, "the doctors, and interpret them yourself." So he alleged a place of Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochia*, which was this, "Elias going up, left his cloak behind him: but Christ ascending up, took his flesh, and also left it behind him." And he demanded Green, how he understood the place.

Then Green prayed him that he would confer the doctors' sayings together; and therefore alleged the same doctor again, writing upon 1 Cor. x., Is not the bread which we bless the communication of the Lord's body? whereby he proved that this doctor called this sacrament but a sign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and denial were betwixt them.

At last Fecknam demanded of him how long he had been of this opinion: "for, Master Green," said he, "you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the rankest papist in that house; and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine." And Green confessed the same.

Then again he said, that Green told him, that the said Peter Martyr was a papist in his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine that he professed was, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so unconstant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and catholic faith.

Green said that he grounded not his faith upon Martyr, nor any other, nor did believe so because Martyr believed the same, but because that he had heard the Scriptures, and the doctors of the church, truly and wholesomely expounded by him; neither

had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said Master Peter say often, that he had not as yet, while he was a papist, read Chrysostom upon 1 Cor. x., nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the Scripture: "which thing," said Green, "if you, my Lord, would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and show you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that saith, Ask, and it shall be given to you; knock, and it shall be opened unto you, &c."

Then Fecknam asked him, what he thought of this article, *Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*. And Green answered, that he did believe one holy and universal church throughout all the world.

Then Fecknam said, that he would fain have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this church; and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church. Green answered, that this church did agree in verity of the true doctrine of Christ, and was known by the true administration of his sacraments.

Whereupon Fecknam said, that he would prove the church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always to have been in controversy in their religion: "for," said he, "Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings or sayings, nor Ecolampadius with Carolostadius, nor Carolostadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, &c., for Luther writing upon the sacrament of the altar, said, that *In hoc pane, vel sub hoc pane corpus Domini accipimus*. Zuinglius controlling him, said, *Sub signo panis corpus Domini accipimus*. And the other controlled him in like case."

Then Master Green proved their opinions of the sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed: and though their words did not sound all one, yet they meant one thing; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Then Fecknam desired him that he would not so wilfully cast himself away, but to be rather conformable to reason, and that my Lord Bishop there present would be good unto him, and would grant him respite (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he should choose any learned man whom he would, and should go with him home to his house; and that he whom he would choose, would willingly take the pains to read and confer the doctors with him, and open the doctors' minds and meanings unto him.

Then Bonner said, that he was proud, and an obstinate boy; and therefore he bade Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more Master Green: "for," said he, "you ought not to call a heretic Master."

After this Dr. Pendleton alleged to him this text out of Luke xxii., *Ex hoc non manducabo illud donec impleatur in regno Dei*. "Here," said he, "you must confess your opinion to be false; else you must say that Christ was a liar: for Christ said, I will eat no more of this, while it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom. If Christ did eat no more the bread when he spake these words, then must you say that he was a liar; for he did eat bread after, with his disciples, before he ascended. But if you say he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the Scriptures, nor with good reason." Then Green answered and said, that this was spoken by an anticipation, as one of their own bishops, (which is now dead,) did say.

Then Dr. Pendleton said, that that was no sufficient discharge, nor no sufficient answer for him in this case; "for," said he, "it is well known that the bishop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good Christian man." To which words Green said, "I do not call him to witness in this case, as though he were a sufficient man, to prove my saying to be true in this matter; but I do allege him against you, as Paul did the scripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, against themselves, *Ignoto Deo*."

These with many other words were between them, which I do overpass, because it were too long to stand upon recital of every thing. Last of all the bishop asked him, if he would recant. He said nay, he would not. "But, my Lord," said he, "in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience, until such times as bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my Lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience; yea, insomuch that St. Augustine wrote and commanded, that no man should be put to death for his opinion."

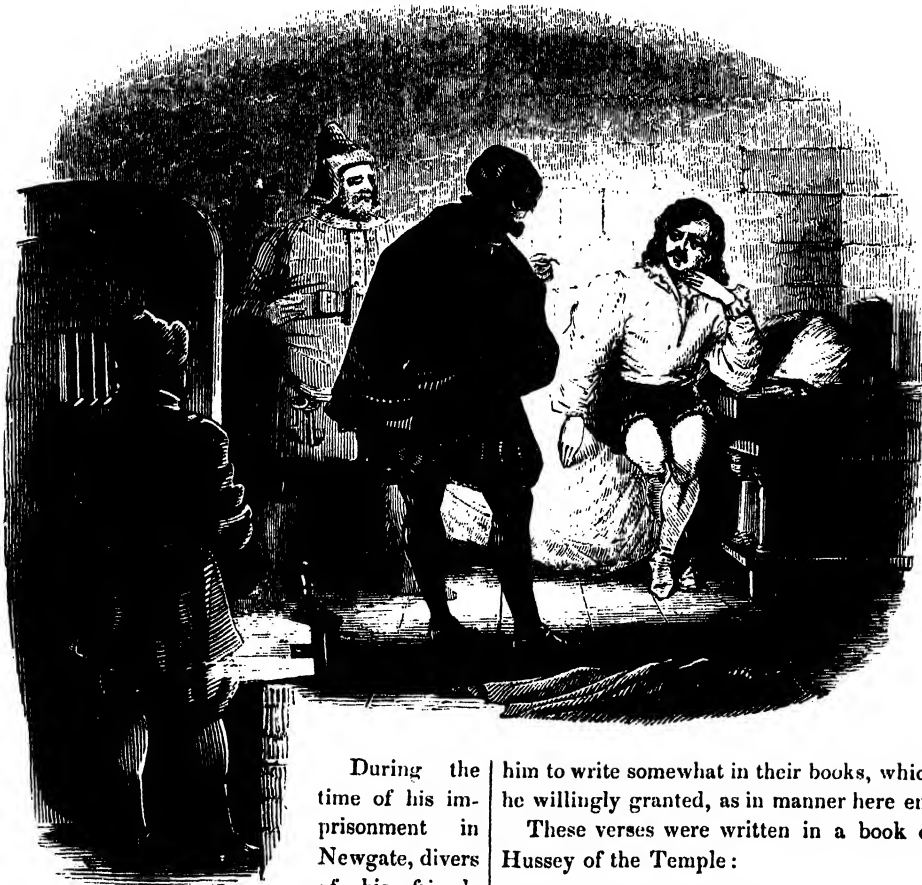
Then Bonner said, that when St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed of that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish their bodies also. "But," said Green, "he bade not put them to death." "He bade punish them," quoth Bonner. "Yea," said Green, "but not put them to death." "That they should be punished," quoth Bonner again.

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romish mother: which

when he denied, the bishop pronounced the sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate. And as he was going thither, there met with him two gentlemen, being both his special friends, minding belike to comfort this their persecuted brother : but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themselves) were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when Green saw them, he said in these or like words, "Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you?" And thus declaring his most quiet

and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into the which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in prayer, (whereunto he much gave himself,) or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, unto the twenty-seventh day of January, when he, with his other above-mentioned brethren, went most cheerfully unto the place of their torments, often repeating, as well by the way, as also at the stake, these verses following—

"O Christ, my God, sure hope of health, besides thee have
I none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate, be thou my Guide
alone."



During the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, divers of his friends had access unto him, to whom he gave sundry godly exhortations, wherewith

they were not only well contented, but for better remembrance as well of the same his instructions, as also of his own good and godly person, they desired

him to write somewhat in their books, which request he willingly granted, as in manner here ensueth.

These verses were written in a book of Master Hussey of the Temple :

"Behold thyself by me ; such one was I, as thou :
And thou in time shalt be, even dust as I am now.

BARTLET GREEN."

These verses were also written in a book of Master William Fleetwood, of the same house :

"My resting-road is found, vain hope and hap adieu :
Love whom you list with change, death shall me rid from
you.

BARTLET GREEN."

Amongst other divers and singular good virtues of this good man, specially in him was to be noted such a modest nature, so humbly thinking of himself as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himself under that was in him, and ever seeming to be less than he was, so that nothing less he could abide, than to hear of his praise or commendation; as well declareth not only his letter written to Master Philpot, wherein he doth earnestly expostulate with him, for slandering him with praise of his wit and learning, and other manifold virtues of great excellency; but also by his own speech and answers in his examination, wherein he casteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithstanding he had more in him, than to any man's eyes did appear.

So great and admirable was this gift of modesty grafted in the nature of him, so far abhorring from all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was spoken to his advancement or praise; so neither did there appear in him any show or brag in those things wherein he might justly glory, which were his punishments and sufferings for the cause and quarrel of Christ. For when he was beaten and scourged with rods by Bishop Bonner, (which scarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth,) and he greatly rejoiced in the same, yet his shamefaced modesty was such, that never he would express any mention thereof, lest he should seem to glory too much in himself, save that only he opened the same to one Master Cotton of the Temple, a friend of his, a little before his death.

Moreover, to this rare and maidenly modesty in him was also adjoined the like nature of mercy and pitiful compassion; which affection though it seemeth to be little regarded of some, yet in my mind is there no other thing wrought in nature, wherein man resembleth more truly the image of the high majesty of Almighty God, than this. And as in this respect of merciful tenderness, man only excelleth all other beasts; so almost no less may this man seem to pass many other men, whose customable property and exercise was to visit the poor prisoners with him in prison both with bodily relief, and also with spiritual comfort: and finding many of them (I mean such as were there for theft and other naughty facts) very penitent and sorry for their evil demeanours, in hope of their amendment, did not only by mouth, but also by his letters require, yea, as it were of duty in love did charge, his friends to travail for their deliverances: such was the pity and charitable mercy of this godly and most true member of Christ's church, as appeareth by this letter here following.

To my very loving friends and masters, Master Goring, Master Fernham, Master Fleetwood, Master Russel, Master Bell, Master Hussey, Master Calthorp, Master Bowyer, and others my masters of the Temple, Bartlet Green wisheth health of body and soul.

"Very friends are they which are knit together with the knot of charity; charity doth not decay, but increase in them that die faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be absent in body, yet are we present in the spirit, coupled together with the unity of faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a friend, that measureth his friendship with the distance of a place, or parting of persons? If thy friend be out of sight, is thy friendship ended? if he be gone into the country, wilt thou cease to love him? if he be passed the seas, will you so forsake him? if he be carried into heaven, is charity hindered thereby? On the one side we have the use of the fathers from the primitive church, that gave thanks for their friends that died in the faith, to prove that charity died not with death. On the other side, saith Horace, *Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*

"What speak I of Horace? Saith not St. Paul the same thing? For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his blood, yea, we are members one of another. Is the hand or arm, foot or leg, a member, when it is dis severed from the body? How can we be members, except we be joined together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things shall fail, love faileth never. Hope hath his end, when we get that he hoped for. Faith is finished in heaven, love endureth for ever: love (I say) that proceedeth of charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is lost, doth perish with the flesh. Neither was that ever but fleshly love, which by distance of place, or severing of bodies, is parted asunder. If love be the end or sum of the law, if heaven and earth shall perish, yet one jot of God's word shall not decay, why should we think that love lasteth not for ever?

"I need not to write much to you, my friends, neither can I have leisure now that the keepers are risen; but this I say: If we keep Christ's commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then should our love be everlasting. This friendship Paul felt when it moved him to say, that neither length nor breadth, (meaning no distance of place,) neither height nor depth, should sever him from the love of Christ. Weigh well this place, and mete it with Paul's measures; so shall we find, that if our love be unfeigned, it can never be ended. Now may you say, 'Why writest thou this?' Certainly

to the end that if our friendship be stable, you may accomplish this the last request of your friend, and perform after my death the friendship we began in our life, that amity may increase until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

"Master Fleetwood, I beseech you remember Wittrance and Cook, two singular men amongst common prisoners; Master Fernham and Master Bell, with Master Hussey (as I hope) will despatch Calthorp and Richardson with his companions. I pray you, Master Palmer, think on John Grove, an honest poor man, Traiford and Rice Apprice his accomplices: my cousin Thomas Witton, a scrivener in Lombard Street, hath promised to further their delivery: at the least he can instruct you which way to work. I doubt not but that Master Bowyer will labour for the good wife Cooper, (for she is worthy to be holpen,) and Berard the Frenchman. There be also divers other well disposed men, whose deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beseech you to seek their relief, as you shall see cause: namely, of Henry Apprice, Launcelot, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham, a young man of goodly gifts in wit and learning, and (saving that he is somewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be also two women, Coningham and Alice Alexander, that may prove honest. For these and all other poor prisoners here I make this my humble suit and prayer to you all, my masters, and especial good friends, beseeching you of all bonds of amity, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, in the bowels of mercy, to tender the causes of miserable captives; help to clothe Christ, visit the afflicted, comfort the sorrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have mercy on the poor, and love faithfully together. Amen.—This present Monday when I look to die, and live for ever.

"Yours as ever,
BARTLET GREEN."

Another letter of Master Green to Mistress Elizabeth Clark.

"Would God (if it were his pleasure) that with this letter I might send you my heart and mind, and whatsoever there is in me else, that pertaineth to God: so should I think it the best message, and happiest letter, that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my desire, yet shall I not cease with continual prayer to labour for you, desiring Almighty God to increase that which he hath long since begun in you, of sober life and earnest zeal towards his religion. In faith, as saith St. Paul, she that is a true widow and friendless, putteth her trust in God, continuing day and night in supplication and prayer; but she that liveth in pleasure

is dead, even yet alive. And verily a true widow is she that hath married Christ, forsaking the vanities of the world, and lust of the flesh. For as the married woman careth how to love, please, and serve her husband; so ought the widow to give all her heart and soul, thoughts and words, studies and labours, faithfully to love God, virtuously to bring up her children and household, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppressed.

"Therefore St. Paul first instructeth a widow how to behave herself, that is, not to live in pleasure. Then to watch unto prayer, is the only means to obtain all our desires, stedfastly laying up all our trust in God, as David right well saith, First eschew evil; then do good. Of Anna the praise was written, that she never went out of the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day: so well had she espoused Christ. Judith wore a smock of hair, continuing in fasting, and had good report of all men.

"The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that she bring up her children and household godly, in the nurture and information of the Lord; whereof St. Paul saith, If any have children or nephews, let them learn first to rule their own house godly, and to recompense their elders. The incontinency and covetousness of Phinehas and Hophni, uncorrected by Eli their father, provoked God's vengeance upon him and all his kindred; the over-tender love of Absalom expelled David from his kingdom; the unrebuked sins of Amnon encouraged Absalom to slay his brother: most manifest examples against the parents, for the offences of their children.

"Contrariwise, how greatly might Hannah rejoice over Samuel her son, whom she had brought up in the house of the Lord! What thanks might Tobias's wife give for her son Toby! How happy was Solomon to be taught by the prophet Nathan! But above all widows, thrice blessed was the happy mother of the seven sons, that so had instructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would shrink from the love of his truth.

"Of the last part, St. Paul showeth that a widow should be chosen: If she have nourished her children, if she have been liberal to strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, and if she have ministered to them in adversity. Herein it is evident how earnestly St. Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore meet) he appointed only widows to minister to the saints, and to gather for the poor: which use also continued almost throughout the primitive church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and strangers.

"Of your neighbours I need not to put you in remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good

hospitality, by which means also many foreigners are of you relieved; but of the poor alms-houses, and miserable prisoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without cause, some under the colour of religion, some only kept for fees, and some on private men's displeasure. Alas, that Christ so hungereth, and no man will feed him; is sore oppressed with thirst, and no man will give him drink; destitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; sick, and not visited; imprisoned, and not seen.

"In times past men could bestow large sums of money on copes, vestments, and ornaments of the church. Why rather follow we not St. Ambrose's example, which sold the same for the relief of the poor, or Chrysostom's commandment, which willed first to deck and garnish the living temple of God? But alas, such is the wickedness of these our last days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure doctrine, the godliness of life, nor good examples of the ancient fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they have written any thing that serveth for sects and dissension, that will their charitable children embrace, publish, and maintain with sword, faggot, and fire. But all in vain; they strive against the stream. For though in despite of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty persuasion, they may bring themselves into the haven of hell; yet can they not make all men believe that the banks move whilst the ship saileth, nor ever shall be able to turn the direct course of the stream of God's truth.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you in all pure doctrine and upright living, and give you grace virtuously to bring up your children and family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppressed. Amen.

"At Newgate the 20th of January, anno 1556.

"Your assured,

BARTLET GREEN."

Another certain writing of Master Bartlet Green.

"Better is the day of death, saith Solomon, than the day of birth. Man that is born of a woman, liveth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries; but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travail, to live in misery: man through Christ doth die in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the world, with cries he uttereth his miserable estate; straight as he departeth, with songs he praiseth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies assault him: after death no adversary may annoy him. Whilst he is here, he displeaseth

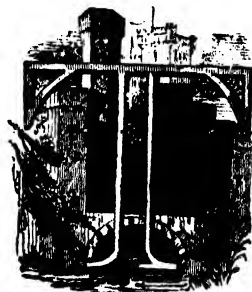
God: when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through sin: in the life to come he liveth in righteousness. Through many tribulations in earth he is still purged: with joy unspeakable in heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour: there he liveth continually. Here is sin: there is righteousness. Here is time: there is eternity. Here is hatred: there is love. Here is pain: there is pleasure. Here is misery: there is felicity. Here is corruption: there is immortality. Here we see vanity: there shall we behold the majesty of God with triumphant and unspeakable joy in glory everlasting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

"Yours in Christ,

BARTLET GREEN."

Divers other letters and matters there were besides, which this servant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in Latin out of the doctors and other authors for his memory, whereby is declared how studious he was in the searching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profession was the temporal law; where I would to God he were not among the lawyers such a phoenix, that he had very few or no fellows to fly with him, or to follow his steps. But God is to be praised, that although we read of few or none among that sort that died as he did, yet good witness doth spring up daily of the same profession, to such towardness and godly zeal, that some hope already appeareth shortly to come to pass, that this godly phoenix shall not fly alone. These aforesaid notes and gatherings of his, out of the doctors, were taken from him by Bonner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the rest was first apprehended, but last of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of January, and afterward burned with the other martyrs, the twenty-seventh of the same month.

Thomas Brown, martyr.



THOMAS BROWN, born in the parish of Histon, within the diocese of Ely, came afterwards to London, where he dwelled in the parish of St. Bride's

in Fleet Street, a married man, of the age of thirty-seven years; who, because he came not to his parish church, was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. As touching whose articles, whereupon he was examined by the said Bonner, with his answers also annexed to the same, mention goeth before, as in the general process of him and of the rest may appear. This Thomas Brown being had to Fulham with the others there to be examined, was required upon Thursday, being the twenty-sixth day of September, to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he, refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the bishop, as for a heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass; which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offence. At length, being produced to his last examination before the said bishop the fifteenth day of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him; first he was required with many fair words and glosing promises to revoke his doctrine, to whom the foresaid bishop, speaking these words, said, "Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travailed with thee, to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, have and do report, that I go about to seek thy blood," &c. To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again; "Yea, my Lord," saith he, "indeed ye be a blood-sucker, and I would I had as much blood as is water in the sea, for you to suck."

Bonner then proceeding to the articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his heresies and erroneous opinions, (as he called them,) and return again unto the unity of the catholic faith. Whereunto he made answer again, saying, If they were heresies, he would forsake them. "They be heresies," quoth the bishop. "How will ye prove it?" said Brown, "for I will not go from mine answer, except you can prove them to be heresies, which ye shall never do: for that which you call heresy, is no heresy." With that Bonner, not able, or else not disposed, to supply the part of a sufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good authority and doctrine of the Scripture, went about with words and promises of pardon to allure him to renounce those his heresies, as he called them, and to return unto the unity of his mother the catholic church, &c. To whom the said Thomas inferred again, as followeth: "Prove it," said he, "to be heresy, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, because I will not confess and believe the bread in the

sacrament of the altar (as you call it) to be the body of Christ, and therefore ye spill mine and such-like innocents' blood, being the queen's true subjects; for which you shall answer, and that shortly."

After this being spoken, Bonner (as he had done to the other before) read in writing the sentence definitive against him: the copy and form of which sentence wherewith the papists were wont to condemn all the innocent saints of Christ, is above expressed. And so this done, he was committed to the sheriffs to be had away, and burned the twenty-seventh day of the said month of January, constantly abiding with the other the pope's torments, for the true confession of his Christian faith.

John Tudson, martyr.

The same day and time, when the foresaid Thomas Brown with his fellows was condemned, (as is above rehearsed,) being the fifteenth day of January, was also produced John Tudson, with the rest of the said company, unto the like condemnation. This John Tudson was born in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, after that apprentice in London, dwelling with one George Goodyear, of the parish of St. Mary Botolph, within the diocese of London, who, being complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, was by them sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and was divers times before him in examination.

The articles and interrogatories ministered unto him, as unto the rest, before are specified, with his answers also to the same annexed, &c. After this he was brought unto the open consistory; where the said blessed and true servant of the Lord, John Tudson, appearing before the said bishop and his complices, was moved with sundry persuasions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion, (which they named heresy,) and to persist in the unity of the church which they were of. But he, constantly persisting in that which he had received by the preachers in King Edward's time, refused so to do, saying, there was no heresy in his answers: "for I," said he, "defy all heresy." The bishop yet still used his old accustomed persuasions to remove him, promising moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then said Tudson, "Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return." Then said the bishop, "In your answers." "No," said Tudson again, "I have not therein offended: and ye, my Lord, pretend charity; but nothing thereof appeareth in your works." Thus after a few words, the bishop did likewise pronunciate against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power,

and so with much patience finished this life with the others above named, the twenty-seventh day of January.

John Went, Martyr.

John Went, born in Langham, in Essex, within the diocese of London, of the age of twenty-seven, and a sheerman by occupation, first was examined (as partly is touched before) by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, the said Story did send him up to Bonner, bishop of London; who likewise, after divers examinations upon the articles aforesaid in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him, as he did to the other, to recant and return. To whom, in few words, the said Went answered again, he would not; but that, by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in that he had said. And when the bishop yet notwithstanding did still urge and call upon him with words and fair glosses, to give over himself to their opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, "No, I say as I have said," &c. Whereupon, being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs, (whom that shameless shaveling at that time abused for his servile butchers,) and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society of martyrs above named.

Isabel Foster, martyr.

With these five persons above recited and condemned, were also two women in the said company condemned the same time, and likewise burned for the same cause; the one a wife, called Isabel Foster; the other a maid, named Joan Warne, or otherwise Lashford.

This foresaid Isabel was born in Greystock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and afterwards married to one John Foster, cutler, of the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet Street, being of the age of five and fifty years. She likewise, for not coming unto the church, being sent unto Bonner, and so imprisoned, was sundry times examined by the said bishop, but never overcome, nor removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop in the consistory the fifteenth day of the said month of January, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers; whereunto she gave a resolute answer in few words: "I will not," saith she, "go from them, by God's grace:" and thereunto did adhere, neither being

cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielding through his alluring enticements, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church. Whereunto she said again in this wise, that she trusted she was never out of the catholic church, &c. And so persisting in the same, she continued constant till the sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by commandment of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, the twenty-seventh day of the foresaid month; where she, like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth, (with the other five aforesaid,) ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

Joan Lashford, alias Joan Warne, martyr.

In a certain place of these Acts and Monuments heretofore, mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her husband John, (as is aforesaid,) in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow Church-yard for being there at a communion; and both suffered for the same, first the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter in the month of January followed her parents in the same martyrdom. Furthermore, in the same place following mention was made also of Dr. Story, who there (we said) was somewhat near unto the said parties, either in kindred or alliance: albeit, as I understand since of some, there was no kindred between them, but only that she was his servant. Yet, notwithstanding, the said Dr. Story, (as it is above specified,) before he was commissioner, made intercession for the parties to Dr. Martyn, then commissioner: but afterward, being placed in commission himself, he so far forgot himself, and his old servant, that he became no small procurer of their deaths. I will not here expostulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconstancy, who yet notwithstanding, after he had brought them to death, was arrested himself for threescore pounds, charged with debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in some piece of kindred joined or allied unto them. But leaving that person unto the good pleasure of the Lord, let us return unto that we have in hand.

This Joan Lashford, born in the parish of Little Allhallows in Thames Street, was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the foresaid Elizabeth, who afterward was married to John Warne, upholsterer, who (as is said) was persecuted for the gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her, this Joan Lashford, her daughter; who, about the age of twenty years,

ministering to her father and mother in prison, suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story, (as is above in her answers to the articles declared,) and so committed to the Compter in the Poultry, where she remained the space of five weeks, and from thence had to Newgate, where she continued the space of certain months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of the said Bonner, her confession was, being examined, that the whole twelve-month before, and more, she came unto no popish mass service in the church, neither would do, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; confessing and protesting, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; nor the mass to be good, or according unto the Scripture; but said that both the said sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all other their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's words and institution; so that neither they were at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This godly damosel, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace, in this her confession and faith stood so firm, that neither the flattering promises nor the violent threats of the bishops, could turn her; but, being moved and exhorted by the bishop to return to the catholic unity of the church, said boldly to him again, "If ye will leave off your abomination, so I will return; and otherwise, I will not."

Whereupon the bishop yet again promised her pardon of all her errors (as he called them) if she would be conformed. To this she answered again, saying unto the bishop, "Do as it pleaseth you; and I pray God that you may do that which may please God."

And thus she, constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by the sentence definitive condemned, and committed unto the sheriffs, by whom the foresaid twenty-seventh day of January she with the rest being brought unto the stake, there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom most lovingly she espoused herself.

And thus much concerning the life, story, and condemnation of these seven martyrs, afore specified.

Five other martyrs in Canterbury, four women and one man, at two stakes and one fire, all burned together.

After these seven before rehearsed, martyred to-

gether in Smithfield, shortly after in the same month, the thirty-first day of January, followed another like fellowship of godly martyrs at Canterbury, four women and one man, whose names be these:—John Lomas, a young man; Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, widow; and Joan Sole, a wife.

John Lomas, martyr.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, detected and presented of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, examined there of the first article, whether he believed the catholic church or no, answered thus; that he believed so much as is contained in God's book, and no more.

Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the law the next Wednesday sevensnight after, which was the seventeenth day of January, the said Lomas, examined whether he would be confessed of a priest or no, answered and said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest, in God's book; neither would he be confessed, unless he were accused by some man of sin. Again, examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, or no, he answered that he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or tressel, but he believed so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered thereunto, that he believed so much as was written in God's book; and other answer than this he refused to give, &c.: whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the eighteenth day of January. And so committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the conscience of a true faith, with the other four women here following.

Agnes Snoth, martyr.

Agnes Snoth, widow, of the parish of Smarden, likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's religion, was divers times examined before the Pharisical fathers; who there, compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be ministered unto her, first denied to be confessed to a priest: notwithstanding, she denied not to confess her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apos-

ties after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort : but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterward being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or no, she plainly denied the same, and that the popish manner of their absolution was not consonant to the word, nor necessary to be taken ; with such other like, agreeing with the answers and confession of John Lomas before mentioned. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and so suffering martyrdom with the rest, declared herself a perfect and constant witness of Christ and of his truth the thirty-first day of January.

Anne Albright, alias Champnes, martyr.

Against Anne Albright, likewise appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was also objected concerning the same matter of confession : whereunto she answered in these words, saying, " that she would not be confessed of a priest ; " and added moreover, speaking unto the priests, " You priests," said she, " are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession." And likewise speaking unto the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so utterly denied the same sacrament. Thus, persisting and persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the said eighteenth day of the said month, with the others above mentioned ; with whom also she suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the right of Christ's religion.

Joan Sole.

In the like manner Joan Sole, of the parish of Horton, was condemned of the same Pharisees and priests, for not allowing confession auricular, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar : who, after their Pharisaical sentence being promulgated, was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God's holy grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

Joan Catmer.

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs, was Joan Catmer, of the parish of Hythe, wife (as it should seem) of George Catmer, burned before, who being asked what she said to confession made to a priest, denied to be confessed to any

such priest. And moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed, that she believed not in that sacrament, as it was then used ; for that it was made, said she, a very idol. In this her confession she, remaining and persisting, was by the like sentence cruelly of them condemned ; and so suffered with the foresaid John Lomas, and the other three fellow martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt at two stakes and one fire together, at Canterbury, as is before said : who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing psalms. Whereat the good knight, Sir John Norton, being there present, wept bitterly at the sight thereof.

The judges and other assistants which sat upon her, and the other four above mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker the notary.

The life, state, and story of the reverend pastor and prelate, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, martyr ; burned at Oxford, for the confession of Christ's true doctrine, under Queen Mary, A. D. 1556, March 21.



Concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and of

the original cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopal dignity, who of many hath been thought to have procured the same by friendship only, and of some others esteemed unworthy so high a vocation : it is first therefore to be noted and considered, that the same Thomas Cranmer, coming of an ancient parentage, from the Conquest to be deducted, and continuing since in the name and family of a gentleman, was born in a village called Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, of whose said name and family there remaineth at these days one manor and mansion-house in Lincolnshire, called Cranmer Hall, &c., sometime a heritage of the said stock and family. Cranmer being from his infancy kept at school, and brought up not without much good civility, came in process of time unto the university

of Cambridge; and there prospering in right good knowledge amongst the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge. It was at that time when, all good authors and fine writers being neglected, filthy barbarousness was embraced in all schools and universities. The names and numbers of liberal arts did only remain; the arts themselves were clean lost. Logic was gone out of kind, into sophistical trifles; philosophy, both moral and natural, was miserably defaced with infinite questions and subtleties; the use of tongues and eloquent learning was either small, or none at all; yea, and divinity itself was fallen into the state, that, being laden with articles and distinctions, it served rather for the gain of a few, than for the edification of many. Unluckily therefore so good a wit, falling into these unhappy times, was constrained to spend a great part of his youth (worthy of better instruction) in the peevish questions of Quins and other masters of the same sort, until he was twenty years old. At length, after so long darkness of barbarism, the tongues and other good learning began, by little and little, to spring up again, and the books of Faber and Erasmus began to be much occupied and had in good estimation, with a number of good authors besides. In whom the same Cranmer, taking no small pleasure, did daily rub away his own rustiness on them, as upon a whetstone, until at length, when Martin Luther was risen up, the more bright and happy days of God's knowledge did waken men's minds to the clear light of the truth; at which time, when he was about thirty years old, omitting all other studies, he gave his whole mind to discuss matters of religion, on both parts. And, because he saw that he could not judge of these matters unless he first considered and beheld the very fountains thereof, before he would addict his mind to any opinion, he spent three whole years in reading over the books of Holy Scriptures. After he had laid this foundation no less wisely than happily, when he thought himself sufficiently prepared, and being now instructed with more ripeness of judgment, like a merchant greedy of all good things, he gave his mind to read all kind of authors. In the mean while, being addicted to no party or age, but, as a considering beholder or scholar of Pythagoras, he weighed all men's opinions with secret judgment. He read the old writers, so as he despised not the new, and, all this while, in handling and conferring writers' judgments, he was a slow reader, but an earnest marker. He never came to any writer's book without pen and ink, but yet so that he exercised his memory no less than his pen. Whatsoever controversy came he gathered every author's sentence, briefly, and

the diversity of their judgments, into common-places, which he had prepared for that purpose; or else, if the matter were too long to write out, he noted the place of the author and the number of the leaf, whereby he might have the more help for his memory. And so, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus College, it chanced him to marry a gentleman's daughter: by means whereof he lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham College. And for that he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, he placed his said wife in an inn, called the Dolphin, in Cambridge, the wife of the house being of affinity unto her. By reason whereof, and for that his often resort unto his wife in that inn, he was much marked of some popish merchants: whereupon rose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury, raised up by the malicious disdain of certain malignant adversaries to Christ and his truth, bruited abroad every where, that he was but an hosteler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practices in that behalf shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the mean time to return to the matter present: whilst this said Master Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham College, his wife died in child-bed. After whose death, the masters and fellows of Jesus College, desirous again of their old companion, namely, for his towardliness in learning, chose him again fellow of the same college. Where he, remaining at his study, became in few years after the reader of divinity lecture in the same college, and in such special estimation and reputation with the whole university, that, being doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the chiefest learned men) to examine such as yearly proceed in commencement, either bachelors or doctors of divinity, by whose approbation the whole university licenseth them to proceed unto their degree; and again, by whose disallowance the university also rejecteth them for a time, to proceed until they be better furnished with more knowledge. A. D. 1526.

Now Dr. Cranmer, ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially seen in the story of the Bible: by means whereof certain friars, and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors without regard had to the authority of Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; so that he was greatly, for that his severe examination, of the religious sort much hated, and had in great indigna-

tion. And yet it came to pass in the end, that divers of them being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; insomuch, that when they proceeded doctors of divinity, they could not over-much extol and commend Master Doctor Cranmer's goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. Barret, a White Friar, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was after that sort handled, giving him no less commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apish and popish sort of ignorant priests may well understand that this his exercise, kind of life, and vocation, was not altogether hosteler-like.

Well, to go forwards: like as he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obscure, so was he greatly solicited by Dr. Capon, to have been one of the fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxford, which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation. Notwithstanding, foreseeing that which after chanced, to the utter confusion of many well-affected learned men there, without consideration, (because man's glory was there more sought for than God's,) he stood to the danger of the said indignation, which chanced more prosperously unto him within few years after than he looked for. For, while he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and weighty cause of King Henry the Eighth, his divorce with the Lady Katharine, dowager of Spain, came into question; which being many ways by the space of two or three years amongst the canonists, civilians, and other learned men diversely disputed and debated, it came to pass that this said Dr. Cranmer, by reason that the plague was in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham Abbey, to one Master Cressy's house there, whose wife was of kin to the said Master Cranmer. And for that he had two sons of the said Cressy with him at Cambridge as his pupils, he rested at Waltham Cross, at the house of the said Master Cressy, with the said two children, during that summer-time while the plague reigned. A. D. 1529.

In this summer-time Cardinal Campeius and Cardinal Wolsey, being in commission from the pope to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between the king and the queen, his pretended wife, dallied and delayed all the summer-time until the month of August came, in hearing the said cause in controversy debated. When August was come, the said cardinals little minding to proceed to sentence giving, took occasion to finish their commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the

laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest-time: which sudden stay and giving over of the said commission by both the cardinals, being unknown to the king, it so much moved him, that he, taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to despatch forthwith Cardinal Campeius home again to Rome; and so in haste removed himself from London to Waltham for a night or twain, while his household removed to Greenwich: by means whereof it chanced that the harbingers lodged Dr. Stephen, secretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner, (who were the chief furtherers, preferers, and defenders on the king's behalf of the said cause,) in the house of the said Master Cressy, where the said Dr. Cranmer was also lodged and resident. When supper-time came, they all three doctors met together; Dr. Stephen and Dr. Foxe much marvelling of Dr. Cranmer's being there; who declared to them the cause of his there being, namely, for that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old acquaintance, so the secretary and the almoner right well entertained Dr. Cranmer, minding to understand part of his opinion touching their great business they had in hand. And so as good occasion served, while they were at supper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the king's cause, requesting him of his judgment and opinion what he thought therein.

Whereto Dr. Cranmer answered, that he could say little to the matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding he said to them, that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the law ecclesiastical, than needed. "It were better, as I suppose," quoth Dr. Cranmer, "that the question, whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no? were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year by frustratory delays to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unbolted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, make open, and manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation, the authority whereof will compel any judge soon to come to a definitive sentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of this matter long since." When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his device, and wished that they had so proceeded aforetime, and thereupon conceived some matter of that device to instruct the king

withal, who then was minded to send to Rome again for a new commission.

Now the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, like as he took himself not well handled by the cardinals in thus deferring his cause, so his mind being unquieted, and desirous of an end of his long and tedious suit, he called unto him these his two principal doers in his said cause, namely, the said Dr. Stephen and Dr. Foxe, saying unto them, "What now, my masters," quoth the king, "shall we do in this infinite cause of mine? I see by it there must be a new commission procured from Rome; and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I."

When the king had said somewhat his mind herein, the almoner, Dr. Foxe, said unto the king again, "We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your Majesty, than to make travel so far as to Rome any more in your Highness's cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at Waltham." The king being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?" Then said Dr. Foxe, "It chanced us to be lodged at Waltham in Master Cressy's house this other night, your Highness being there, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Dr. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your Highness's cause, he thought that the next way were, first to instruct and quiet your Majesty's conscience by trying your Highness's question out by the authority of the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence." With this report the secretary was not content with the almoner, for that he did not utter this device as of their own invention. And when the secretary would have seemed by colourable words to make it appear to the king, that they of themselves had devised that means; the king then said, "Where is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" They answered that they left him there. "Marry," said the king, "I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive," quoth the king, "that that man hath the sow by the right ear: and if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much disquietness."

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was sent for, and being removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so towards his friends in Nottinghamshire, a post went for him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with these two his acquaintances, that he, by their means, was thus troubled and brought thither to be cumbered in a matter, wherein he had

nothing at all travailed in study; and therefore most instantly entreated them, that they would make his excuse in such sort, that he might be despatched away from coming in the king's presence. They promised, and took the matter upon them so to do, if by any means they might compass it. But all was in vain: for the more they began to excuse Dr. Cranmer's absence, the more the king chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence; so that, no excuse serving, he was fain undelayedly to come to the court unto the king, whom the gentle prince benignly accepting, demanded his name, and said unto him, "Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretary and my almoner?" Dr. Cranmer affirming the same, the king said again, "Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in question after this sort?" repeating the manner and order thereof. "That is right true, if it please your Highness," quoth Dr. Cranmer. "Well," said the king, "I well perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand," quoth the king, "that I have been long troubled in conscience; and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, Master Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless, because you are a subject, I charge and command you, (all your other business and affairs set apart,) to take some pains to see this my cause to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not against the laws of God; for otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity: neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the queen is, nor did I ever fancy woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not risen; assuring you that for the singular virtues wherewith she is endued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God." And thus, greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, "I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences."

Dr. Cranmer, much disabling himself to meddle in so weighty a matter, besought the king's High-

ness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. "You say well," said the king, "and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your mind therein." And so calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, said, "I pray you, my Lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham Place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor any thing requisite for his study. And thus, after the king's departure, Dr. Cranmer went with my Lord of Wiltshire unto his house, wherein he incontinently wrote his mind concerning the king's question; adding to the same, besides the authorities of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, also his opinion, which was this: That the bishop of Rome had no such authority, as whereby he might dispense with the word of God and the Scripture.

When Dr. Cranmer had made this book, and committed it to the king, the king said to him, "Will you abide by this that you have here written before the bishop of Rome?" "That will I do by God's grace," quoth Dr. Cranmer, "if your Majesty do send me thither." "Marry," quoth the king, "I will send you even to him in a sure ambassage."

And thus by means of Dr. Cranmer's handling of this matter with the king, not only certain learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendom, to dispute the question, but also the same being by commission disputed by the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, that no such matrimony was by the word of God lawful. Whereupon a solemn ambassage was then prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome, then being at Bologna, wherein went the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen. A. D. 1530.



And when the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their ambassage, the bishop, sitting on high

in his cloth of estate and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, offering as it were his foot to be kissed of the ambassadors; the earl of Wiltshire, disdainig thereat, stood still, and made no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry. Howbeit, one thing is not here to be omitted, as a prognosticate of our

separation from the see of Rome, which then chanced by a spaniel of the earl of Wiltshire. For he, having there a great spaniel which came out of England with him, stood directly between the earl and the bishop of Rome, when the said bishop had advanced forth his foot to be kissed. Now whether the spaniel perceived the bishop's foot of another nature than it ought to be, and so taking it to be some kind of repast—or whether it was the will of God to show some token by a dog unto the bishop of his inordinate pride, that his feet were more meet to be bitten of dogs, than kissed of Christian men—the spaniel, (I say,) when the bishop extended his foot to be kissed, no man regarding the same, straightway (as though he had been of purpose appointed thereunto) went directly to the pope's feet, and not only kissed the same unmannerly with his mouth, but, as some plainly reported and affirmed, took fast with his mouth the great toe of the pope, so that in haste he pulled in his glorious feet from the spaniel: whereat our men smiling in their sleeves, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fine, the pontifical bishop after that sought no more at that present for kissing his feet, but without any further ceremony gave ear to the ambassadors what they had to say; who, entering there before the bishop, offered on the king's behalf to be defended, that no man *jure divino*, could or ought to marry his brother's wife, and that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. Divers promises were made, and sundry days appointed, wherein the question should have been disputed; and when our part was ready to answer, no man there appeared to dispute in that behalf. So in the end, the bishop making to our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying Dr. Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship, dismissed them undisputed withal.

Whereupon the earl of Wiltshire, and the other commissioners, saving Dr. Cranmer, returned home again into England. And forthwith Dr. Cranmer went to the emperor, (being in his journey towards Vienna, in expedition against the Turk,) there to answer such learned men of the emperor's council, as would or could say any thing to the contrary part. Where amongst the rest, at the same time was Cornelius Agrippa, a high officer in the emperor's court, who having private conference with Dr. Cranmer in the question, was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never disputation openly offered to Dr. Cranmer in that behalf. For through the persuasion of Agrippa, all other learned men there were much discouraged: inso-much that after Dr. Cranmer was returned into England, Agrippa fell into such displeasure with the

emperor, as some men thought, that because of the hindering and discouraging so much the contrary part, he was committed to prison, where he for sorrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the mean space, while the emperor returned home from Vienna through Germany, Dr. Cranmer in that voyage had conference with divers learned men of Germany concerning the said question, who, very ambiguously heretofore conceiving the cause, were fully resolved and satisfied by him.

This matter thus prospering on Dr. Cranmer's behalf, as well touching the king's question, as concerning the invalidity of the bishop of Rome's authority, Bishop Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, whereby that dignity then being in the king's gift and disposition, was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer, as worthy for his travail of such a promotion. Thus much touching the preferment of Dr. Cranmer unto his dignity, and by what means he achieved unto the same (not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means); which thing I have more at large discoursed, to stop the railing mouths of such, who, being themselves obscure and unlearned, shame not to detract so learned a man most ignominiously with the surname of an hosteler, whom for his godly zeal unto sincere religion they ought with much humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Not long after, as one occasion bringeth in another; so upon this question of the marriage riseth another question of the pope's authority; inso-much that in the parliament it was doubted of the primacy of the Church of Rome. And here the new archbishop was not a little helped by his old collections and notes, which he used in studying: for all the weight of the business was chiefly laid on his shoulders. He therefore alone received, and answered, and confuted, all the objections of all the papists. And whereas the saying is, "Not Hercules against two," he alone encountered with so many ensigns and armies of divines; he alone sustained all the force of all his adversaries; he opened from the very foundations abundantly and readily what was to be judged and determined of the bishop of Rome and all his authority; he showed that the pope's lordship was brought in by no authority of the Scripture, but by affected and ambitious tyranny of men; and that the chiefest power in earth belonged to the emperor, to kings, and to other potentates, to whom the bishops, priests, popes, and cardinals, by God's commandment, were no less subject than other men of the commonwealth: and therefore there was no cause why the bishop of Rome should excel other bishops in authority, who should be subject to their own magistrates, and of them be kept

in order: and although authority be granted him over his own, yet so insolent and immoderate advancing of that see, by no right could be borne withal, but rather it should be made equal with the rest. And therefore it were even best that by consent of the king and the other estates the ambitious lordship of this bishop, being driven out of England, should keep itself within its own Italy, as a river is kept within its banks.

These matters being thus done and passed in the parliament, soon after the king and queen, by the ecclesiastical law, were cited at Dunstable before the archbishop of Canterbury and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as judges, to hear the sentence of God's word concerning this matter. The king refused not to appear at the censure of God's law; but the queen, refusing to stand to their judgment, appealed to the bishop of Rome. But forasmuch as the pope's authority being banished out of the realm, and by public authority it was enacted that no man should appeal out of the realm to Rome for any matter, the judges, making no delay, out of God's word pronounced the marriage to be unlawful, and so made divorce.

But Winchester, although he had openly sworn before all the states in the parliament, and in special words, against the pope's domination, yet inwardly in his fox's heart he bare a secret love to the bishop of Rome. But contrariwise, the archbishop perceiving (as it was indeed) that there was no hope to reform the church, so long as the bishop of Rome's laws and power remained, now that his name was driven out, sought all occasions to bring his intent to pass. By little and little he called home and conformed the churches into a more wholesome discipline of Christ, and example of the primitive church: and as the pope's name and title were now abolished, so he laboured also to banish out of the realm his errors, heresies, and corruptions. And not content therewith, he obtained of the king, partly by his own suit, and partly by other men's suit, that certain learned bishops, being chosen out, should by their common consent make a book of ecclesiastical institutions, which should be better purged from all popish superstitions. In this number were chosen Stokesley bishop of London, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Sampson bishop of Chester, Repse bishop of Norwich, Goodrich bishop of Ely, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Barlow bishop of St. David's. Winchester in this while (according to the love that he bare to the bishop of Rome, with three or four of the bishops as good as he) laboured diligently and subtly, that all the laws and customs of old idolatry and superstition (as much as could be)

should be confirmed and established. Yet being overcome by the authority of the ancient fathers, of the more ancient church, and of the most ancient word of God, he gave place and subscribed to the book, which, by the title of the authors, they called "The Bishops' Book." By that book it appeareth that the archbishop of Canterbury was not then well instructed in the doctrine of the sacrament, because there is granted a real presence. There was added also concerning worshipping of images, which article was none of the bishop's, but added and written by the king's hand, and (as it is suspected) through the secret persuasion of the bishop of Winchester.

These matters thus ordered, the abolishing of monasteries began to be talked of. The king's desire was, that all the abbey-lands should come to his coffers; and contrariwise the archbishop, and other men of the church, thought it pertained more to Christian religion and duty, that all the goods of monasteries (which were very great) should be put to the necessary use of the poor, and erecting of schools. For which cause the king's will being somewhat bent against the archbishop and other maintainers of his doctrine, (specially by the instigation of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, which sought all occasions to let and hinder the gospel,) he set forth the Six Articles, more than man quellers, containing the sum of popish religion, and by full consent of parliament established them. What a slaughter by the space of eight years these Six Articles made, because we have showed in another place, it were superfluous to repeat it here again; although the king afterward (foregoing his anger, and considering, as it was indeed, that the archbishop and others of his sort, did it not for that he was offended with them, of stubbornness of mind, but rather of simplicity of conscience) began to be more favourable to him and them; and thought (as it is said) to have mitigated the rigour and cruelty of certain of the said articles, and minded to have reformed more things, if he had lived.

Now as concerning his behaviour and trade of life towards God and the world, being now entered into his said dignity, and forasmuch as the apostle St. Paul, writing to two bishops, Timothy and Titus, setteth out unto us a perfect description of a true bishop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the same, unto the which exemplar it shall be hard in these strange days to find the image of any bishop correspondent; yet, for example's sake, let us take this archbishop of Canterbury, and try him by the rule thereof, to see either how near he cometh to the description of St. Paul, or else how far off he swerveth from the common course of

others in his time, of his calling. The rule of St. Paul is to be found, 1 Tim. iii., also in his Epistle to Titus, chap. i. in these words: A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God. Not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre; but harborous, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort, &c.

Unto this rule and touchstone, to lay now the life and conversation of this archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written: "*A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God.*" Like as no man is without sin, and every man carrieth with him his especial vice and fault: so yet nevertheless, the apostle meaneth, that the bishop and minister must be faultless, in comparison of the common conversation of men of the world, which seem more licentious to live at their own liberties and pleasures, than the bishop or minister ought to do, having small regard unto good example giving: which a bishop and minister most carefully ought to consider, lest by his dissolute life the word of God be slandered and evil spoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order that he in the university commonly used, that is, by five of the clock in the morning at his book, and so consuming the time in study and prayer until nine of the clock. He then applied himself (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner time to hear suitors, and to despatch such matters as appertained unto his special cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, unto his officers; so that such things were never impediments either to his study, or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part always being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for sifting and bolting out of one matter or other, for the commodity and profit of the church of England; by means whereof, and what for his private study, he was never idle: besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas.

After dinner, if any suitors were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and despatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that some while divers of them were committed by him to prison. And having no suitors after dinner,

for an hour or thereabout he would play at the chess, or behold such as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, at the which commonly he for the most part stood, and seldom sat; and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that hour in hearing the common prayer, and walking or using some honest pastime until supper time. At supper, if he had no appetite, (as many times he would not sup,) yet would he sit down at the table, having his ordinary provision of his mess furnished with expedient company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would (as it were) thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the company with such fruitful talk as did repast and much delight the hearers, so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the almshouse well maintained for relief of the poor. After supper, he would consume one hour at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other; so that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the commodity of the church; which his well-bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other men's conversation faultless, as became the minister of God.

Secondly, it is required, "*that a bishop ought not to be stubborn:*" with which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged; whose nature was such as none more gentle, or sooner won to an honest suit or purpose; specially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratify either any gentle or noble man, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in causes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earnest defence in the parliament house above three days together, in disputing against the Six Articles of Gardiner's device, can testify. And though the king would needs have them upon some politic consideration to go forward, yet Cranmer so handled himself as well in the parliament house, as afterwards by writing, so obediently and with such humble behaviour in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but Almighty God's, who was the author of all truth, that the king did not only well like his defence, (willing him to depart out of the parliament house, into the council chamber, whilst the act should pass and be granted, for safeguard of his conscience; which he with humble protestation refused, hoping that his Majesty in process of time would revoke them again,) but also, after the parliament was finished,

the king, perceiving the zealous affection that the archbishop bare towards the defence of his cause, which many ways by Scriptures and manifold authorities and reasons he had substantially confirmed and defended, sent the Lord Cromwell, then vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where it was declared by the vicegerent, and the two dukes, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should in his Highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travail in that parliament had showed himself both greatly learned, and also discreet and wise: and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged for any thing that was passed contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked the king's Majesty of his great goodness towards him, and them for all their pains, saying, "I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place to the glory of God and the commodity of the realm; in the mean time I will satisfy myself with the honourable consent of your Honours, and the whole parliament."

Here is to be noted, that this man's stout and godly defence of the truth herein so bound the prince's conscience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authority and power; and therefore this way God working in the prince's mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said Six Articles as it ought to have been; for else the prince might have had a just cause to have borne his great indignation towards the archbishop. Let us pray that both the like stoutness may be perceived in all ecclesiastical and learned men, where the truth ought to be defended, and also the like relenting and flexibility may take place in princes and noblemen, when they shall have occasion offered them to maintain the same, so that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by self-will, power, and authority. Now in the end this archbishop's constancy was such towards God's cause, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without respect of any worldly treasure or pleasure. And as touching his stoutness in his prince's cause, the contrary resistance of the duke of Northumberland against him proved right well his good mind that way; which chanced by reason that he would not consent unto the dissolving of chantries, until the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to furnish his royal estate, than to have so great treasure consumed in his nonage: which his stoutness, joined with such simplicity, surely was thought to divers of the council a thing

incredible: specially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this realm, as few or none would or durst gainstand him.

So dear was to him the cause of God and of his prince, that for the one he would not keep his conscience clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwise (as it is said) his very enemies might easily entreat him in any cause reasonable; and such things as he granted, he did without any suspicion of upbraiding or meed therefor: so that he was altogether void of the vice of stubbornness, and rather culpable of over-much facility and gentleness.

Then followeth "*not angry*." Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this man may seem peradventure to offend rather on this part than on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot say: for the most part, such was his mortification that way, that few we shall find in whom the saying of our Saviour Christ so much prevailed, as with him, who would not only have a man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them: that lesson never went out of his memory. For it was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own deserts, but only for his religion's sake: and yet whatsoever he was that sought his hinderance, either in goods, estimation, or life, and upon conference would seem never so slenderly any thing to relent or excuse himself, he would both forget the offence committed, and also evermore afterwards friendly entertain him, and show such pleasure to him, as by any means possible he might perform or declare, insomuch that it came into a common proverb, "Do unto my Lord of Canterbury displeasure, or a shrewd turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend while he liveth." Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revengement, amongst many examples thereof, I will repeat here one:—

It chanced an ignorant priest and parson in the north parts, (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was a kinsman of one Chersey, a grocer, dwelling within London, being one of those priests that use more to study at the ale-house, than in his chamber or in his study,) to sit on a time with his honest neighbours at the ale-house within his own parish, where was communication ministered in commendation of my Lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. This said parson, envying his name only for religion's sake, said to his neighbours, "What make you of him," quoth he, "he was but an hosteler, and hath no more learning than the goslings that go yonder on the green;" with such-like slanderous and uncomely words. These honest neighbours of his, not well bearing those his unseemly words, articulated against him, and sent their

complaint to the Lord Cromwell, then vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, who sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet, minding to have had him recant those his slanderous words at Paul's Cross. Howbeit the Lord Cromwell having great affairs of the prince then in hand, forgot his prisoner in the Fleet. So that this Chersey, the grocer, understanding that his kinsman was in durance in the Fleet only for speaking words against my Lord of Canterbury, consulted with the priest, and between them devised to make suit rather unto the archbishop for his deliverance, than to the Lord Cromwell, before whom he was accused; understanding right well that there was great diversity of natures between those two estates, the one gentle and full of clemency, and the other severe and somewhat intractable, namely, against a papist: so that Chersey took upon him first to try my Lord of Canterbury's benignity, namely, for that his cousin's accusation touched only the offence against him, and none other. Whereupon the said Chersey came to one of the archbishop's gentlemen, (whose father bought yearly all his spices and fruit of the said Chersey, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman,) who, opening to him the trouble wherein his kinsman was, requested that he would be a means to my Lord his master, to hear his suit in the behalf of his kinsman.

The matter was moved. The archbishop, like as he was of nature gentle, and of much clemency, so would he never show himself strange unto suitors, but incontinently sent for the said Chersey. When he came before him, Chersey declared, that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleet, a priest of the north country, "and as I may tell your Grace the truth," quoth Chersey, "a man of small civility, and of less learning. And yet he hath a parsonage there, which now—by reason that my Lord Cromwell hath laid him in prison—being in his cure, is unserved; and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no answer, and knows not when he shall come to any end, so that this his imprisonment consumeth his substance, and will utterly undo him, unless your Grace be his good Lord." "I know not the man," said the archbishop, "nor what he hath done, why he should be thus in trouble." Said Chersey again, "He only hath offended against your Grace, and against no man else, as may well be perceived by the articles objected against him;" the copy whereof the said Chersey then exhibited to the said archbishop of Canterbury, who, well perusing the said articles, said, "This is the common talk of all the ignorant papistical priests in England against me. Surely," said he, "I was never made privy to this accusation, and of his endurance I never

heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withal against the prince or any of the council, I will, at your request, take order with him, and send him home again to his cure to do his duty:" and so thereupon sent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, willing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper, at afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the prisoner at the hour appointed, and Chersey had well instructed his cousin in any wise to submit himself to the archbishop, confessing his fault, whereby that way he should most easily have an end, and win his favour; thus the parson being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there the archbishop, sitting under the vine, demanded of the parson, what was the cause of his endurance, and who committed him to the Fleet. The parson answered and said, that the Lord Cromwell sent him thither, for that certain malicious parishioners of his parish had wrongfully accused him of words which he never spake nor meant. Chersey, hearing his foolish cousin so far out of the way from his former instruction, said, "Thou dastardly dolt and varlet! is this thy promise that thou madest to me? Are there not a great number of thy honest neighbours' hands against thee, to prove thee a liar?" "Surely my Lord," quoth Chersey, "it is pity to do him good. I am sorry that I have troubled your Grace thus far with him." "Well," said the archbishop unto the parson, "if you have not offended me, I can do you no good; for I am entreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended against me. If my Lord Cromwell hath committed you to prison wrongfully, that lieth in himself to amend, and not in me. If your offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do somewhat for your friend's sake here. If you have not offended against me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go, and remain from whence you came." Lord, what ado his kinsman Chersey made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names! In the end my Lord of Canterbury, seeming to rise and go his ways, the fond priest fell on his knees, and said, "I beseech your Grace to forgive me this offence, assuring your Grace that I spake those words being drunk, and not well advised." "Ah," said my Lord, "this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse: for drunkenness evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is sober;" alleging a text or twain out of the Scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenness, which cometh not now to remembrance. "Now therefore," said the archbishop, "that you acknowledge somewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent sobriety. Tell me then,"



quoth he, "did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me, before this day?" The priest answered and said that never in his life he saw his Grace. "Why then," said the archbishop, "what occasion had you to call me an hosteler, and that I had not so much learning as the goslings which then went on the green before your face? If I have no learning you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appose me, either in grammar or in other liberal sciences; for I have at one time or other tasted partly of them. Or else, if you are a divine, say somewhat that way."

The priest being amazed at my Lord's familiar talk, made answer and said, "I beseech your Grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the Latin tongue, but very simply. My only study hath been to say my service and mass, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any priest in the country where I dwell, I thank God." "Well," said the other, "if you will not appose me, I will be so bold to appose you, and yet as easily as I can devise; and that only in the story of the Bible now in English, in which I suppose that you are daily exercised. Tell me therefore who was King David's father," said my Lord. The priest stood still, pausing a while, and said, "In good faith, my Lord, I have forgotten his name." Then said the other again to him, "If you cannot

tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was Solomon's father?" The fond foolish priest, without all consideration what was demanded of him before, made answer, "Good my Lord, bear with me, I am no further seen in the Bible, than is daily read in our service in the church."

The archbishop then answering, said, "This my question may be found well-answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever ye have judged heretofore of my learning, sure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and superstitious priests, to slander, backbite, and hate all such as are learned and well-affected towards God's word and sincere religion. Common reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reason, that a prince, having two universities within his realm of well-learned men, and desirous to be resolved of as doubtful a question as in these many years the like was not moved within Christendom, should be driven to that necessity for the defence of his cause, to send out of his realm an hosteler, being a man of no better knowledge than is a gosling, in an embassy to answer all learned men, both in the court of Rome and the emperor's court, in so difficult a question as toucheth the king's matrimony, and the divorce thereof. I say, if you were men of any reasonable consider-

ation, you might think it both unseemly and uncomely for a prince so to do. But look, where malice reigneth in men, there reason can take no place; and therefore I see by it, that you all are at a point with me, that no reason or authority can persuade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but both for your commodity and profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and send you better minds!" With these words the priest seemed to weep, and desired his Grace to pardon his fault and frailty, so that by his means he might return to his cure again, and he would sure recant those his foolish words before his parishioners so soon as he came home, and would become a new man. "Well," said the archbishop, "so had you need:" and giving him a godly admonition to refuse the haunting of the alehouse, and to bestow his time better in the continual reading of the Scriptures, he dismissed him from the Fleet.

The Lord Cromwell, perceiving within a fortnight after that his prisoner was sent home without any open punishment, came to Lambeth unto the archbishop, and in a great heat said to him, "My Lord, I understand that you have despatched the northern priest, that I of late sent to the Fleet, home again, who unhonestly railed of you, and called you an hosteler." "Indeed I have so done," said he again, "for that in his absence the people of his cure wanted their divine service." "It is very devout divine service that he saith," quoth the Lord Cromwell. "It were more meet for him to be an hosteler than a curate, who sticked not to call you an hosteler. But I thought so much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I sent him to prison. Howbeit, henceforth they shall cut your throat, before that I say any thing more to them on your behalf." "Why, what would you have done with him?" quoth the archbishop. "There was nothing laid to his charge, other than words spoken against me; and now the man is repentant and well-reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble." "Well," said my Lord Cromwell, "I meant that he should have preached at Paul's Cross a recantation before he had gone home." "That had been well done," quoth the other, "for then you would have had all the world as well to wonder at me as at him." "Well, well," said the Lord Cromwell, "we shall so long bear with these popish knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wondered at of the whole world."

This example, among others, serveth to declare that there remained small desire of revenging in the said archbishop. But what should I say more?

his quietness and mortification this way was such, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he never raged so far with any of his household servants, as once to call the meanest of them varlet or knave in anger, much less to reprove a stranger with any reproachful words. Much unlike, in this part, to the property (as it seemeth) of some other inferior bishops of this realm, which have not spared to fly in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and scourge with rods the bodies, of both gentlemen, married men, and others, having almost nothing else in their mouth, but "fools" and "knaves," &c.: and yet, after all this, think themselves good perfect bishops, after the rule which followeth and saith,

"*No striker, no fighter.*"—From which kind of vice, the nature of this archbishop was so far off, as was his doctrine which he professed, and death which he suffered, far off from all condition and example of blind popery. After the prohibition of these foresaid vices, succeedeth the mother of all good virtues necessarily required of all true Christians, but chiefly of a spiritual prelate, which is,

"*Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous,*" &c. The contrary whereof was so odious unto St. Paul, that he esteemed the same no less than a kind of idolatry, in that it maketh men forget their duty to God so far, and, instead of him, to worship their treasure. How little this prelate we speak of was infected with this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him (as well learned beyond the seas and on this side, to whom yearly he gave in exhibition no small sums of money, as others, both gentlemen, mean men, and poor men, who had in their necessity that which he could conveniently spare, lend, or make) can well testify. And albeit such was his liberality to all sorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet nevertheless such was again his circumspection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Queen Mary to the Tower, he owed no man living a penny, that could or would demand any duty of him, but satisfied every man to the uttermost: whereas no small sums of money were owing him of divers persons, which by breaking their bills and obligations he freely forgave and suppressed before his attainder. Inso-much that when he perceived the fatal end of King Edward should work to him no good success touching his body and goods, he incontinently called for his officers, his steward and others, commanding them in any wise to pay where any penny was owing, which was out of hand despatched. And then he said, "Now I thank God, I am mine own man, and in conscience, with God's help, able else

to answer all the world and worldly adversities ;” which some men suppose he might also have avoided, if he would have been counselled by some of his friends.

It followeth, moreover, “*harborous.*”—And as touching this word harborous, whereby is meant the good maintenance of hospitality ; so little was this property lacking in him, that some men, misliking the same, thought it rather a house of over-much lavishing and unprofitable expense. But as nothing can be so well done, which by some one or other shall not be maligned and detracted ; so neither did this man lack his cavillers, some finding fault with his over-much prodigality, some, on the contrary part, repining and complaining of his spare house and strait order, much under the state of his revenues and calling. Of which two, the first sort must consider the causes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of expenses ; wherein here cometh to be considered, the time wherein he served, which was when reformation of religion first began to be advanced, in which time the whole weight and care of the same most chiefly depended upon his hand ; during which season, almost for the space of sixteen years together, his house was never lightly unfurnished of a number both of learned men and commissioners, from time to time appointed for deciding of ecclesiastical affairs. And thus, as he seemed to some over-large and lavishing more than needed in hospitality ; so on the other side there wanted not some of whom he was much noted and accused again, yea, and also complained of to King Henry the Eighth, for too slender and niggardly house-keeping, as not worthy to be accounted the hospitality of a mean gentleman, as here following shall appear.

After that the ample and great possessions, revenues, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treasures of the abbeyes were dissolved and brought into the king’s hands, in the dissolving whereof many cormorants were fed and satisfied, and yet not so fully satisfied, but that within a few years they began to wax hungry again : and forasmuch as no more could be scraped now out of abbeyes, they began to seek how by some other prey to satisfy their appetites, which was to tickle the king’s ears with the rich revenue of the bishops’ lands. And to bring this device to pass, they procured Sir Thomas Seymour, knight of the privy chamber, to be a promoter of the matter ; who not in all points much favouring the archbishop, having time and a convenient occasion, declared to the king that my Lord of Canterbury did nothing else but sell his woods, and let his leases by great and many fines, making havoc of all the royalties of the archbishopric ; and that

only to the intent to gather up treasure for his wife and children, keeping no manner of hospitality, in respect of so great a revenue : advertising the king further, that it was the opinion of many wise men, that it were more meet for the bishops to have a sufficient yearly stipend in money out of the exchequer, than to be cumbered with those temporal affairs of their royalties, being impediments unto their study and pastoral charge ; and his Highness to have their lands and royalties converted to his proper use, which besides their honest stipends, would be unto his Majesty no small commodity and profit.

When the king had heard his fair tale, he said little thereunto, other than this : “ Well,” quoth he, “ we will talk more of this matter at another time.” Now, within a fortnight after, or thereabout, (whether by chance, or of set purpose, it is not known,) it came to pass, that one day when his Highness going to dinner had washed, Sir Thomas Scymour then holding the ewer, said to the said Sir Thomas, “ Go you out of hand to Lambeth, unto my Lord of Canterbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the clock at afternoon, and fail not.” Sir Thomas straightways went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate the porter being in the lodge came out, and conveyed him to the hall, which was thoroughly furnished and set, both with the household servants and strangers, with four principal head messes of officers, as daily it was accustomed to be. When Sir Thomas saw that stately large hall so well set and furnished, being therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the king before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the archbishop of Canterbury by the chapel, and not through the hall. Richard Neville, gentleman, then steward of the household, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle entertainment demanded of him whether he would speak with my Lord or no ? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the king’s Highness, saying unto him, “ and this way I am going to my Lord’s Grace.” “ Sir,” said the steward, “ you cannot go that way, for the door is fast shut, in the dinner time :” and so, by gentle means, brought him up to my Lord’s chamber through the hall, who then was at dinner : with whom he dined, after he had done his message, whose ordinary fare might always well beseem a right honourable personage. When dinner was scarce done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my Lord, and went again to the court.

So soon as the king’s Highness saw him, he said to him ; “ Have you been with my Lord of Canterbury ?” Sir Thomas answered, “ That I have, if it please your Majesty, and he will be with your

Highness straightways." "Dined you not with him?" said the king. "Yes, sir," said he, "that have I done." And with that word, whether he espied by the king's countenance, or by his words, any thing tending to displeasure, he straightway without delay kneeled down upon his knee, and said, "I beseech your Majesty to pardon me: I do now well remember and understand, that of late I told your Highness a great untruth concerning my Lord of Canterbury's housekeeping: but from henceforth I intend never to believe that person which did put that vain tale into my head; for I assure your Highness that I never saw so honourable a hall set in this realm (besides your Majesty's hall) in all my life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. If I had not seen it myself, I could never have believed it, and himself also so honourably served." "Ah sir," quoth the king's Highness, "have you now espied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had been there. He is a very varlet," quoth the king, "that told you that tale: for he spendeth, (ah, good man!)" said the king, "all that he hath in housekeeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you to whom I have liberally given of the possessions and revenues of the suppressed monasteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, so have you more unthriftilly spent, some at dice, other some in gay apparel, and other ways worse, I fear me: and now that all is gone, you would fain have me make another chivance with the bishops' lands, to accomplish your greedy appetites. But let no other bishops bestow their revenues worse than my Lord of Canterbury doth: then shall you have no cause to complain of their keeping of house."

And thus the tale being shut up, and ended by the king's Highness, neither Sir Thomas Seymour, nor any other on his behalf, ever after durst renew or revive that suit, or any more in King Henry's days; so that it may be evident to all indifferent men, the liberality of the archbishop in housekeeping what it was, which being defended and commended by the prince himself, rather may give a good example to his posterity to follow, than was then to be depraved of any private subject, such as knew him not.

In which archbishop this moreover is to be noted, with a memorandum touching the relief of the poor, impotent, sick, and such as then came from the wars at Boulogne, and other parts beyond the seas, lame, wounded, and destitute: for whom he provided, besides his mansion-house at Beaksbourne in Kent, the parsonage-barn, well furnished with certain lodgings for the sick and maimed soldiers;

to whom were also appointed the almoner, a physician, and a surgeon, to attend upon them, and to dress and cure such as were not able to resort to their countries, having daily from the bishop's kitchen hot broth and meat: for otherwise the common alms of the household was bestowed upon the poor neighbours of the shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travel, they had convenient money delivered to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place distant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here good not in silence to be suppressed, whereby others may be moved, according to their vocation, to walk in the steps of no less liberality, than in him in this behalf appeared.

Now followeth together these virtues, "*one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.*" As concerning these qualities, the trade of his life before, joined with his benign and gentle disposition, doth testify that he could not be void of these good virtues reigning in him, who was so abundantly adorned with the others, which above we have declared.

Then concludeth St. Paul with the most excellent virtue of all others to be wished in a prelate of the church. For if this constancy be not in him to this end, that is, "*to cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove them that say against it;*" if he be void (I say) of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but shall seem an idol, and a deceiver of the world. Neither shall he deserve the name of a bishop, if either for dread or meed, affection or favour, he do at any time or in any point swerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy constancy of this said archbishop never, for the most part, shrank from any manner of storm; but was so many ways tried, that neither favour of his prince, nor fear of the indignation of the same, nor any other worldly respect, could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the gospel. Notwithstanding, his constant defence of God's truth was ever joined with such meekness toward the king, that he never took occasion of offence against him.

At the time of setting forth the Six Articles, mention was made before in the story of King Henry the Eighth, how adventurously this archbishop Thomas Cranmer did oppose himself, standing, as it were, post alone, against the whole parliament, disputing and replying three days together against the said Articles: insomuch that the king, when neither he could mislike his reasons, and yet would needs have these Articles to pass, required him to absent himself for the time out of the cham-

ber, while the act should pass, and so he did; and how the king afterward sent all the lords of the parliament unto the archbishop to Lambeth to cheer his mind again, that he might not be discouraged, all which appeareth above expressed: and this was done during yet the state and time of the Lord Cromwell's authority.

And now that it may appear likewise, that after the decay of the Lord Cromwell, yet his constancy in Christ's cause did not decay, you shall hear what followeth after. For after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospel thought all things sure now on their side, it was so appointed amongst them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, came to the said archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the said archbishop. For having now the Lord Cromwell fast and sure, they thought all had been safe and sure for ever: as indeed to all men's reasonable consideration, that time appeared so dangerous, that there was no manner of hope that religion reformed should any one week longer stand, such account was then made of the king's untowardness thereunto; insomuch, that of all those commissioners there was not one left to stay on the archbishop's part, but he alone against them all stood in the defence of the truth; and those that he most trusted to, namely Bishop Heath, and Bishop Skip, left him in the plain field, who then so turned against him, that they took upon them to persuade him to their purpose; and, having him down from the rest of the commissioners into his garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of effectual persuasions entreated him to leave off his over-much constancy, and to incline unto the king's intent, who was fully set to have it otherwise than he then had penned, or meant to have set abroad.

When those two his familiars, with one or two others his friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he, little regarding their inconstancy and remissness in God's cause or quarrel, said unto them right notably, "You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles, in that sort you have devised them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his Highness by sinister information to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his Highness's mind. You be my friends both, especially the one of you I did put to his Majesty as of trust. Beware (I say) what you do. There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his

Highness by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, and then after in process of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his Highness shall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Grace's nature so well," quoth the archbishop, "that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." But all this would not serve, for they still swerved; and in the end, by discharging of his conscience and declaring the truth unto the king, God so wrought with the king, that his Highness joined with him against the rest, so that the Book of Articles passing on his side, he won the goal from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have been laid in London, that he should have been laid up with Cromwell at that time in the Tower, for his stiff standing to his tackle. After that day there could neither councillor, bishop, nor papist win him out of the king's favour.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not to be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his ancient enemy the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, attempted the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his Highness further to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that thereby might spring horrible commotions and uproars, like as in some parts of Germany it did not long ago: the enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains', had filled the whole realm full of divers pernicious heresies. The king would needs know his accusers. They answered, that forasmuch as he was a councillor, no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but, if it would please his Highness to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enow against him; for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear, "and therefore your Highness," said they, "must needs give us the counsel, liberty, and leave to commit him to durance."

The king, perceiving their importunate suit against the archbishop, (but yet meaning not to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands,) granted unto them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When night came, the king sent Sir Anthony Denny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop,

willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himself to the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked, and tarried for him, his Highness said, "Ah, my Lord of Canterbury! I can tell you news. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me, and the council, that you to-morrow, at nine of the clock, shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm, such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no small contentions and commotions will rise thereby amongst my subjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of Germany: and therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower, or else no man dare come forth as witness in these matters, you being a councillor."

When the king had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled down and said, "I am content, if it please your Grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your Highness's commandment. And I most humbly thank your Majesty that I may come to my trial; for there be that have many ways slandered me; and now this way I hope to try myself not worthy of such report."

The king, perceiving the man's uprightness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord, what manner of man be you! What simplicity is in you! I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such endurance. Do you not know, what state you be in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is, to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Think you to have better luck that way, than your Master Christ had? I see by it you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding to-morrow, when the council shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a councillor, that you may have your accusers brought before them, and that you may answer their accusations before them, without any further endurance, and use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no entreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring," (which then the king

delivered unto the archbishop,) "and say unto them, 'If there be no remedy, my Lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person by this his token unto you all,' for" (said the king then unto the archbishop) "so soon as they shall see this my ring, they know it so well, that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof."

The archbishop, perceiving the king's benignity so much to him-wards, had much ado to forbear tears. "Well," said the king, "go your ways, my Lord, and do as I have bidden you." My Lord, humbling himself with thanks, took his leave of the king's Highness for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the council sent a gentleman-usher for the archbishop, who when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in; but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the pages, lackeys, and serving-men all alone. Dr. Butts the king's physician resorting that way, and espying how my Lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the king's Highness, and said, "My Lord of Canterbury, if it please your Grace, is well promoted; for now he is become a lackey or a serving-man: for yonder he hath stood this half-hour at the council-chamber door amongst them." "It is not so," quoth the king, "I trow; the council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone," said the king, "and we shall hear more soon."

Anon the archbishop was called into the council-chamber, to whom was alleged, as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort as the king had advised him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion or entreaty could serve, he delivered them the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. The whole council being thereat somewhat amazed, the earl of Bedford with a loud voice, confirming his words with a solemn oath, said, "When you first began this matter, my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the king will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him." And so incontinently upon the receipt of the king's token, they all arose, and carried the king his ring, surrendering that matter, as the order and use was, into his own hands.

When they were all come to the king's presence, his Highness with a severe countenance said unto

them, "Ah, my Lords! I thought I had had wiser men of my council than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate

of the realm, and one of you in office, to wait at the council-chamber door amongst serving-men? You might have considered that he was a councillor as



well as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should try him as a councillor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I do you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may be beholden unto his subject, [and so, solemnly laying his hand upon his breast, said,] by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my Lord of Canterbury, to be of all other a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden;" giving him great commendations otherwise. And with that one or two of the chiefest of the council, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his endurance, it was rather meant for his trial, and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my Lords," quoth the king, "take him and well use him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado." And with that every man caught him by the hand, and

made fair weather of altogether, which might easily be done with that man.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go so far with him, thus to seek his undoing, understanding this well before, that the king most entirely loved him, and always would stand in his defence, whosoever spake against him; as many other times the king's patience was by sinister informations against him tried. Insomuch that the Lord Cromwell was evermore wont to say unto him, "My Lord of Canterbury, you are most happy of all men; for you may do and speak what you list: and, say what all men can against you, the king will never believe one word to your detriment or hinderance. I am sure I take more pains than all the council doth, and spend more largely in the king's affairs, as well beyond the seas, as on this side, yea, I assure you, even very spies in other foreign realms, at Rome and elsewhere, cost me above one thousand marks a year: and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the commodity of the king and the realm, I am every day chidden, and many false

tales now and then believed against me ; and therefore you are most happy, for in no point can you be discredited with the king." To this the archbishop again answering, "If the king's Majesty were not good to me that way, I were not able to stand and endure one whole week ; but your wisdom and policy is such, that you are able to shift well enough for yourself."

Now when the king's Highness had thus benignly and mercifully despatched the said archbishop from this sore accusation by the council laid against him, all wise men would have thought that it had been mere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter against him : but yet look, where malice reigneth, there neither reason nor honesty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancour and displeasure against him, ceased not to persecute him by all possible means. Then brought they against him a new kind of accusation, and caused Sir John Gostwike, knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuse the archbishop openly in the parliament house, laying to his charge his sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein should be contained manifest heresies against the sacrament of the altar, &c. : which accusation came to the king's ear. "Why," quoth the king, "where dwelleth Gostwike ? As I take it, either in Bedfordshire or Buckinghamshire : and hath he so open an ear that he can hear my Lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent ? This is very likely," said the king. "If he had been a Kentish man, there had been something worthy of consideration ; but as for Gostwike, I know him well enough, and what good religion he is of. Go to him and tell him," said the king to one of his privy chamber, "if he go not to my Lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself to him, that he may become his good lord, I will pull the gosling's feathers so, that hereafter he shall have little lust to slander the metropolitan, or any other learned man." When Sir John Gostwike heard these words, it was no need to bid him haste himself to Lambeth unto the metropolitan, making to him as many friends as possibly he might. When he came to the archbishop he was fain to disclose unto him, by what means he was procured to do that he did, requesting his clemency to be his good lord, or else he took himself utterly undone, being so in the king's indignation, as he understood he was by that afore declared ; which suit was soon won at his hand. And so the archbishop, casting into the satchel behind him all those Sir John Gostwike's ingratitude, went to the king, and won to Sir John his prince's favour again. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation. A. D. 1544.

Well, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the wisest way to work, to procure a stranger dwelling afar off, to accuse the archbishop of his doctrine preached in his diocese ; and therefore hath blind malice learned some more wisdom now to accuse their archbishop in such sort as he shall never be able to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire, should accuse him, and article against him ; which in very deed was most substantially brought to pass, and the articles, both well written and subscribed, were delivered to the king's Highness, as a thing of such effect, that there must needs follow to the said archbishop both indignation of the prince, and condign punishment for his grievous offence committed by him and his chaplains, in preaching such erroneous doctrine as they did within his diocese of Canterbury, whereof they being such witnesses of credit, no man had cause to doubt of their circumspect doings. This accusation, particularly set out, was delivered to the king by some of the council's means. When the king had perused the book, he wrapt it up, and put it in his sleeve ; and finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his barge furnished with his musicians along by Lambeth bridge towards Chelsea. The noise of the musicians provoked the archbishop to resort to the bridge to do his duty, and to salute his prince : whom when the king had perceived to stand at the bridge, eftsoons he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge. "Ah, my chaplain !" said the king to the archbishop, "come into the barge to me." The archbishop declared to his Highness, that he would take his own barge and wait upon his Majesty. "No," said the king, "you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you." When the king and the archbishop, all alone in the barge, were set together, said the king to the archbishop, "I have news out of Kent for you, my Lord." The archbishop answered, "Good, I hope, if it please your Highness." "Marry," said the king, "they be so good, that I now know the greatest heretic in Kent ;" and with that pulled out of his sleeve the book of articles against both the said archbishop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, willing him to peruse the same. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so uncourteously handled of his own church whereof he was head, (I mean of the prebendaries of his cathedral church, and of such his neighbours as he had many ways gratified, I mean the justices of the peace,) it much grieved him ; notwithstanding

he kneeled down to the king, and besought his Majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his Highness, for them to try out the truth of this accusation. "In very deed," said the king, "I do so mean; and you yourself shall be chief commissioner, to adjoin to you such two or three more as you shall think good yourself." "Then it will be thought," quoth the archbishop to the king, "that it is not indifferent, if it please your Grace, that I should be mine own judge, and my chaplains' also." "Well," said the king, "I will have none other but yourself, and such as you will appoint: for I am sure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuse yourself. And I know partly how this gear proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wisely, you shall find a pretty conspiracy devised against you." "Whom will you have with you?" said the king. "Whom it shall please your Grace to name," quoth the archbishop. "I will appoint Dr. Belhouse for one, name you the other," said the king, "meet for that purpose." "My chancellor, Dr. Coxe, and Hussey, my registrar," said the archbishop, "are men expert to examine such troublesome matters." "Well," said the king, "let there be a commission made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertise me of your doings."

They came into Kent, and there they sat about three weeks to bolt out who was the first occasion of this accusation; for thereof the king would chiefly be advertised. Now the inquisition being begun by the commissioners, every man shrunk in his horns, and no man would confess any thing to the purpose: for Dr. Coxe and Hussey, being friendly unto the papists, handled the matter so, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being well perceived by one of the archbishop's servants, his secretary, he wrote incontinently unto Dr. Butts and Master Denny, declaring that if the king's Majesty did not send some other to assist my Lord, than those that then were there with him, it were not possible that any thing should come to light: and therefore wished that Dr. Lee, or some other stout man that had been exercised in the king's ecclesiastical affairs in his visitations, might be sent to the archbishop. Upon these letters Dr. Lee was sent for to York by the king, and having the king's further mind declared unto him, when he came to the court, he resorted incontinently into Kent, so that on All-hallow even he delivered to the archbishop the king's ring, with a declaration of his Highness's further pleasure: and by and by upon his message done, he appointed the archbishop aforesaid to name him a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, such as had both discretion, wit, and audacity, to

whom he gave in commission from the king, to search both the purses, chests, and chambers of all those that were deemed or suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and such letters or writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbishop and him.

These men thus appointed, went in one hour and instant to the person's houses and places, that they were appointed unto; and within four hours afterwards the whole conspiracy was disclosed by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London at Oxford, and from justices of the shire, with others; so that the first beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire were also searched, where also were found letters serving to this purpose. Amongst all others came to my Lord's hands two letters, one of the suffragan of Dover, and another of Dr. Barber, a civilian, whom continually the archbishop retained with him in household for expedition of matters in suit before him, as a counsellor in the law when need required. These two men being well promoted by the archbishop, he used ever in such familiarity, that when the suffragan, being a prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he always set him at his own mess, and the other never from his table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort, when time of care and pensiveness chanced. But that which they did was altogether counterfeit, and the devil was turned into the angel of light, for they were both of this confederacy.

When my Lord had gotten these their letters into his hands, he on a day, when it chanced the suffragan to come to him to his house at Beaksbourne, called to him into his study the said suffragan of Dover and Dr. Barber, saying, "Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter." When they were with him in his study all together, he said to them, "You twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust: you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused with one or twain to whom I have showed all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as myself. The matter is so now fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy, and are become witnesses against me. I require you therefore, of your good advice, how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I always have used when I needed counsel. What say you to the matter?" quoth the archbishop. "Mar-

ry," quoth Dr. Barber, "such villains and knaves (saving your Honour) were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law." "Hanging were too good," quoth the suffragan, "and it there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myself." At these words, the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, "O Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days? it is most true which is said, *Maledictus qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem brachium suum*. There was never man handled as I am: but, O Lord, thou hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and master, [meaning the king,] without whose protection I were not able to stand upright one day unoverthrown, I praise thy holy name there-for!" And with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and said, "Know ye these letters, my masters?" With that they fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how they a year before were tempted to do the same; and so, very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his Grace to pardon and forgive them. "Well," said the gentle archbishop, "God make you both good men! I never deserved this at your hands: but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now that there is no fidelity or trust amongst men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercy to finish that time shortly." And so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words, in such sort that never after appeared in his countenance or words any remembrance thereof.

Now, when all those letters and accusations were found, they were put into a chest, the king's Majesty minding to have perused some of them, and to have partly punished the principals of it. The chest and writings were brought to Lambeth, at what time began the parliament. Lord, what ado there was to procure the king's subsidy, to the intent that thereupon might ensue a pardon, which indeed followed; and so nothing was done, other than their falsehood known. This was the last push of the pike that was inferred against the said archbishop in King Henry the Eighth's days; for never after durst any man move matter against him in his time.

And thus have ye both the working and disclosing of this popish conspiracy against this worthy archbishop and martyr of Christ, Thomas Cranmer.

In the which conspiracy, for so much as complaint was also made unto the king of his chaplains and good preachers in Kent, it shall not be out of the story something likewise to touch thereof, especially of Richard Turner, then preacher the same time in this archbishop's diocese, and curate to Master Morice the archbishop's secretary, in the town of Chatham, by whose diligent preaching a great part of this heart-burning of the papists took its first kindling against the archbishop. Touching the description of which story, because by me nothing shall be said either more or less than is the truth, ye shall hear the very certainty thereof truly compiled in a letter sent the same time to Dr. Buts and Sir Anthony Denny, to be showed unto the king; and so it was, written by the foresaid Master Morice, secretary then to the archbishop, farmer of the same benefice of Chatham, and patron to Master Turner, there minister and preacher aforesaid.

A letter or apology of Master Morice, sent to Sir William Buts and Sir Anthony Denny, defending the cause of Master Richard Turner, preacher, against the papists, written A. D. 1544.

[The letter first beginneth in these words, "I am certain, right worshipful, that it is not unknown to your discreet wisdom," &c. And after a few lines, coming to the matter, thus the said letter proceedeth:—]

"As your Worships well know, it was my chance to be brought up under my Lord of Canterbury, my master, in writing of the ecclesiastical affairs of this realm, as well touching reformation of corrupt religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and sincere religion received by the doctrine of the gospel; which I take to be so substantially handled and builded upon the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, that hell-gates shall never prevail against it. The consideration whereof compelled me, being a farmer of the parsonage of Chatham in Kent, to retain with me one named Master Richard Turner, a man not only learned in the Scriptures of God, but also in conversation of life towards the world irreprehensible, whom for discharging of my conscience I placed at Chatham aforesaid, to be curate there. This man, because he was a stranger in the country there, and so thereby void of grudge or displeasure of any old rancour in the country, I thought it had been a mean to have gotten him the better credit in his doctrine; but, where malice once taketh fire against truth, no policy I see is able to quench it. Well, this man, as he knew what appertained to his office, so he spared not weekly, both Sundays and holidays, to

open the gospel and epistle unto his audience after such a sort, (when occasion served,) that as well by his vehement inveighing against the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority, as in the earnest setting forth and advancing of the king's Majesty's supremacy, innumerable of the people of the country resorting unto his sermons, changed their opinions, and favoured effectually the religion received. The confluence of the people so daily increased, that the church being a fair, ample, and large church, was not now and then able to receive the number. The fame of this new instruction of the people was so blazed abroad, that the popish priests were wonderfully amazed and displeased to see their pope so to be defaced, and their prince so highly advanced.

"Now, thought they, it is high time for us to work, or else all will here be utterly lost by this man's preaching: some of them went with capons, some with hens, some with chickens, some with one thing, some with another, unto the justices, such as then favoured their cause and faction, and such as are no small fools, as Sir John Baker, Sir Christopher Hales, Sir Thomas Moile, knights; with other justices. The prebendaries of Christ's church in Canterbury were made privy hereof, giving their succour and aid thereunto: so that, in conclusion, poor Turner, and other preachers, were grievously complained of unto the king's Majesty. Whereupon my Lord of Canterbury, and certain other commissioners, were appointed at Lambeth to sit upon the examination of these seditious preachers. Howbeit, before Turner went up to his examination, I obtained of Sir Thomas Moile, that he in Easter week was content to hear Turner preach a rehearsal sermon in his parish church at Westwell, of all the doctrine of his sermons preached at his cure in Chatham: which he most gently granting, heard Turner both before noon and afternoon on the Wednesday in Easter week last past, and (as it seemed) took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his said cure with gentle and favourable words. I supposed by this means to have stayed Master Turner at home from further examination, hoping that Sir Thomas Moile would have answered for him at Lambeth before the commissioners. Notwithstanding, after Master Moile's coming to London, such information was laid in against Turner, that he was sent for to make answer himself before the said commissioners; and there appearing before them, he made such an honest, perfect, and learned answer unto the articles objected, that he was with a good exhortation discharged home again, without any manner of recantation or other injunction.

"Now when the pope-catholic clergy of Kent understood of his coming home without controlment, so that he preached as freely as he did before, against their blind and dumb ceremonies, straight-way by the help of the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, they found a new means to put him to utter confusion, devising that he came home from examination in such glorious pomp by the highway's side in the woods adjoining, that five hundred persons met him then with banqueting dishes to welcome him home, stirring the people rather to an uproar and commotion, than to keep them in any quiet obedience: when in very deed, contrary to this surmise, (as God would,) on this side Rochester a mile or two, for avoiding all such light and glorious talk with any his familiars or acquaintance, he of purpose left the high-way, and came through the woods all alone above eighteen miles together on foot, so wearied and meagred for want of sustenance, that when he came into my house at Chatham, he was not well able to stand or speak for faintness and thirst.

"This malicious tale being reported to the king's Highness, his Majesty was so sore aggrieved therewith, that he sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to cause Turner to be whipt out of the country; by means whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury sent again for Turner. I, hearing thereof, made incontinently report by my letters, with such vehemency proving it mere malice, that the archbishop understanding the truth, pacified again the king's Majesty's wrath. Home cometh Turner once again to his cure without blot; which so wrung the papists, in that they could not prevail, that they thought it all in vain any further to attempt against him concerning any accusation for matters in Kent, the archbishop of Canterbury being his ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undischarged. Then was there one new matter devised, how that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that he had both translated the mass into English, and said, or ministered the same, and that he had preached against purgatory, pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c.: by means whereof, he was now convented before the whole council by the bishop of Winchester, who sent Syriake Petite, gentleman, for him, who brought him up to London bound, (as I heard say,) and being examined before the said bishop of Winchester and others, he was committed to ward for a season. In the which mean time, (the archbishop of Canterbury being in Kent, about the trial of a conspiracy purposed against himself by the justices of the shire and the prebendaries of Christ's church,)

Turner is now sent down to the archbishop, to the intent he should recant that doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had preached, to the utter subversion and defacing of all that he had most godly and earnestly here in Kent taught both to the glory of God, and the furtherance and setting forth of the king's Highness's proceedings. If his Majesty will thus permit learned honest men thus daily to be overcrowded and trodden under-foot with a sort of tyrannous, or rather traitorous papists, (who cannot abide to hear his Majesty's supremacy advanced, nor the sincere word of God preached,) it were better for men to dwell amongst the infidels and miscreants than in England.

"What reason is this, that Turner should recant here in Kent the doctrine which in other countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing most desperately of five hundred men's consciences and above, (I dare say,) who lately, by his sincere preaching, have embraced a right good opinion both of the king's supremacy, and also of the reformed religion received? All good subjects may well lament the king's Majesty's estate in this behalf, that no man may dare to be so bold to advance his Highness's title, but that every ignorant and malicious papist shall spurn against him, seeking his utter undoing, and that by the aid of papistical justices set in authority. I beseech your Worships to pardon me of my rude and homely terms. They herein deserve worse, if worse may be devised: for what honest man can bear with this, that so noble a prince's ears shall be thus impudently abused with manifest lies and fables as this one is, of Turner's coming home in such a triumph as they craftily and falsely had devised? It is easily to be spied what they mean and go about, that (the prince being alive) dare take in hand so uncourtously to abuse both the gentle nature of the prince, and his godly preacher, the advancer and extoller of his just authority.

"What think your Worships they would attempt, if his Majesty were at God's mercy, (as God forefend that ever any of us should see that day, without better reformation,) that can thus dally with his Highness, blinding his eyes with mists, whilst he liveth and reigneth amongst us in most prosperity? As for my Lord of Canterbury, he dare nothing do for the poor man's delivery, he hath done so much for him already. And his Grace hath told me plainly, that it is put into the king's head, that he is the maintainer and supporter of all the heretics within the realm; nor will he permit me or my neighbours to resort unto the council for his purification while he was at Chatham; saving only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become

a suitor in writing to my friends and good masters in the court, for his delivery. And therefore it is, right worshipful, that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to discourse and open our misery unto you concerning the extreme handling of this honest poor man, Master Turner; that if it may possibly be brought to pass by your godly wisdom, the poor man may be released and discharged of his recantation. You cannot do to God and your prince a more acceptable service in my poor opinion; for otherwise, if he should be driven to recant, (as I am sure he will sooner die,) both God's cause and the king's shall suffer no small detriment amongst his poor loving subjects here. For if there be no better stay for the maintenance of these godly preachers, the king's authority concerning his supremacy shall lie post alone, hidden in the act of parliament, and not in the hearts of his subjects.

"If they can bring to pass that Turner may recant, to the defacing of his good doctrine preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travailed: and yet in effect shall not Turner recant, but King Henry the Eighth, in Turner's person, shall most odiously recant, to the wounding of all men's consciences here. If the king's Majesty do not esteem his authority given to his Highness by God's word and his parliament, it were well done, that the preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people thereof, rather than thus to be tossed and turmoiled for doing their duties, by the members of antichrist.

"And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever slander Turner's doctrine here, they have indicted him for offending against the Six Articles, this last sessions, by the witness of two papists of the parish of Chatham, his utter enemies, Sanders and Brown by name, for a sermon preached at Chatham on Passion Sunday, which chanced on St. Gregory's even, they both being absent that day at Wye Fair, as it is well proved, namely, for that he preached against the mass: saying, that our Saviour Christ was the only sole priest which sung mass on the altar of the cross, there sacrificing for the sins of the world once for ever; and that all other masses were but remembrances and thanksgiving for that one sacrifice: or such words in effect.

"Wherefore, to conclude, right worshipful, knowing your godly zeals, as well towards the preferment of sincere religion, as your no less affection towards the king's Majesty's person and his godly proceedings, I most humbly beseech you, in the bowels of our Saviour Christ, so to ponder the weighty consideration of the premises, as by your travails unto the king's Majesty or to the honour-

able council, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towards the observation of the law of God and the prince through Turner's godly persuasions, may receive from your Worships some comfortable words of his deliverance, or else certainly many an honest and simple man, lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away desperately from the same, not without danger of their souls. In accomplishing whereof your Worships shall not only do unto Almighty God and the prince most true and acceptable service, but also bind the said Master Turner, with all others to whom this cause doth appertain, both daily to pray for your prosperities; and also to be at your commandments during their lives.—From Canterbury the 2d day of November.

“Your Worships' evermore at commandment,
R. MORICE.”

And thus much containeth the letter sent (as is said) by Master Morice to Dr. Buts and Sir Anthony Denny. Now, what success and speed this letter had, it followeth to be declared. For Dr. Buts, the king's physician aforesaid, after the receipt of these letters, considering the weighty contents of the same, as he was ever a forward friend in the gospel's cause, so he thought not to foreslack this matter to the uttermost of his diligence; and so spying his time, when the king was trimming and in washing, (as his manner was at certain times to call for his barber,) Dr. Buts (whose manner was at such times ever to be present, and with some pleasant conceits to refresh and solace the king's mind) brought with him in his hand this letter. The king asking what news, Dr. Buts pleasantly and merrily beginneth to insinuate unto the king the effect of the matter, and so, at the king's commandment, read out the letter; which when the king had heard, and paused a little with himself upon the same, he commanded again the letter to be read unto him: the hearing and consideration whereof so altered the king's mind, that whereas before he commanded the said Turner to be whipped out of the country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithful subject. And here of that matter an end.

Let us now return to the archbishop again; who although he was compassed about (as is said) with mighty enemies and by many crafty trains impugned, yet, through God's more mighty providence working in the king's heart so to favour him, he rubbed out all King Henry's time without blemish or foil, by means of the king's supportation; who not only defended the said archbishop against all his conspired adversaries, but also extended such special favour unto him in such sort, that he being not ig-

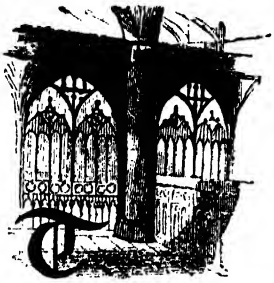
norant of his wife, whom he had married before at Nuremburg, (being niece to the wife of Osiander,) keeping her all the Six Articles' time contrary to the law, notwithstanding, he both permitted the same, and kept his counsel.

Then after the death of King Henry, immediately succeeded his son King Edward, under whose government and protection the state of this archbishop, being his godfather, was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this mean time of King Henry aforesaid, until the entering of King Edward, it seemed that Cranmer was scarcely yet thoroughly persuaded in the right knowledge of the sacrament, or at least, was not yet fully ripened in the same; wherein shortly after he, being more groundedly confirmed by conference with Bishop Ridley, in process of time did so profit in more ripe knowledge, that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down first the corporal presence; secondly, the phantastical transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the papists, that wicked men do eat the natural body of Christ; and lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five books for the public instruction of the Church of England, which instruction yet to this day standeth, and is received in this Church of England.

Against these five books of the archbishop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy to Christ and his gospel, being then in the Tower, slubbered up a certain answer, such as it was, which he in open court exhibited up at Lambeth, being there examined by the archbishop aforesaid, and other the king's commissioners in King Edward's days, which book was intituled, An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith, touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with a Confutation of a Book written against the same.

Against this explication, or rather a cavilling sophistication of Stephen Gardiner, doctor of law, the archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replying again, maketh answer, which also he published abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men in print. All which writings and books as well of the one part as of the other, our present story would require here to be inferred, but because to prosecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a small room, and may make too long tarriance in our story, it shall therefore be best to put off the same unto the place of the appendix following, wherein (the Lord willing) we intend to close up both these and divers other treatises of these learned martyrs, as to this our story shall appertain.



he unquiet spirit of Stephen Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this thrusteth out another book in Latin of the like popish argument, but after another title,

named "Marcus Antonius Constantinus," whereunto first the archbishop again intending a full confutation, had already absolved three parts of his answer lying in prison, of the which parts two perished in Oxford; the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall see good. Also Bishop Ridley, lying likewise the same time in prison, having there the said book of Marcus Antonius, for lack of pen and paper, with a lead of a window, in the margin of the book wrote annotations, as straitness of time would serve him, in refutation of the same book. And finally, because these worthy martyrs had neither liberty nor leisure to go through with that travail, that which lacked in them, for accomplishment of that behalf, was supplied shortly after by Peter Martyr, who abundantly and substantially hath overthrown that book in his learned defense of the right truth, against the false sophistication of Marcus Antonius aforesaid.

Besides these books above cited of this archbishop, divers other things there were also of his doing, as the Book of Reformation, the Catechism, with the Book of Homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and published. Whereunto also may be adjoined another writing or confutation of his against eighty-eight articles by the convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign and time of King Henry the Eighth. And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travails of this archbishop of Canterbury, during the lives both of King Henry and of King Edward his son: which two kings so long as they continued, this archbishop lacked no stay of maintenance against all his maligners.

Afterward, this King Edward, a prince of most worthy towardness, falling sick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to popish religion, bequeathed the succession of the realm to the Lady Jane, (a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being niece to King Henry

the Eighth by his sister,) by consent of all the council and lawyers of this realm. To this testament of the king's, when all the nobles of the realm, states and judges, had subscribed; they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe. But he excusing himself on this manner, said, that it was otherwise in the testament of King Henry his father, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary, as then the next heir; by which oath he was so bound, that without manifest perjury he could not go from it. The council answered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had consciences as well as he; and moreover, that they were sworn to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more peril of perjury than the rest. To this the archbishop answered, that he was judge of no man's conscience but his own: and therefore, as he would not be prejudicial to others, so he would not commit his conscience unto other men's facts, or cast himself into danger, seeing that every man should give account of his own conscience, and not of other men's. And as concerning subscription, before he had spoken with the king himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The king therefore, being demanded of the archbishop concerning this matter, said, that the nobles and lawyers of the realm counselled him unto it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could nothing let, but that this Lady Jane might succeed him as heir, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their queen. Who then demanding leave of the king, that he might first talk with certain lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed that by law of the realm it might be so, returning to the king, with much ado he subscribed.

Well, not long after this King Edward died, A. D. 1553, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity, of the whole realm. After his decease immediately it was commanded that the Lady Jane, which was unwilling thereunto, should be proclaimed queen: which thing much misliked the common people, not that they did so much favour Mary, before whom they saw the Lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived against some, whom they could not favour.

Besides this, other causes there happened also of discord between the nobles and the commons the same time: for what injuries of commons and enclosures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that Mary, hearing of the death of her brother, and shifting for herself, was so as-

sisted by the commons, that eftsoons she prevailed ; who, being established in the possession of the realm, not long after came to London ; and after she had caused first the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland and the duke of Suffolk, to be executed, (as is above remembered,) likewise she caused the Lady Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent from this crime, after she could by no means be turned from the constancy of her faith, together with her husband, to be beheaded.

The rest of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted ; who, though he desired pardon, (by means of his friends,) could obtain none, insomuch that the queen would not once vouchsafe to see him : for as yet the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion changed ; all which was imputed to the archbishop, as the cause thereof.

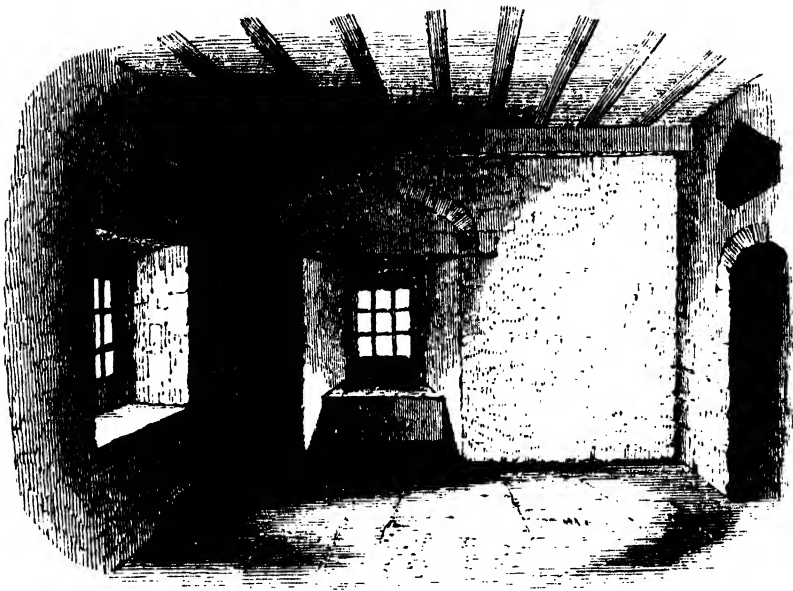
While these things were in doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbishop, to curry favour with the queen, had promised to say a dirige mass after the old custom, for the funeral of King Edward her brother : neither wanted there some which reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury ; which mass indeed was said by Dr. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking speedily to stay, gave forth a writing of his purgation : the tenor whereof being before expressed, I need not here again to recite. This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Master Story, bishop then of Rochester, who, after he had read and perused the same, required of the archbishop to have a copy of the bill. The archbishop when he had granted and permitted the same to Master Story, by the occasion thereof Master Story lending it to some friend of his, there were divers copies taken out thereof, and the thing published abroad among the common people ; insomuch that every scrivener's shop almost was occupied in writing and copying out the same : and so at length some of these copies coming to the bishops' hands, and so brought to the council, and they sending it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and so he commanded to appear. Whereupon Dr. Cranmer, at his day prefixed, appeared before the said commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop of the queen's privy council, being one of the said commissioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the bill, "My Lord," said he, "there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again : we doubt

not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad." To whom the archbishop answered again, saying, "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so must I confess here unto you, concerning the same bill, that I am sorry that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did ; for when I had written it, Master Story got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad ; and, as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry, that it so passed my hands ; for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto." At which words, when they saw the constantness of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at that present to say unto him, but that shortly he should hear further.

The said bishop declared afterwards to one of Dr. Cranmer's friends, that notwithstanding his attainder of treason, the queen's determination at that time was, that Cranmer should only have been deprived of his archbishopric, and have had a sufficient living assigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of religion. But how true that was, I have not to say. This is certain, that not long after this, he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned of treason. Notwithstanding the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and specially, seeing he last of all others subscribed to King Edward's request, and that against his own will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresy ; which liked the archbishop right well, and came to pass as he wished, because the cause was not now his own, but Christ's ; not the queen's, but the church's.

Thus stood the cause of Cranmer ; till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be removed from the Tower where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And privily word was sent before to them of Oxford, to prepare themselves, and make them ready to dispute. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded before, what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest show of disputation, the murder of the man might be covered : neither could their hasty speed of revengement abide any long delay ; and therefore in all haste he was carried to Oxford.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions and reasons on



ROOM IN THE TOWER WHERE CRANMER WAS IMPRISONED.

both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university and the prolocutor, because sufficiently it hath been declared, we mind now therefore to proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was the twelfth day of September, anno 1555, and seven days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer, as is above foretouched. The story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who, being both present thereat, and also a devout favourer of the sec and faction of Rome, can lack no credit, I trow, with such which seek what they can to discredit whatsoever maketh not with their phantasied religion of Rome.

This one thing by the way let us consider : how unjustly these three poor prisoned bishops were handled, which when they were compelled to dispute, yet were not suffered to speak, but at their adversary's appointment. And if they began to make any preface, or to speak somewhat largely for themselves, by and by were commanded from the high chair of Master Prolocutor, to go to the matter. If they prosecuted their arguments anything narrowly, straightway they heard, "Short arguments, Master Doctor ! short arguments, Master Doctor !" In fine, what the equity of theologians was, and what was the end of the disputation, it needeth not now to be repeated, being already set

forth at large. To conclude, whereas three questions were appointed to be disputed upon, and the divines had scarce disputed with the archbishop of one of them, by and by they condemned him as convicted in all three ; and, so condemned, they carried him to prison with a great number of spearmen and billmen. And thus was Cranmer vanquished, convicted, and condemned.

What remaineth now, but that in praise of these divines, these noble conquerors with their prolocutor, we must sing this noble anthem of victory, *Vicit veritas*,—"The truth hath the upper hand : " for so the prolocutor, when the disputation was ended, commanded all men to cry. O victorious and triumphant conquerors ! Well, if these glorious champions cannot come down from the stage without a triumph of their victory, I will tell them (if they will give me leave) *what* had there the upper hand : *Vicit insania. Vis vicit et tumultus*. Madness, fury, tumult, with flattery and violence, won the field : and to speak most modestly, not the *truth*, but the *time* had the victory. For else, if they had gotten this conquest not by the time, but by their own puissance, in the time of King Edward, when liberty was given to all men to show learning and truth, where did this marvellous learning of these divines then appear ? where was this triumphant chariot of their glory, and this conquering verity ? Why did none of you come forth in

those times, which would take the weapon in hand? Where was this ruffling prolocutor, with his jug at his elbow?

Moreover there is extant yet, and was then abroad in men's hands, Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, against Winchester, wherein the matter itself doth plainly cry, and always will cry, "The truth hath won." Why do you not here, you worthy warriors! fight hand to hand in open field, and prove in the face of the whole world, that your truth hath got the upper hand? The truth, as you say, doth overcome: but error doth more oftentimes overcome; and more often the greater part overcometh the lesser; but this way that you use, is not to win but to oppress. And yet truth doth win sometimes, but by favouring and suffering; not by drinking, by indifferent reasons, nor by exclamations: it winneth by virtue and time; not by violence and improbity. Finally truth so winneth, that she trumpeth forth no praise of her victory, neither setteth up her comb; but is always merciful and joined with gentleness; and never more gentle, than when she winneth most. Contrariwise, nothing is more cruel, nothing more intolerable, than error and violence. So did the high priests and Pharisees overcome Christ and crucify him; contrariwise, Christ, rising again into eternal victory, overcometh, and freely offereth salvation to his enemies. The same example the persecutions of the apostles and martyrs of all times do follow. So many years was Christianity oppressed under the Jews and heathen men; but when the truth of the gospel had the upper hand, who ever heard that the Jews and heathen were slain of them? For this is the nature and disposition of God's truth, that when it overcometh, the victory is healthful to all men, hurtful to none; and not very grievous to them that are overcome.

And thus much concerning this matter, as touching Dr. Cranmer. And because this story presently concerneth him, let us prosecute the same, of whom we have hitherto discoursed already; first his parentage, his bringing up and education in learning; also his laborious and diligent study at the university; his travail in the cause of the king's divorce; and after, how he was promoted by the said king to be archbishop. Then, after the decease of King Edward, of his imprisonment, and sending to Oxford, and of his disputations there.

Now, after these things thus declared, concerning his outward doings, it shall seem no less requisite likewise to consider somewhat touching those things which nature inwardly ingrafted in the manners and disposition of that man, of whom many domestical examples of virtue may be taken; as first, of the meekness and mildness of his nature,

which in such a dignity the more rare it is among many, the more commendable it may seem in him. But especially from greedy avarice he was so far, that as money never mastered him, so he never lacked that which was necessary; and as he was never greedy, so he was never needy; in adversity constant, in prosperity again no less liberal, as by examples in him may well be testified—as when at Canterbury his house was on fire, the great adversity did not a little discourage him, that when he had great riches and much substance consumed, he was nothing therewith dismayed, but when others ran about amazedly, he did but quietly, without sign of grief, go up and down advising men to beware of taking any harm. Neither appeared any less constancy in him when his second and last house was on fire, the house of his own body, where he lost not only his goods, but life and all!

And as in his adversity he ever showed himself constant and like himself, so in prosperity he was no less free and bountiful, which virtue so flowed in him toward all men, especially towards the maintenance of learned men and of schools, that when, after the receipt of his rents, there came to him certain good men to receive his reward for poor scholars, he used to deliver the first bag that came to his hand without choosing or counting, &c.; well observing therein the rule of God's law, Exodus xxii., and the prophet Malachi, chap. iii., where we are willed willingly to tithe unto the poor of all that which we receive at the hands of God, whose example after the rule of God's commandment, if men now-a-days would follow, not only the poor should better be provided for, but also the wealth of the rich should many times both increase the rather, and continue the longer. For as all increase of things dependeth upon God's blessing above, so many times it happeneth that St. Augustine saith: that he oftentimes loseth nine parts, which refuseth to give the tenth. And how can he require much to be given him of God, who for God grudgeth to give again a little?

Again, as he was no niggard abroad, so he was no less liberal in his housekeeping at home. Besides these and other virtues in him, what should I speak of his painful and indefatigable study at his book, who, rising many times at two or three of the clock in the morning, parted almost no less part of the night to his study than to his sleep. In judging of causes circumspect, and such as no bribes could corrupt in ministering justice: or if he were at any time more sharp and rigorous to any, it was more by other men's setting on, than by himself.

Among many things which we have spoken of concerning that man, this is moreover to be

that in King Henry's time, at the oppression of the good Lord Cromwell, it was also appointed and fully determined, that Cranmer the same time should be committed to prison; which thing indeed had so happened, had he not in time prevented the fraudulent circumvention of his enemies, which stood waiting for him at the common stairs or court-gate; but he, preventing the matter, suddenly shot into the privy stair, and so entered to the king's speech, and there upon his knees lamentably declared his innocency in the matter, desiring the king that he might not be condemned before he were suffered to purge himself according as he was promised by the king at his first entering to his office. Whereupon the king granted his request, and delivered him his signet from off his finger, commanding him notwithstanding to make his appearance before the council, and to hear all such matter as they charged him withal: which being done, if they would needs commit him, then to show the said signet, in certifying them of the king's pleasure to the contrary. And thus escaped he that present danger.

The saying is constantly affirmed of divers, that the said archbishop, with the Lord Wriothesley, kneeling and weeping at the king's bed-side, saved the life of Queen Mary, daughter to the princess dowager, divorced as is aforesaid from the king, whose determination then was to have off her head, for certain causes of stubbornness, had not the intercession and great persuasion of this archbishop come betwixt: whereupon the king afterward, speaking of the said archbishop, (whom commonly he called his priest,) said that he made intercession for her, which would his destruction, and would trouble them all. What recompence the queen rendered again for that benefit received, let the world consider and judge!

He was of stature mean; of complexion he was pure and somewhat sanguine, having no hair upon his head, at the time of his death; but a long beard, white and thick. He was of the age of sixty-five when he was burnt; and yet, being a man sore broken in studies, in all his time never used any spectacles. He was married at Nuremberg, being there at that time ambassador for the king's Majesty of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, being with Charles the emperor. His wife was a Dutchwoman, kin to the wife of Osiander, of whom he had a son and a daughter, both yet alive; the daughter being married; the son being yet but young. After his ambassadorship, being made archbishop of Canterbury, notwithstanding the law of the Six Articles to the contrary, yet, having the secret consent of the king's Majesty thereunto, he

was permitted and suffered withal, in those dangerous and perilous days.

In the small time of respite between King Edward's death and his own imprisonment, he sold his plate, and paid all his debts, so that no man could ask him a groat; although thereby, and by the spoil of his goods, after his attainder, he left his wife and children unprovided.



FTER the disputations done and finished in Oxford between the doctors of both universities, and the three worthy bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, ye heard

then how sentence condemnatory immediate upon the same was ministered against them by Dr. Weston and others of the university; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and so committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But, forasmuch as the sentence given against them was void in law, (for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land,) therefore was a new commission sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly learned men aforesaid. In which commission, first was Dr. James Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's sub-delegate, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, commissioners in the king and queen's behalf, for the execution of the same. Of the which three commissioners above named, as touching Dr. Martin, this by the way is to be understood, that although he was used for an instrument of the pope's side, to serve a turn, (whose book also is extant against the lawful marriage of priests,) yet notwithstanding neither was he so bitter an enemy in this persecution, as other commissioners were; and also in this time of Queen Elizabeth, whereas divers other doctors of the arches refused to be sworn against the pope, he denied not the oath; and yet notwithstanding not altogether here to be excused. But to the purpose of this story; whereof first it shall be requisite to declare the circumstance, and the whole state of the matter, as in a general description, before we come to their orations, according as in a parcel of a certain letter touching the same, it came to our hands.

Imprimis, here is to be understood, that at the coming down of the foresaid commissioners, which was upon Thursday, the twelfth of September, anno

1555, in the church of St. Mary, and in the east end of the said church at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold with cloth of state very richly and sumptuously adorned for Bishop Brooks aforesaid, the pope's legate, apparelled in pontificalibus, representing the pope's person, &c. The seat was made ten feet high, that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the pope's delegate beneath him sat Dr. Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, which were both doctors of the civil law, and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a rabblement of such other like.

And thus these bishops being placed in their pontificalibus, the bishop of Canterbury was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himself. He came forth of the prison to the church of St. Mary, set forth with bills and gloves for fear he should start away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university used to wear, and in his hand a white staff; for he was now left only to the stay and succours of virtue and learning, which, after the loss of all his worldly honours and dignities, only remained to him: so appointed he himself thereafter. Who, after he was come into the church, and did see them sit in their pontificalibus, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the proctors for the pope, or else his doctor, called "Thomas archbishop of Canterbury! appear here and make answer to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontineny, and heresy; and make answer here to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person."

Upon this he being brought more near unto the scaffold, where the foresaid bishop sat, he first well viewed the place of judgment, and spying where the king and queen's Majesty's proctors were, putting off his cap, he (first humbly bowing his knee to the ground) made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all: whereat the bishop, being offended, said unto him, that it might beseem him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer answered and said, that he had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep

it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he desired the said bishop to judge of him: and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any of the other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs. This answered he both modestly, wisely, prudently, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the pope's person; which was wondrously of the people marked that were there present and saw it, and marked it as nigh as could be possible. When, after many means used, they perceived that the archbishop would not move his bonnet, the bishop proceeded with studied eloquence and painted art, in these words following:

The oration of Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, unto Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, in the church of St. Mary at Oxford.

"My Lord, at this present we are come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding ourselves by our own authority, but sent by commission, partly from the pope's Holiness, partly from the king and queen's most excellent Majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort, if you will yourself. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of that you have been, and shall be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The first being well taken, shall make the second to be well taken; for if you, of your part, be moved to come to a conformity, then shall not only we of our side take joy of our examination, but also they that have sent us.

"And first, as charity doth move us, I would think good somewhat to exhort you, and that by St. John in the Apocalypse, Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the first works; or if not:—and so as ye know what followeth. Remember yourself from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the universal and catholic church of Christ, from the very true and received faith of all Christendom; and that by open heresy. You have fallen from your promise to God, from your fidelity and allegiance; and that by open preaching, marriage, and adultery. You have fallen from your sovereign prince and queen by open treason. Remember therefore from whence you have fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seen. Wherefore when I say, remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in mind not only of your fall,

but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were sometime, as I and other poor men, in a mean estate, God I take to witness, I speak it to no reproach or abasement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to a high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better; and never gave you over, till he had appointed you *legatum natum, metropolitanum Angliæ, pastorem gregis sui*. Such great trust did he put you in, in his church: what could he do more? For even as he ordained Moses to be a ruler over his church of Israel, and gave him full authority upon the same, so did he make you over his church of England. And when did he this for you? Forsooth when you gave no occasion or cause of mistrust either to him, or to his magistrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all your time ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Christ, but rather set up of purpose as a fit instrument whereby the church might be spoiled and brought into ruin; yet may it appear by many your doings otherwise. and I, for my part, as it beloveth each one of us, shall think the best. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? who was thought to have more conscience of a vow-making, and observing the order of the church, more earnest in the defence of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, than ye were? And then all things prospered with you; your prince favoured you; yea, God himself favoured you. Your candlestick was set up in the highest place of the church, and the light of your candle was over all the church; I would God it had so continued still!

"But after ye began to fall by schism, and would not acknowledge the pope's Holiness as supreme head, but would stoutly uphold the unlawful requests of King Henry the Eighth, and would bear with what should not be borne withal, then began you to fancy unlawful liberty; and when you had exiled a good conscience, then ensued great shipwreck in the sea, which was out of the true and catholic church cast into the sea of desperation; for as he saith, 'Without the church there is no salvation.' When ye had forsaken God, God forsook you, and gave you over to your own will, and suffered you to fall from schism to apostacy, from apostacy to heresy, and from heresy to perjury, from perjury to treason, and so in conclusion, into the full indignation of your sovereign prince; which you may think a just punishment of God, for your other abominable opinions.

"After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all, to the end of honour and

life. For if the light of your candle be, as it hath been hitherto, dusky, your candlestick is like to be removed, and have a great fall, so low, and so far out of knowledge, that it be quite out of God's favour, and past all hope of recovery: 'For in hell there is no redemption.' The danger whereof being so great, very pity causeth me to say, 'Remember from whence thou hast fallen.' I add also, and whither you fall!

"But here, peradventure, you will say to me, 'What, sir? my fall is not so great as you make it. I have not yet fallen from the catholic church; for that is not the catholic church that the pope is head of: there is another church.' But as touching that, I answer, you are sure of that as the Donatists were, for they said they had the true church, and that the name of true Christians remained only in Africa, where only their seditious sect was preached: and as you think, so thought Novatus, that all they that did acknowledge their supreme head at the see of Rome, were out of the church of Christ. But here St. Cyprian, defending Cornelius against Novatus, saith on this wise, *Ecclesia una est, quæcum sit una, intus et foris esse non potest*. So that if Novatus were in the church, then was not Cornelius, who indeed by lawful succession succeeded Pope Fabian. Here St. Cyprian intendeth by the whole process to prove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true church was only Rome. Gather you then what will follow of your fall. But you will say peradventure, that you fell not by heresy: and so said the Arians, alleging for themselves that they had Scripture, and going about to persuade their schism by Scripture; for indeed they had more places by two and forty, which by their tortures seemed to depend upon Scripture, than the catholics had. So did the Martians provoke their heresy to Scripture. But those are no Scriptures; for they are not truly alleged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly wrested and wrong, according to their own fantasies. And therefore were they all justly condemned for their wrong taking of the Scriptures, and the church replieth against them, saying, *Qui estis vos? quando? quid agitis in meo, non mei?* The church saith, 'What make you here in my heritage? From whence came you? The Scripture is mine inheritance. I am right heir thereof: I hold it by true succession of the apostles; for as the apostles required me to hold, so do I hold it. The apostles have received me, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as bastards, having no title thereunto.'

"Also ye will deny that ye have fallen by apostacy by breaking your vow; and so Vigilantius said, in-somuch that he would admit none to his ministry,

but those that had their wives bagged with children. What now? Shall we say that Vigilantius did not fall therefore? Did not Donatus and Novatus fall, because they said so, and brought Scripture for their defence? Then let us believe as we list, pretending well, and say so: nay, there is no man so blind that will say so; for except the church, which condemneth them for their *say* so, do approve us for to *do* so, then will she condemn you also. So that your denial will not stand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye are fallen, and how low ye shall fall, if you hold on as you do begin. But I trust you will not continue, but revoke yourself in time, and the remedy followeth: *Age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac*: for by such means as ye have fallen, ye must rise again. First your heart hath fallen, then your tongue and your pen; and besides your own damage, have caused many more to fall. Therefore, first your heart must turn, and then shall the tongue and the pen be quickly turned: *Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, et movebo candelabrum tuum de loco suo*.

"I need not teach you a method to turn: you know the ready way yourself. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth: then the way should soon be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable heresy into the way of perdition, I doubt not but very conscience would move you, as much for them as for yourself, to come again; and so would you spare neither tongue nor pen, if heart were once reformed. For as touching that point, the Holy Ghost toucheth their hearts very near by the mouth of his holy prophet Ezekiel, when he requireth the blood of his flock at the priest's hands, for lack of good and wholesome food. How much more should this touch your guilty heart, having over-much diligence to teach them the way of perdition, and feeding them with baggage and corrupt food, which is heresy. He that shall convert a sinner from his wicked life, shall save his soul from death, and shall cover the multitude of sins. So that if it be true that he who converteth a sinner, saveth a soul; then the contrary must needs be true, that he that perverteth a soul, and teacheth him the way of perdition, must needs be damned.

"Origen, on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, said, 'The damnation of those that preach heresy, doth increase to the day of judgment. The more that perish by heretical doctrine, the more grievous shall their torment be, that minister such doctrine.' Berengarius, who seemed to fear that danger, provided for it in his life-time, but not without a troubled and disquiet conscience. He did not only repent, but recant, and not so much for himself, as for them

whom he had with most pestilent heresies infected. For as he lay in his death-bed upon Epiphany-day, he demanded of them that were present, 'Is this,' quoth he, 'the day of Epiphany, and appearing of the Lord?' They answered him, 'Yea.' 'Then,' quoth he, 'this day shall the Lord appear to me, either to my comfort, or to my discomfort.' This remorse argueth, that he feared the danger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the faith of Christ. Origen, upon St. Paul, saith in this wise, 'Although his own blood was not upon his head, for that he did repent, and was sorry for his former errors, yet, being converted, he feared the blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his doctrine.'

"Let this move you even at the last point. Inasmuch as your case is not unlike to Berengarius, let your repentance be like also. And what should stay you (tell me) from this godly return? Fear that ye have gone so far, ye may not return? Nay, then I may say as David said, Ye fear where ye have no cause to fear. For if ye repent and be heartily sorry for your former heresy and apostacy, ye need not to fear: for, as God of his part is merciful and gracious to the repentant sinner, so is the king, so is the queen merciful; which ye may well perceive by your own case, since ye might have suffered a great while ago for treason committed against her Highness, but that ye have been spared and reserved upon hope of amendment, which she conceived very good of you: but now (as it seemeth) it is but a very desperate hope. And what do you thereby? According to the hardness of your heart, ye treasure up to yourself anger in the day of wrath.

"Well, what is it then, if fear do not hinder you? Shame, to unsay that you have said? Nay, it is no shame, unless you think it shame to agree with the true and the catholic church of Christ. And if that be shame, then blame St. Paul, who persecuted the disciples of Christ with the sword; then blame St. Peter, who denied his Master Christ with an oath, that he never knew him. St. Cyprian before his return being a witch; St. Austin being nine years out of the church; they thought it no shame after their return, of that they had returned. Shall it then be shame for you to convert and consent with the church of Christ? No, no.

"What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? Nay, as for the vanity of the world, I for my part judge not in you, being a man of learning, and knowing your estate.

"And as for the loss of your estimation, it is ten to one that whereas you were archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, it is ten to one

(I say) that ye shall be as well still, yea, and rather better.

“And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but all that be here present, and the whole congregation of Christ’s church also, will more rejoice of your return, than they were sorry for your fall. And as for the others, ye need not to doubt, for they shall all come after; and, to say the truth, if you should lose them for ever, it were no force: ye should have no less thereby at all. I do not here touch them which should confirm your estimation: for as St. Paul, after his conversion, was received into the church of Christ, with wonderful joy to the whole congregation, even so shall you be. The fame of your return shall be spread abroad throughout all Christendom, where your face was never known.

“But you will say perhaps, your conscience will not suffer you. My Lord, there is a good conscience; and there is a bad conscience. The good conscience have not they, as St. Paul declareth to Timothy concerning Hymeneus and Alexander. The evil and bad conscience is (saith St. Cyprian) well to be known by its mark. What mark? This conscience is marked with the print of heresy: this conscience is a naughty, filthy, and a branded conscience, which, I trust, is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you than so, or else would I never go about to persuade or exhort you. But what conscience should stay you to return to the catholic faith, and universal church of Christ? What conscience doth separate you to that devilish and several church, to a liberty which never had ground in the Holy Scriptures? If you judge your liberty to be good, then judge you all Christendom to do evil besides you.

“Oh what a presumptuous persuasion is this, upon this utterly to forsake the church of Christ! Under what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuses? as though in your church were no abuses: yes, that there were. And if you forsake the universal church for the abuses, why do you not then forsake your particular church, and so be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to slip from the church for the abuses; for if you had seen abuses, you should rather have endeavoured for a reformation, than for a defection. He is a good surgeon, who for a little pain in the toe will cut off the whole leg! He helpeth well the tooth-ache, which cutteth away the head by the shoulders! It is mere folly to amend abuses by abuses. Ye are like Diogenes; for Diogenes on a time, envying the cleanliness of Plato, said on this wise, *Ecce calco fastum Platonis*: Plato answered, *Sed alio fastu*. So that Diogenes seemed more faulty of the two.

“But when we have said all that we can, peradventure you will say, ‘I will not return.’ And to that I say, I will not answer. Nevertheless, hear what Christ saith to such obstinate and stiffnecked people in the parable of the supper. When he had sent out his men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his servants go into the ways and streets, to compel men to come in, *Cogite intrare*. If then the church will not lose any member that may be compelled to come in, ye must think it good to take the compulsion, lest you lose your part of the supper which the Lord hath prepared for you; and this compulsion standeth well with charity.

“But it may be perhaps, that some have animated you to stick to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye shall die in a good quarrel, and God shall accept your oblation. But hear what Christ saith of a meaner gift: If thou come to the altar to offer thy oblation, and knowest that thy brother hath somewhat to lay against thee, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer up thy gift; or else thy brother will make thy offering unsavoury before God. This he said unto all the world, to the end they should know how their offerings should be received, if they were not according.

“Remember you therefore, before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of Rome, and also of England, where not one only brother, but a number have matter against you, so just, that they will make your burnt-offering to stink before God, except you be reconciled. If you must needs appoint upon a sacrifice, make yet a mean first to them that have to lay against you. I say no more than the church hath allowed me to say; for the sacrifice that is offered without the church is not profitable. The premises therefore considered, for God’s sake, I say, *Memor esto unde excideris, et age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac. Sin minus, &c.* Cast not yourself away, spare your body, spare your soul, spare them also whom you have seduced, spare the shedding of Christ’s blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the prescript word of God, to the catholic Church of Rome, to the received verity of all Christendom. Wed not yourself to your own self-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit, think not yourself wiser than all Christendom is besides you. Leave off this unjust cavil. How? leave what? Leave reason, leave wonder, and believe as the catholic church doth believe and teach you. Persuade with yourself, that ‘without the church there is no sal-

vation.' And thus much have I said of charity. If this poor simple exhortation of mine may sink into your head, and take effect with you, then have I said as I would have said ; otherwise not as I would, but as I could for this present."

And thus Bishop Brooks finishing his oration, sat down. After whom Dr. Martin, taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus :

"Albeit there be two governments, the one spiritual, and the other temporal, the one having the keys, the other the sword, yet in all ages we read that for the honour and glory of God both these powers have been adjoined together. For if we read the Old Testament, we shall find that so did Josias and Hezekiah. So did the king of the Ninevites compel a general fast through all the whole city : so did Darius in breaking the great idol, Bel, and delivering godly Daniel out of the den of lions : so did Nebuchadnezzar make and institute laws against the blasphemers of God. But let pass these examples, with a great number more, and to come to Christ's time, it is not unknown what a great travail they took to set forth God's honour : and although the rule and government of the church did only appertain to the spirituality, yet for the suppression of heresies and schisms, kings were admitted as aiders therunto. First, Constantine the Great called a council at Nice for the suppression of the Arians' sect, where the same time was raised a great contention among them. And after long disputation had, when the fathers could not agree upon the putting down the Arians, they referred their judgment to Constantine. 'God forbid,' quoth Constantine ; 'you ought to rule me, and not I you.' And as Constantine did, so did Theodosius against the Nestorians ; so did Marcian against Manicheus. Jovinian made a law, that no man should marry with a nun, that had wedded herself to the church.

"So had King Henry the Eighth the title of Defender of the Faith, because he wrote against Luther and his complices. So these nine hundred years the king of Spain had that title of Catholic, for the expulsion of the Arians ; and to say the truth, the king and queen's Majesties do nothing degenerate from their ancestry, taking upon them to restore again the title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right heir thereof, the pope's Holiness.

"Therefore these two princes, perceiving this noble realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and catholic church, the which you and your confederates do and have renounced ; perceiving also that you do persist in your detestable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the same, have made their humble request and petition

to the pope's Holiness, Paul the Fourth, as supreme head of the church of Christ, declaring to him, that whereas you were archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, and at your consecration took two solemn oaths, for your due obedience to be given to the see of Rome, to become a true preacher or pastor of his flock, yet contrary to your oath and allegiance, for unity have sowed discord ; for chastity, marriage and adultery ; for obedience, contention ; and for faith, ye have been the author of all mischief. The pope's Holiness, considering their request and petition, hath granted them, that, according to the censure of this realm, process should be made against you.

"And whereas in this late time, you both excluded charity and justice, yet hath his Holiness decreed, that you shall have both charity and justice showed unto you. He willeth you should have the laws in most ample manner to answer in your behalf, and that you shall here come before my Lord of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his Holiness, to the examination of such articles as shall be proposed against you, and that we should require the examination of you in the king's and queen's Majesties' behalf. The king and queen as touching themselves, because by the law they cannot appear personally, *quia sunt illustrissima persona*, have appointed as their attorneys, Dr. Story and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good Lordship our proxy, sealed with the broad seal of England, and offer myself to be proctor in the king's Majesty's behalf. I exhibit here also certain articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury. Also books of heresy made partly by him, partly set forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal, to answer to your good Lordship."

Thus, when Dr. Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop beginneth, as here followeth :

"My Lord, I do not acknowledge this session of yours, nor yet *you*, my mislawful judge ; neither would I have appeared here this day before you, but that I was brought hither as a prisoner. And therefore I openly here renounce you as my judge, protesting that my meaning is not to make any answer, as in a lawful judgment, (for then would I be silent,) but only for that I am bound in conscience to answer every man of that hope which I have in Jesus Christ, by the counsel of St. Peter ; and lest, by my silence, many of those who are weak, here present, might be offended. And so I desire that my answers may be accepted as *extra judicialia*."

And when he had ended his protestation he began as followeth :

Cranmer.—"Shall I then make my answer?"

Martin.—"As you think good; no man shall let you."

And here the archbishop, kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said first the Lord's Prayer. Then, rising up, he reciteth the articles of the creed. Which done, he entereth with his protestation in form as followeth:

Cranmer.—"This I do profess as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm."

Story.—"Take a note thereof."

Martin.—"Mark, Master Cranmer, how you answer for yourself. You refuse and deny him, by whose laws ye do remain in life; being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the laws of the realm."

Cranmer.—"I protest before God I was no traitor, but indeed I confessed more at my arraignment than was true."

Martin.—"That is not to be reasoned at this present. Ye know ye were condemned for a traitor. But proceed to your matter."

Cranmer.—"I will never consent to the bishop of Rome, for then should I give myself to the devil; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king by God's laws. By the Scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person in his own realm above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject, I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the sword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the sword to the king. But I say the king hath both. Therefore he that is subject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, he is perjured, for the pope's and the judge's laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

"A priest indebted by the laws of the realm, shall be sued before a temporal judge: by the pope's laws contrary.

"The pope doth the king injury in that he hath his power from the pope. The king is head in his own realm: but the pope claimeth all bishops, priests, curates, &c. So the pope in every realm hath a realm.

"Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice must be given by the bishop; by the laws of the realm the patron giveth the benefice. Herein the laws be as contrary as fire and water.

"No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a *præmunire*, and so is the law of the realm expelled, and the king standeth accursed in maintaining

his own laws. Therefore in consideration that the king and the queen take their power of him, as though God should give it to them, there is no true subject, unless he be abrogate, seeing the crown is holden of him being out of the realm.

"The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commanded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law, and therefore hath appointed one holy day in the week at the least, for the people to come to the church and hear the word of God expounded unto them; and, that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrary; for he willet the service to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived: the pope will not. When the priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should do so too, and God willet them to confess all together: the pope will not.

"Now as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the altar; for if it can be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors against it. I believe that whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that corporally that sitteth in heaven. Now Christ commanded all to drink of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the laymen. And yet one saith, that if Christ had died for the devil, that he should drink thereof.

"Christ biddeth us to obey the king. The bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey himself: therefore unless he be antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

"He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ, If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the bishop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own; for where princes either by election, either by succession, either by inheritance, obtain their crown, he saith that they should have it from him.

"Christ saith, that antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth he that advanceth himself above all other creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himself after such sort besides the pope, then in the mean time, let him be antichrist."

Story.—"Pleaseth it you to make an end?"

Cranmer.—"For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea, and with apostacy.

"Now I have declared why I cannot with my conscience obey the pope. I speak not this for hatred I bear to him that now supplieth the room, for I know him not. I pray God give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my conscience, for the zeal that I bear to God's word trodden under foot by the bishop of Rome. I cast fear apart, for Christ said to his apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his name's sake: Fear them not, saith he, but fear him which when he hath killed the body, hath power to cast the soul into fire everlasting. Also Christ saith, He that will live shall die, and he that loseth his life for my name's sake, he shall find it again. Moreover he said, Confess me before men, and be not afraid; for if you do so, I will stand with you: if you shrink from me I will shrink from you. This is a comfortable and terrible saying; this maketh me to set all fear apart. I say therefore, the bishop of Rome treadeth under foot God's laws and the king's.

"The pope would give bishoprics: so would the king. But at the last the king got the upper hand; and so are all bishops perjured, first to the pope, and then to the king.

"The crown hath nothing to do with the clergy. For if a clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make process against him, but not to execute any laws: for if the judge should put him to execution, then is the king accursed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore say I, that he is neither true to God, neither to the king, that first received the pope. But I shall heartily pray for such counsellors, as may inform her the truth; for the king and queen, if they be well informed, will do well."

Martin.—"As you understand then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too."

Cranmer.—"I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths do stand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory saith, He that taketh upon him to be head of the universal church, is worse than the antichrist. If any man can show me, that it is not against God's word to hold his stirrup when he taketh his horse, and kiss his feet, (as kings do,) then will I kiss his feet also.—And you for your part, my Lord, are perjured; for now ye sit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishopric of the king. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm: for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm."

Gloucester.—"You were the cause that I did

forsake the pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave it to King Henry the Eighth, that he ought to be it: and this you made me to do."

"To this I answer," said Cranmer, "you report me ill, and say not the truth; and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessor, Bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry the Eighth, and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God's word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both the universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to King Henry the Eighth to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. Whereupon you were then doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope, but it was yourself. All this was in Bishop Warham's time, and whilst he was alive, so that it was three quarters of a year after ere ever I had the bishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done."—All this while his cap was on his head.

Gloucester.—"We come to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us."

Dr. Story's oration to Cranmer.

"Pleaseth it your good Lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queen's Majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your good Lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the stedfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in snare the weak and simple: yet, because he saith he is not bound to answer your Lordship sitting for the pope's Holiness, because of a *præmunire*, and the word of God, as he termeth it; I think good somewhat to say, that all men may see how he runneth out of his race of reason into the rage of common talk, such as here, I trust, hath done much good. And as the king and queen's Majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him, so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And whereas he allegeth divinity, mingling *fas nefasque* together, he should not have been heard; for shall it be sufficient to him to allege, the judge is not competent? Do we not see that in the common law it

is not lawful for a man in Westminster Hall to refuse his judge? and shall we dispute *contra eum qui negat principia*? Although there be here a great company of learned men, that know it unmeet so to do, yet have I here a plain canon, wherein he declareth himself convicted *ipso facto*. The canon is this: ‘Sit ergo ruinæ suo dolore prostratus quisquis apostolicis voluerit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter sacerdotes habeat, sed exors a sancto fiat ministerio, nec de ejus judicio quisquam posthac curam habeat, quoniam jam damnatus a sanctâ et apostolicâ ecclesiâ, suâ inobedientiâ ac præsumptione, a quoquam esse non dubitetur. Quia majoris excommunicationis dejectione est abjiciendus, cui sanctæ ecclesiæ commissæ fuerit disciplina, qui non solum jussionibus prælatæ sanctæ ecclesiæ parere debuit, sed etiam aliis ne præterirent insinuare. Sitque alienus a divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit præceptis apostolicis obtemperare.’

“He hath alleged many matters against the supremacy, but maliciously. Ye say that the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was christened. Then if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was member thereof: for you know Constantine was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are bound (as St. Paul saith) to obey your rulers, and kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of souls: for *à fortiori*, the head may do that the minister cannot do; but the priest may consecrate, and the king cannot, therefore the king is not head.

“It was licensed by Christ to every man to bring into the sheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule: for that was only given to Peter.

“And whereas the apostles do call upon men to obey their princes, *cui tributum, tributum: cui vectigal, vectigal*: they, perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

“And again, whereas you say that the bishop of Rome maketh laws contrary to the laws of the realm, that is not true; for this is a maxim in the law, *Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit universale falsum*.

“Now as touching that monstrous talk of your conscience, that is no conscience that ye profess; it is but *privata scientia, electio et secta*. And as yet, for all your glorious babble, you have not

proved by God’s laws that ye ought not to answer the pope’s Holiness.

“The canons which be received of all Christendom compel you to answer, therefore you are bound so to do. And although this realm of late time, through such schismatics as you were, hath exiled and banished the canons, yet that cannot make for you: for you know yourself, that *par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid statuere potest*. Wherefore this isle, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine against the whole. That notwithstanding, the same laws, being put away by a parliament, are now received again by a parliament, and have as full authority now as they had then; and they will now, that ye answer to the pope’s Holiness: therefore, by the laws of this realm ye are bound to answer him. Wherefore, my good Lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I can no otherwise term him, considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answer directly to your good Lordship; command him to set aside his trifles, and to be obedient to the laws and ordinances of this realm. Take witness here of his stubborn contempt against the king and queen’s Majesties, and compel him to answer directly to such articles as we shall here lay against him; and in refusal, that your good Lordship will excommunicate him.”

As soon as Dr. Story had thus ended his tale, beginneth Dr. Martin again to enter speech with the archbishop; which talk I thought here likewise not to let pass, although the report of the same be such as the author thereof seemeth, in his writing, very partial; for as he expresseth the speech of Dr. Martin at full, and to the uttermost of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could be said more; so again, on the other part, how raw and weak he leaveth the matter, it is easy to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Dr. Cranmer again answered for his defence, nor yet in those short speeches which he expresseth, seemeth to discharge the part of a sincere and faithful reporter. Notwithstanding, such as it is, I thought good to let the reader understand, who in perusing the same, may use therein his own judgment and consideration.

“Master Cranmer, ye have told here a long glorious tale, pretending some matter of conscience in appearance; but in verity you have no conscience at all. You say that you have sworn once to King Henry the Eighth against the pope’s jurisdiction; and therefore you may never forswear the same; and so ye make a great matter of conscience in

the breach of the said oath. Here will I ask you a question or two: What if ye made an oath to a harlot, to live with her in continual adultery; ought you to keep it?"

Cranmer.—"I think no."

Martin.—"What if you did swear never to lend a poor man one penny; ought you to keep it?"

Cranmer.—"I think not."

Martin.—"Herod did swear whatsoever his harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptist's head: did he well in keeping his oath?"

Cranmer.—"I think not."

Martin.—"Jephtha, one of the judges of Israel, did swear unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he would offer unto God the first soul that came forth of his house; it happened that his own daughter came first, and he slew her to save his oath. Did he well?"

Cranmer.—"I think not."

Martin.—"So saith St. Ambrose de Officiis, 'It is a miserable necessity, which is paid with parricide.' Then, Master Cranmer, you can no less confess by the premises but that you ought not to have conscience of every oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advisedly taken."

Cranmer.—"So was that oath."

Martin.—"That is not so, for first it was unjust, for it tended to the taking away of another man's right. It was not lawful; for the laws of God and the church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every man and woman were compelled to take it."

Cranmer.—"It pleaseth you to say so."

Martin.—"Let all the world be judge. But, sir, you that pretend to have such a conscience to break an oath, I pray you did you never swear and break the same?"

Cranmer.—"I remember not."

Martin.—"I will help your memory. Did you never swear obedience to the see of Rome?"

Cranmer.—"Indeed I did once swear unto the same."

Martin.—"Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be showed."

Cranmer.—"But I remember I saved all by protestation that I made by the counsel of the best learned men I could get at that time."

Martin.—"Hearken, good people! what this man saith. He made a protestation one day, to keep never a whit of that which he would swear the next day: was this the part of a Christian man? If a Christian man would bargain with a Turk, and before he maketh his bargain solemnly, before witness, readeth in his paper that he holdeth secretly in his

hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatsoever he shall promise to the Turk; I say, if a Christian man should serve a Turk in this manner, that the Christian man were worse than the Turk. What would you then say to this man, that made a solemn oath and promise unto God and his church, and made a protestation before quite contrary?"

Cranmer.—"That which I did [I did] by the best learned men's advice I could get at that time."

Martin.—"I protest before all the learned men here, that there is no learning will save your perjury herein; for there be two rules of the civil law clean contrary against you." And so he brought forth his rules, which being done he proceeded further. "But will you have the truth of the matter: King Henry the Eighth even then meant the lamentable change which after you see came to pass; and to further his pitiful proceedings from the divorcement of his most lawful wife, to the detestable departing from the blessed unity of Christ's church, this man made the foresaid protestation: and, on the other side, he letted not to make two solemn oaths quite contrary; and why? for otherwise, by the laws and canons of this realm, he could not aspire to the archbishopric of Canterbury."

Cranmer.—"I protest before you all, there was never man came more unwillingly to a bishopric, than I did to that: insomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time."

Martin.—"You declare well by the way that the king took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not find within all his realm any man that would set forth his strange attempts, but was enforced to send for you in post to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being then Queen Anne's chaplain, and the king: Give me the archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you licence to live in adultery."

Cranmer.—"You say not true."

Martin.—"Let your protestation, joined with the rest of your talk, give judgment: *hinc prima mali latus*. Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefully suffered adultery, came heresy and all mischief to this realm. And thus have I spoken as touching the conscience you make for breaking your heretical oath made to the king: but to break your former oath, made at two sundry times both to God and his church, you have no conscience at all. And now to answer another part of your oration, wherein you bring in God's word, that

you have it on your side and no man else, and that the pope hath devised a new scripture contrary to the Scripture of God, ye play herein as the Pharisees did, which cried always, The word of the Lord, the word of the Lord, when they meant nothing so. This bettereth not your cause, because you say, you have God's word for you; for so Basilides and Photinus the heretics said, that they had God's word to maintain their heresy. So Nestorius, so Macedonius, so Pelagius, and briefly, all the heretics that ever were, pretended that they had God's word for them; yea, and so the devil, being the father of heresies, alleged God's word for him, saying, It is written: so said he to Christ, Cast thyself downward, which you applied most falsely against the pope. But, if you mark the devil's language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truly: for, Cast thyself downward, said he, and so taught you to cast all things downward. Down with the sacrament, down with the mass, down with the altars, down with the arms of Christ, and up with a lion and a dog; down with the abbeyes, down with chantries, down with hospitals and colleges, down with fasting and prayer, yea, down with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended no other, but to fulfil the devil's request, *Mitte te deorsum*. And therefore tell not us that you have God's word: for God hath given us by his word a mark to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the devil, and that your doctrine came not of Christ, but of antichrist. For Christ foresaid, there should come against his church ravening wolves and false apostles. But how should we know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, By their fruits ye shall know them. Why, what be their fruits? St. Paul declareth, After the flesh they walk in concupiscence and uncleanness; they condemn potentates. Again, In the latter days there shall be perilous times: then shall there be men loving themselves, covetous, proud, disobedient to parents, treason-workers. Whether these be not the fruits of your gospel, I refer me to this worshipful audience; whether the said gospel began not with perjury, proceeded with adultery, was maintained with heresy, and ended in conspiracy.

"Now sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made here: the one against the holy sacrament; the other against the pope's jurisdiction, and the authority of the see apostolic. Touching the first, ye say you have God's word with you, yea, and all the doctors. I would here ask but one question of you: whether God's word be contrary to itself, and whether the doctors teach doctrine contrary to themselves, or

no? For you, Master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one, *verbum Domini*.

Cranmer.—"Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the same."

Martin.—"What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the sacramentary, in the king's presence in Whitehall?"

Cranmer.—"I maintained then the papists' doctrine."

Martin.—"That is to say, the catholic and universal doctrine of Christ's church. And how when King Henry died? did not you translate Justus Jonas's book?"

Cranmer.—"I did so."

Martin.—"Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament, by the same token that you sent to Lynn your printer; that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christ's body, really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a *not*, whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"I remember there were two prints of my said book, but where the same *not* was put in, I cannot tell."

Martin.—"Then from a Lutheran ye became a Zuinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the high mystery of the sacrament; and for the same heresy you did help to burn Lambert the sacramentary, which you now call the catholic faith, and God's word."

Cranmer.—"I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now; and so I did, until my Lord of London, Dr. Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors, drew me quite from my opinion."

Martin.—"Now sir, as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the pope's Holiness was supreme head of the church of Christ."

Cranmer.—"I did so."

Martin.—"Who say you then is supreme head?"

Cranmer.—"Christ."

Martin.—"But whom hath Christ left here in earth his vicar and head of his church?"

Cranmer.—"Nobody."

Martin.—"Ah! why told you not King Henry this when you made him supreme head? and now nobody is. This is treason against his own person as you then made him."

Cranmer.—"I mean not but every king in his own realm and dominion is supreme head, and so was he supreme head of the church of Christ in England."

Martin.—"Is this always true? and was it ever so in Christ's church?"

Cranmer.—"It was so."

Martin.—"Then what say you by Nero? He was the mightiest prince of the earth after Christ was ascended: was he head of Christ's church?"

Cranmer.—"Nero was Peter's head."

Martin.—"I ask whether Nero was head of the church or no? If he were not, it is false that you said before, that all princes be, and ever were, heads of the church within their realms."

Cranmer.—"Nay, it is true, for Nero was head of the church; that is, in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter and the apostles. And the Turk too is head of the church in Turkey."

Martin.—"Then he that beheaded the heads of the church, and crucified the apostles, was head of Christ's church; and he that was never member of the church, is head of the church, by your new-found understanding of God's word."

It is not to be supposed, contrary, but much other matter passed in this communication between them, especially on the archbishop's behalf; whose answers I do not think to be so slender, nor altogether in the same form of words framed, if the truth, as it was, might be known. But so it pleased the notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his mother see of Rome in favour of his faction, to diminish and drive down the other side, either in not showing all, or in reporting the thing otherwise than it was; as the common guise is of most writers, to what side their affection most weigheth, their oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the story of this matter.

"It followed then," saith this reporter, "when the archbishop thus had answered, and the standers-by began to murmur against him; the judges, not content with his answers, willed him to answer directly to the interrogatories: which interrogatories articulated against him in form of law, were these under following.

"1. First was objected, that he, (the foresaid Thomas Cranmer,) being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

"*Answer.* Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called Black or Brown, he knew not; but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

"2. That after the death of the foresaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishop by the pope.

"*Answer.* He received (he said) a certain bull

of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was archbishop by him.

"3. Item, that he, being in holy orders, married another woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so was twice married.

"*Answer.* To this he granted.

"4. Item, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

"*Answer.* Hereunto he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

"5. Item, in the time of King Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

"*Answer.* He denied not, but he so did, and lawfully might do the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

"6. Item, that he shamed not openly to glory himself, to have had his wife in secret many years.

"*Answer.* And though he so did, (he said,) there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

"7. Item, that the said Thomas Cranmer, falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also did compile and caused to be set abroad divers books.

"*Answer.* Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not such books which he was the author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the same. As for the Catechism, the book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

"8. Item, that he compelled many, against their wills, to subscribe to the same articles.

"*Answer.* He exhorted (he said) such as were willing to subscribe; but, against their wills, he compelled none.

"9. Item, forasmuch as he surceased not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament there should be holden.

"*Answer.* To this he said, that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

"10. Item, that in the said city of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresy, and there was convicted upon the same.

"*Answer.* He defended (he said) there the cause

of the sacrament; but, that he was convicted in the same, that he denied.

"11. Item, when he persevered still in the same, he was by the public censure of the university pronounced a heretic, and his books to be heretical.

"*Answer.* That he was so denounced, he denied not; but that he was a heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

"12. Item, that he was and is notoriously infamed with the note of schism, as who not only himself receded from the catholic church and see of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to the same.

"*Answer.* As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (said he) was only from the see of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schism.

"13. Item, that he had been twice sworn to the pope; and withal Dr. Martin brought out the instrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had any thing else protested.

"*Answer.* Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

"14. Item, that he the said archbishop of Canterbury did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the authority of the see of Rome, in that, without leave or licence from the said see, he consecrated bishops and priests.

"*Answer.* He granted, that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

"15. Item, that when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he only still persisted in his error.

"*Answer.* That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true. But that he erred in the same, that he denied.

"16. Item, that all and singular the premises be true.

"*Answer.* That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered."

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the public notary had entered the same, the judges and commissioners, as having now accomplished that wherefore they came, were about to rise up and depart. But the bishop of Gloucester, thinking it not the best so to dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred with the words of the archbishop, began in his oration in the hearing of the people, thus to declaim.

"Master Cranmer, (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obstinacy,) I am right sorry, I am right heartily sorry, to hear such words escape your

mouth so unadvisedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I suppose that this obstinacy of yours came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt conscience, which was the occasion that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is far otherwise. Ye are so puffed up with vain-glory, there is such *cauteria* of heresy crept into your conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into wan hope. But who can stay him that willingly runneth into perdition? Who can save that will be lost? God would have you to be saved; and you refuse it. Thy perdition is only upon thyself, O Israel! only in me is thy salvation, saith the Lord by his prophet. You have uttered so erroneous talk, with such open malice against the pope's Holiness, with such open lying against the Church of Rome, with such open blasphemy against the sacrament of the altar, that no mouth could have expressed more maliciously, more lyingly, more blasphemously.

"To reason with you, although I would of myself to satisfy this audience, yet may I not by our commission, neither can I find how I may do it with the Scriptures: for the apostle doth command that such a one should not only not be talked withal, but also shunned and avoided, saying, An heretical person after once or twice conferring, shun, knowing that he is perverse and sinneth, being of his own judgment condemned. Ye have been conferred withal not once or twice, but oftentimes; ye have oft been lovingly admonished; ye have been oft secretly disputed with. And the last year in the open school, in open disputations, ye have been openly convict; ye have been openly driven out of the school with hisses. Your book, which ye brag you made seven years ago, and no man answered it, Marcus Antonius hath sufficiently detected and confuted, and yet ye persist still in your wonted heresy.

"Wherefore, being so oft admonished, conferred withal, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the man whom the apostle noteth, hear then what Origen saith, who wrote above thirteen hundred years ago, and interpreteth the saying of the apostle in this wise, 'Hæreticus est omnis ille habendus, qui Christo se credere profitetur, et aliter de Christi veritate sentit quam se habet ecclesiastica traditio.' Even now ye professed a kind of Christianity and holiness unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and said the Lord's Prayer (God wot like a hypocrite); and then, standing up upon your feet, you rehearsed the articles of your faith; but to what end I pray you else, but to cloak that inward heresy rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, simple, and unlearned people's eyes? For

what will they say or think, if they do not thus say — ‘Good Lord, what mean these men to say, that he is a heretic? They are deceived; this is a good Christian, he believeth as we believe.’

“But is this sufficient to escape the name of a heretic? To the simple and unlearned it is sufficient: but for you, that have professed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your belief. For unless (as Origen saith) ye believe all things that the church hath decreed besides, you are no Christian man. In the which because you do halt, and will come to no conformity; from henceforth ye are to be taken for a heretic, with whom we ought neither to dispute, neither to reason: whom we ought rather to eschew and avoid.

“Nevertheless, although I do not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an abject and outcast from God’s favour, yet because ye have uttered, to the annoying of the people, such pestilent heresies as may do harm among some rude and unlearned, I think meet, and not *abs re*, somewhat to say herein; not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple people which be here present, lest they, being seduced by your diabolical doctrine, may perish thereby.

“And first, (as it behoveth every man to purge himself first before he enter with any other,) whereas you accuse me of an oath made against the bishop of Rome, I confess it, and deny it not, and therefore do say with the rest of this realm, good and catholic men, the saying of the prophet, We have sinned with our fathers, we have done unjustly and wickedly. The sins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord, do not remember! I was then a young man, and as young a scholar here in the university. I knew not then what an oath did mean, and yet to say the truth, I did it compulsed, compulsed I say by you, Master Cranmer; and here were you the author and cause of my perjury, you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now whereas you say I made two oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not so, for the oath I made to the pope’s Holiness appertaineth only to spiritual things: the other oath that I made to the king, pertaineth only to temporal things; that is to say, that I do acknowledge all my temporal livings to proceed only from the king, and from none else. But all men may see, as you agree in this, so ye agree in the rest of your opinions.

“Now, sir, as concerning the supremacy which is only due to the see of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which do confirm that Christ appointed Peter head of the church, yet this is a most evident place. When Christ de-

manded of his apostles whom men called him; they answered, Some Elias, some a prophet, &c. But Christ replied unto Peter, and said, Whom sayest thou, Peter, that I am? Peter answered, *Tu es Christus, filius Dei*: and Christ replied, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*. The doctor sinterpreting this place, *super hanc petram*, expound it, *id est, non solum super fidem Petri, sed super te, Petre*. And why did Christ change his name from Simon to Peter, which in Latin is a stone, but only to declare that he was only the foundation and head of the church?

“Again, whereas Christ demanded of Peter, being amongst the rest of his apostles, three times a row, *Petre, amas me?* he gave him charge over his sheep, *Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meos*. Which place Chrysostom interpreting, saith, *Pasce, hoc est, loco mei esto prapositus et caput fratrum tuorum*. To conclude, when they came that required didrachme of Christ, he commanded Peter to cast his net into the sea, and to take out of the fish’s mouth that he took; *Stateram, hoc est, duplex didrachma; et da, inquit, pro te et me, Petre*. Which words do signify, that when he had paid for them two, he had paid for all the rest. For as in the old law there were appointed two heads over the people of Israel, Moses and Aaron; Moses as chief, and Aaron next head under him: so in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were Christ and Peter. Christ is head of all, and Peter next under him. ‘Our Saviour Christ,’ saith St. Augustine, ‘commanding the tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the same to be given for all others, for he appointed him to be head of them.’ What can be more plain than this? but I will not tarry upon this matter.

“Now as touching the pope’s laws, whereas you say they be contrary, because the service which should be (as you say) in English, is in Latin; I answer, whosoever will take the pains to peruse the chapter, which is in 1 Cor. xiv., shall find that his meaning is concerning preaching, and *obiter* only of praying.

“Again, whereas you say that the pope’s Holiness doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laymen, and Christ would have it under both, ye can say no more but this, Drink ye all of this. And what followeth? And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be so proterve with you, he might say that Christ gave it only to his apostles, in whose places succeeded priests, and not laymen.

And admit that Christ commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authority to change that as well as other. Ye read, that Christ calling his apostles together, said unto them, Go

and preach the gospel to every nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But the apostles, being desirous to publish Christ's name every where, did baptize only in Christ's name. Again, Christ before his last supper washed his apostles' feet, saying, If I have washed your feet, being your lord and master, also you ought to wash the feet one of another. I have given you example. This was a precept, yet hath the church altered it, lest the simple people should not think a rebaptization in it. So because, saith the apostle, I have received of the Lord the same which I have delivered to you, that our Lord the same night in which he was betrayed, &c. Notwithstanding that this was a precept that the sacrament should be ministered after supper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received fasting: and whereas Christ did break the bread, we receive the whole host. Christ ministered sitting at the table, we standing at the altar.

"It was also commanded in Acts xv., that Christian men should abstain from strangled and blood. But the church perceiving it to be a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Christ commanded to keep holy the sabbath day, and the church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the church may change things that be so expressed in the Scriptures, she may also change the form of receiving of laymen under both kinds, for divers occasions. First, that in carrying it to the sick, the blood may not be shed, lost, or misused. And next, that no occasion might be given to heretics to think that there is not so much under one kind, as under both.

"But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you else, but only to pervert and contrary the commandment of the church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither: and we having but one, believe both kinds.

"Now sir, as concerning the sacrament of the altar, whereas you say, you have a number of doctors of your side, and we none of our side, (that is to say, to confirm the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar,) indeed one to stop your mouth I think it not possible to find. Nevertheless, whereas your request is to have one showed unto you, and then you will recant, I will show you two.

"St. Augustine, upon Psalm xxxiii. *Ferebatur manibus suis*: 'I find not how this is true in David,' saith he, 'literally that he was borne in his own hands; but in Christ I find it literally, when he gave his body to his apostles at his last supper.'

Again St. Cyprian, *De cœnâ Domini*, saith, *Panis quem Dominus noster discipulis suis porrigebat, non effigie, sed naturâ mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro*. What can be more

plain than this? yet to your exposition it is not plain enough. But give me your figurative, significative, and other such-like terms, and I will defend that Christ hath not yet ascended; no, nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the number of them, whom Chrysostom spake of in this wise, saying, *Audi, homo fidelis, qui contra hæreticum contendis, si Pharisei convicti, et non placati et hæretici*, &c. Hear, O thou Christian man, wilt thou do more than Christ could do? Christ confuted the Pharisees, yet could he not put them to silence. And art thou stronger than Christ? Wilt thou go about to bring them to silence that will receive no answer? as who should say, thou canst not.

"Thus much I have said, not for you, Master Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you is now gone and past; but somewhat to satisfy the rude and unlearned people, that they, perceiving your arrogant lying, and lying arrogancy, may the better eschew your detestable and abominable schism."

And thus ended this prelate his worshipful tale. After whom Dr. Story taketh the matter, and thus inferred in words as followeth:—

Dr. Story.—"Master Cranmer, you have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the see apostolic. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and so it is released; if you made it to his successors, well sir, the true successors have the empire, and they will you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ's church again, and it standeth well with charity."

"To this the archbishop answered again," saith the reporter: but what his answer was, that he suppresseth, and returneth to the words of Dr. Story, who imperiously turning his speech again to the archbishop, said as followeth:—

"Hold your peace, sir, and so shall it right well become you, considering that I gave you licence before, to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath, that is to say, *judicium, justiciam, et veritatem*."



here, with the like words to the same effect, being uttered by Dr. Story, seeking to break up and make an end of that session, he afterwards called for witnesses to be produced,

who should be sworn upon the book, to utter and declare the next day whatsoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred against Dr. Cranmer's heresy. The names of the witnesses are these:—Dr. Marshall, commissary, and dean of Christ's church; Dr. Smith, under-commissary; Dr. Tresham, Dr. Crooke, Master London, Master Curtop, Master Warde, Master Serles.

After the depositions of which witnesses being taken, Dr. Story admonished the archbishop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said witnesses were to be refused: who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in Christian religion. "For if to swear," said he, "against the pope were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives, than their oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before." Nevertheless, this answer of the archbishop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpose appertaining, he was commanded again to the place from whence he came; who, at his departing out, like as at his first coming in, showed low obedience to Dr. Martin, and to Dr. Story, the queen's commissioners. Then Dr. Story pointing him to the bishop of Gloucester, said, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the reverend archbishop departing without any obeisance exhibited to the bishop, all the others rose up, and departed every one to his own. And thus brake up the session for that day, about two of the clock at afternoon.

And thus much hitherto concerning the summary effect of this action or session, with the orations, discourses, and articles commenced against the archbishop of Canterbury, also with the reasons and answers of the said archbishop to their objections and interrogatories. Touching which his answers, forasmuch as they, being recited by report of a papist (as is aforesaid) seem to be not indifferently handled, it shall therefore not greatly be out of our matter, as ye have heard the orations of Bishop Brooks, with the reasons and talk of the other commissioners, amplified and set forth at large on the one side; so now in repeating the words and answers of the other part, to declare and set forth somewhat more amply and effectually, what speech the said archbishop used for himself in the same action, by the faithful relation and testimony of certain others, who were likewise there present, and do thus report the effect of the archbishop's words, answering to the first oration of Bishop Brooks in manner as followeth:

"My Lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your oration put me in remembrance of many things touching myself, wherein I do not mean to

spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge God's goodness to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this state wherein I find myself now, as ever I did for the time of my prosperity; and it is not the loss of my promotions that grieveth me. The greatest grief I have at this time is, and one of the greatest that ever I had in all my life, to see the king and queen's Majesties by their proctors here to become my accusers; and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. If I have transgressed the laws of the land, their Majesties have sufficient authority and power, both from God, and by the ordinance of the realm, to punish me; whereunto I both have, and at all times shall be content to submit myself.

"Alas! what hath the pope to do in England? whose jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of this realm, that it is impossible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The laws also are so diverse, that whosoever sweareth to both, must needs incur perjury to the one: which as oft as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her Grace, I cannot but be heartily sorry to think upon it, how that her Highness the day of her coronation, at which time she took a solemn oath to observe all the laws and liberties of this realm of England, at the same time also took an oath to the bishop of Rome, and promised to maintain that see. The state of England being so repugnant to the supremacy of the pope, it was impossible but she must needs be forsworn in the one. Wherein if her Grace had been faithfully advertised by her council, then surely she would never have done it.

"The laws of this realm are, that the king of England is the supreme and sole governor of all his countries and dominions; and that he holdeth his crown and sceptre of himself, by the ancient laws, customs, and descents of the kings of the realm, and of none other. The pope saith, that all emperors and kings hold their crowns and regalities of him, and that he may depose them when he list; which is high treason for any man to affirm and think, being born within the king's dominions.

"The laws of England are, that all bishops and priests offending in cases of felony or treason, are to be judged and tried by the laws and customs of the realm. The pope's laws are, that the secular power cannot judge the spiritual power, and that they are not under their jurisdiction; which robeth the king of the one part of his people.

"The laws also of England are, that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England for any other foreign laws ecclesiastical or temporal, incurreth the danger of a *præmunire*. The pope's laws are, that whosoever hindereth the

proceedings or executions of his laws, for any other laws, of any other king or country, both the prince himself, his council, all his officers, scribes, clerks, and whosoever give consent or aid to the making or executing of any such laws, stand accursed. A heavy case, (if his curse were any thing worth,) that the king and queen cannot use their own laws, but they and all theirs must stand accursed.

"These things and many more examples he alleged, which (he said) stirred him that he could not give his consent to the receiving of such an enemy into the realm, so subverting the dignity and ancient liberties of the same.

"And as for the matter of heresy and schism, wherewith he was charged, he protested and called God to witness, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were a heresy to deny the pope's authority, and the religion which the see of Rome hath published to the world these latter years, then all the ancient fathers of the primitive church, the apostles, and Christ himself, taught heresy. And he desired all then present to bear him witness, that he took the traditions and religion of that usurping prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole Scripture; which he had oftentimes well proved by writing, and the author of the same to be very antichrist, so often preached of by the apostles and prophets, in whom did most evidently concur all signs and tokens whereby he was painted out to the world to be known. For it was most evident that he had advanced himself above all emperors and kings of the world; whom he affirmeth to hold their estates and empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment to depose and erect at his good will and pleasure; and that stories make mention of his intolerable and insolent pride and tyranny, used over them in such sort, as no king would have used to his Christian subjects, nor yet a good master to his servants, setting his feet on the emperor's neck; affirming that to be verified in him, which was spoken only of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in these words, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*. Other some had he made to hold his stirrup, others he had displaced and removed from their empires and seats royal: and not content herewithal, more insolent than Lucifer, he hath occupied not only the highest place in this world, above kings and princes, but hath further presumed to sit in the seat of Almighty God, which only he reserved to himself, which is the conscience of man; and to keep the possession thereof, he hath promised forgiveness of sins *toties quoties*.

"He hath brought in gods of his own framing,

and invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the Holy Scripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom, displacing Christ from his glory, and holding his people in a miserable servitude of blindness, to the loss of a great number of souls, which God at the latter day shall exact at his hand; boasting many times in his canons and decrees, that he can dispense 'against Peter, against Paul, against the Old and New Testament:' and 'of the fulness of power may do as much as God.' O Lord, whoever heard such blasphemy? If there be any man that can advance himself above him, let him be judged antichrist!

"This enemy of God and of our redemption, is so evidently painted out in the Scriptures by such manifest signs and tokens, which all so clearly appear in him, that except a man will shut up his eyes and heart against the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore, for my part, I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this Church of England. And you, my Lord, and the rest that sit here in commission, consider well and examine your own consciences; you have sworn against him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blind. As for me, I have herein discharged mine own conscience toward the world, and I will write also my mind to her Grace, touching this matter."

The copy of which letter sent to the queen, ye shall find after in the end of his story. While he in this sort made his answer, ye heard before how Drs. Story and Martin divers times interrupted him with blasphemous talk, and would fain have had the bishop of Gloucester to put him to silence; who notwithstanding did not, but suffered him to end his tale at full. After this ye heard also how they proceeded to examine him of divers articles, whereof the chief was, that at the time of his creating archbishop of Canterbury, he was sworn to the pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and promised to maintain then the authority of that see; and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather stick to his first oath, and return to his old fold again, than to continue obstinately in an oath forced in the time of schism.

To that he answered, saving his protestation, (which term he used before all his answers,) that at such time Archbishop Warham died, he was ambassador in Germany for the king, who sent for him thereupon home; and having intelligence by some of his friends who were near about the king, how he meant to bestow the same bishopric upon him, and therefore counselled him in that case to make haste home, he, feeling in himself a great inability to such a promotion, and very sorry to leave his

study, and especially considering by what means he must have it, which was clean against his conscience, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, devised an excuse to the king of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there should be most necessary, thinking by that means in his absence, that the king would have bestowed it upon some other, and so remained there, by that device, one half year after the king had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as he seemed to make suspicion of, the king sent for him again: who, after his return, understanding still the archbishopric to be reserved for him, made means by divers of his best friends to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book.

To be brief, when the king himself spake with him, declaring that his full intention, for his service' sake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to bestow that dignity upon him, after long disabling of himself, perceiving he could by no persuasions alter the king's determination, he brake frankly his conscience with him, most humbly craving first his Grace's pardon, for that he should declare unto his Highness. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the office, then he must receive it at the pope's hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his Highness was only the supreme governor of this Church in England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal; and that the full right and donation of all manner of bishoprics and benefices, as well as of any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to his Grace, and not to any other foreign authority, whatsoever it was; and therefore, if he might in that vocation serve God, him, and his country, seeing it was his pleasure so to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his Majesty, and of none other stranger, who had no authority within this realm, neither in any such gift, nor in any other thing. "Whereat the king," said he, "staying a while and musing, asked me how I was able to prove it. At which time I alleged many texts out of the Scriptures, and the fathers also, approving the supreme and highest authority of kings in their realms and dominions, disclosing therewithal the intolerable usurpation of the pope of Rome. Afterwards it pleased his Highness," quoth the archbishop, "many and sundry times to talk with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the authority of the bishop of Rome, the king himself called Dr. Oliver, and other civil lawyers, and devised with them how he might bestow it upon me, enforcing me nothing against my conscience: who thereupon informed him, that I

might do it by the way of protestation, and so one to be sent to Rome, who might take the oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I said, he should do it, *super animam suam*: and I indeed *bonâ fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his authority any further than as it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him, and so to impugn his errors, when time and occasion should serve me. And this my protestation did I cause to be enrolled, and there I think it remaineth."

Then both the doctors professed it to be true that his protestation was enrolled, but said, it was a mere fraud of him. Then the Archbishop Cranmer asked them what he could do more in the case, who thereunto made him no answer at all. Many marvelled at this declaration of his, that so long ago, in so perilous a time, he had so sincerely proceeded; and that, even then, when he most might have advanced himself to honour and rule, which things chiefly men most desire in this world, he chose rather to venture the loss of his life, and all this glorious pomp, than to do any thing, for ambition's sake, that might once spot and stain his conscience. They charged him further that he had conspired with the duke of Northumberland for the disinheriting of the queen; whereunto he made answer as is contained in his letter written to the queen, the copy and tenor of which here followeth.

"Most lamentably mourning and moaning himself unto your Highness, Thomas Craumer, although unworthy either to write or speak unto your Highness, yet, having no person that I know to be mediator for me, and knowing that your pitiful ears are ready to hear all pitiful complaints,—and seeing so many before to have felt your abundant clemency in like case,—I am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowful heart, to ask mercy and pardon for my heinous folly and offence, in consenting to and following the testament and last will of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, your gracious brother; which will God knoweth, God He knoweth, I never liked, nor ever any thing grieved me so much, that your Grace's brother did; and if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it. And what I said therein, as well to his council as to himself, divers of your Majesty's council can report; but not so well as the marquis of Northampton and the Lord Darcy, then lord chamberlain to the king's Majesty, which two were present at the communication between the king's Majesty and me.

"I desired to talk with the king's Majesty alone,

but I could not be suffered: and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have communed with the king alone, and at good leisure, my trust was that I should have altered him from that purpose; but, they being present, my pain was in vain. Then, when I could not dissuade him from the said will, and both he and his privy council informed me that the judges and his learned council said, that notwithstanding the act of entailing of the crown, made by his father, yet that act could not be prejudicial to him, but that he, being in possession of the crown, might make his will thereof: this seemed very strange to me, but, it being the sentence of the judges and other his learned counsel in the laws of this realm, as both he and his counsel informed me, methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my prince therein. And so at length being required, by the king's Majesty himself, to set to my hand to his will, saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the council were; which words surely grieved my heart very sore, and so I granted him to subscribe his will and to follow the same; which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly, without dissimulation. For the which I submit myself most humbly unto your Majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grievous and sorrowful heart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon; which, my heart giveth me, shall not be denied unto me, being granted before to so many who travailed not so much to dissuade both the king and his council as I did.

"And whereas it is contained in two acts of parliament, as I understand, that I, with the duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your Majesty from your royal crown, surely it is untrue: for, the duke never opened his mouth to me, to move me to any such matter, nor I him, nor was his heart such towards me, (seeking long time my destruction,) that he would either trust me in any such matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was others of the council moved me, and the king himself, the duke of Northumberland not being present. Neither before, neither after, had I ever any privy communication with the Duke of that matter, saving that openly at the council-table, the duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the king as I did; when I went about to dissuade him from the said will.

"Now, as concerning the state of religion as it is used in this realm of England at this present, if it please your Highness to license me, I would gladly write my mind unto your Majesty. I will never, God willing, be author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers, which

is an offence most detestable. If I have uttered my mind unto your Majesty, being a Christian queen and governor of this realm, (of whom I am most assuredly persuaded that your gracious intent is, above all things, to prefer God's true word, his honour and glory,) if I have uttered, I say, my mind unto your Majesty, then I shall think myself discharged. For it lieth not in me, but in your Grace only, to see the reformation of things that be amiss. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer what they cannot amend; yet, nevertheless, to show your Majesty my mind in things appertaining unto God, methinks it my duty, knowing what I do, and considering the place which in times past I have occupied: yet will I not presume thereunto without your Grace's pleasure first known, and your licence obtained, whereof I, most humbly prostrate to the ground, do beseech your Majesty. And I shall not cease daily to pray to Almighty God for the good preservation of your Majesty from all enemies, bodily and ghostly, and for the increase of all goodness, heavenly and earthly, during my life, as I do and will do, whatsoever come of me."

And thus much concerning this letter sent to the queen: now to return to the story of the examination again.

They objected to him also that he was married, which he confessed. Whereupon Dr. Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury. At which saying the archbishop smiled, and asked him if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, saying, "I trust you will make my children's causes no worse."

After this Dr. Martin demanded of him, who was supreme head of the Church of England? "Marry," quoth my Lord of Canterbury, "Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church." "Why," quoth Dr. Martin, "you made King Henry the Eighth supreme head of the church." "Yea," said the archbishop, "of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "And not of the church?" said Martin. "No," said he, "for Christ is only the head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible church." "What?" quoth Martin; "you never durst tell the king so." "Yes, that I durst," quoth he, "and did in the publication of his style, wherein he was named supreme head of the church; there was never other thing meant." A number of other fond and foolish objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader.

Thus after they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him (as is aforesaid) to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answers: which he said, if the king and queen would send him, he would be content to do. And so thence he was carried to prison again, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome. Wherein all men that have eyes to see, may easily perceive the crafty practice of these prelates, and the visored face of their justice, as though the court of Rome would condemn no man before he answered for himself, as all law and equity required. But the very same instant time, the holiness of that unholy father, contrary to all reason and justice, sent his letter executory unto the king and queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing he did not only before the eighty days were ended, but before there were twenty days spent! Furthermore, whereas the said archbishop was first detained in strait prison, so that he could not appear, (as was notorious both in England and also in the Romish court,) and therefore had a lawful and most just excuse of his absence by all laws, both popish and other: yet in the end of the said fourscore days, was that worthy martyr decreed *contumax*, that is, sturdily, frowardly, and wilfully absent, and in pain of the same his absence condemned, and put to death.

Dr. Thirleby, and Dr. Bonner, coming with a new commission to sit upon the archbishop the fourteenth day of February.

This letter or sentence definitive of the pope, was dated about the first day of January, and was delivered here in England about the midst of February. Upon the receipt of which letters another session was appointed for the archbishop to appear the fourteenth day of February, before certain commissioners directed down by the queen, the chief whereof was the bishop of Ely, Dr. Thirleby. Concerning which Dr. Thirleby by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the said archbishop's household chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced of him, (not like a chaplain, but rather like a natural brother,) that there was never any thing in the archbishop's house so dear, were it plate, jewels, horse, maps, books, or any thing else, but if Thirleby did never so little commend it, (a subtle kind of begging,) the archbishop by and by, either gave it to him, or else sent it after him to his house: so greatly was the archbishop enamoured with him, that whosoever would obtain any thing of him, most commonly would make their

way before by Dr. Thirleby. This by-matter of the said Dr. Thirleby I thought here to recite; not so much to upbraid the man with the vice of unthankfulness, as chiefly and only for this, to admonish him of old benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old benefactor; and so to favour the cause and quarrel of him whom he was so singularly bounden unto.

With the said Dr. Thirleby, bishop of Ely, was also assigned in the same commission Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, which two, coming to Oxford upon St. Valentine's day, as the pope's delegates, with a new commission from Rome, by the virtue thereof commanded the archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the choir of Christ's church, before the high altar, where they sitting (according to their manner) in their pontificalibus, first began, as the fashion is, to read their commission; wherein was contained, how that in the court of Rome all things being indifferently examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made unto them, and witnesses examined on both parts, and counsel heard as well on the king and queen's behalf, his accusers, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, the party guilty, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence, &c. Which foresaid commission, as it was in reading, "O Lord," said the archbishop, "what lies be these, that I, being continually in prison, and never could be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witness and appoint my counsel at Rome? God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They read on the commission which came from the pope, *plenitudine potestatis*, supplying all manner of defects in law or process committed in dealing with the archbishop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power.

When the commission was read thus, they proceeding thereupon to his degradation, first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a surplice, and then an albe; after that the vestment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to mass.

When they had apparelled him so far, "What," said he, "I think I shall say mass." "Yea," said Cosins, one of Bonner's chaplains, "my Lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this." "Do you so?" quoth he; "that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it."

Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a bishop and archbishop, as he is at his installing, saving that as every thing then is most rich and costly, so every thing in this was of canvass and old

clouts, with a mitre and a pall of the same suit done upon him in mockery; and then the crosier-staff was put in his hand.

This done after the pope's pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who by the space of many years had borne, as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to stretch out his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly after this manner of sort.

"This is the man that hath ever despised the pope's Holiness, and now is to be judged by him: this is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church: this is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar: this is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself."

Whereunto the archbishop interrupting him said, that in that he belied him, as he did in many other things; for that which he would now seem to charge him withal, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his: "for the thing you mean was in Paul's church," said he, "where I came to sit in commission, and there was a scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your officers. And whether there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it, wherefore you do wittingly evil, to charge me with it."

But Bonner went on still in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing against the archbishop, beginning every sentence with, "This is the man, this is the man," till at length there was never a man but was weary of his unmannerly usage of him in that time and place: insomuch that the bishop of Ely, aforesaid, divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward, when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had entreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his crosier-staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver, and withal, imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, "I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted;" and prayed divers of the standers-by, by name, to be witnesses, and especially Master Curtop, to whom he spake twice, &c.

The copy of which his appellation, because it was

not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rei memoriam*, as in form here followeth.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

"First, my plain protestation made, that I intend to speak nothing against one holy catholic and apostolical church, or the authority thereof (the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey); and if any thing peradventure, either by slipperiness of tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine adversaries, be spoken or done otherwise than well, or not with such reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

"Although the bishop of Rome (whom they call pope) beareth the room of Christ in earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unsinnable, neither hath he received that power to destroy, but to edify the congregation. Therefore if he shall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be resisted, even as Paul withstood Peter. And if he, being aided by help of princes, deceived perchance by false suggestion or with evil counsel, cannot be resisted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is nevertheless one remedy of appealing (which no prince can take away) uttered by the very law of nature: forasmuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body by the law of God, of nature, and of man.

"And whereas the laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, insomuch that the inferior cannot make laws of not appealing to a superior power; and since it is openly enough confessed, that a holy general council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the holy catholic church, is above the pope, especially in matters concerning faith; that he cannot make decrees that men shall not appeal from him to a general council: therefore I, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, or in time past ruler of the metropolitan church of Canterbury, doctor in divinity, do say and publish before you the public notary, and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the persons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer myself, in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the articles that follow. And I openly confess, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad myself, or

licence of a notary and witnesses. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the laws.

“First, I say and publish, that James, by the mercy of God priest, called cardinal of the Pit, and of the title of our Lady in the way of the Church of Rome, judge and commissary specially deputed of our most holy lord the pope, (as he affirmed,) caused me to be cited to Rome, there to appear fourscore days after the citation served on me, to make answer to certain articles touching the peril of my state and life: and whereas I was kept in prison with most strait ward, so that I could in no wise be suffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of prison, (and in so grievous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to send a proctor,) and though I would never so fain send my proctor, yet by reason of poverty I am not able, (for all that ever I had, wherewith I should bear my proctor's costs and charges, is quite taken from me,) nevertheless the most reverend cardinal aforesaid doth sore threaten me, that whether I shall appear or not, he will nevertheless yet proceed in judgment against me. Wherein I feel myself so grieved, that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or further from reason.

“Secondly, The reverend father, James Brooks, by the mercy of God bishop of Gloucester, judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the most reverend cardinal, caused me to be cited at Oxford, (where I was then kept in prison,) to answer to certain articles, concerning the danger of my state and life. And when I, being unlearned and ignorant in the laws, desired counsel of the learned in the law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equity of all laws both of God and man. Wherein again I feel me most wrongfully grieved.

“Thirdly, And when I refused the said bishop of Gloucester to be my judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he nevertheless went on still, and made process against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which say, ‘A judge that is refused ought not to proceed in the cause, but to leave off.’ And when he had required of me answers to certain articles, I refused to make him any answer: I said, I would yet gladly make answer to the most renowned king and queen's deputies or attorneys then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine answer should be extra-judicial: and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer. But mine answer was sudden and unprovided for; and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answers, that I might put to, take away, change, and

amend them; and this was also permitted me. Nevertheless, contrary to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answer, the said reverend father, bishop of Gloucester, (as I hear,) commanded mine answers to be enacted, contrary to the equity of the law. In which thing again I feel me much grieved.

“Fourthly, Furthermore, I could not for many causes admit the bishop of Rome's usurped authority in this realm, nor consent to it, for my solemn oath letting me, which I made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, according to the laws of England: secondly, because I knew the authority of the bishop of Rome, which he usurpeth, to be against the crown, customs, and laws of this realm of England, insomuch that neither the king can be crowned in this realm, without the most grievous crime of perjury; nor may bishops enjoy their bishoprics, nor judgments to be used according to the laws and customs of this realm; except, by the bishop of Rome's authority, be accused both the king and queen, the judges, writers, and executors of the laws and customs, with all that consent to them. Finally, the whole realm shall be accused.

“Fifthly, Moreover, that heinous and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishoprics, provisions, annuities, dispensations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other cursed merchandise of Rome, was wont exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this realm; all which things should follow again by recognising and receiving of that usurped authority, unto the unmeasurable loss of this realm.

“Sixthly, Finally, it is most evident by that usurped authority, not only the crown of England to be under yoke, the laws and customs of this realm to be thrown down and trodden under foot, but also the most holy decrees of councils, together with the precepts both of the gospel and of God.

“When in times past, the Sun of Righteousness being risen in the world, Christian religion by the preaching of the apostles began to be spread very far abroad, and to flourish, insomuch that their sound went out into all the world; innumerable people which walked in darkness, saw a great light; God's glory every where published did flourish; the only care and care of the ministers of the church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ; the people to embrace and follow Christ's doctrine. Then the Church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and also was counted worthily, the mother of other churches, forasmuch as then she, first begat to Christ, nourished with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured

the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable; she rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp were trodden under foot, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of all miseries, was laughed to scorn, while through the example of Romish martyrs, men did every where press forward to the life to come. But afterwards, when the ungraciousness of damnable ambition, never-satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices, had corrupted and taken the see of Rome; there followed, every where almost, the deformities of all churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foul and heinous usages.

"For the aforesaid and many other griefs and abuses, (which I intend to prove, and do proffer myself in time convenient to prove hereafter,) since reformation of the above-mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the bishop of Rome, neither can I hope, by reason of his wicked abuses and usurped authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cause; therefore I do challenge and appeal in these writings from the pope, having no good counsel, and from the above-named pretences, commissions, and judges, from their citations, processes, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them; and from all their sentences, censures, pains, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting, and from all others whatsoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of schism, of heresy, adultery, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any manner-wise attempted, done, and set forward, and to be attempted to be done and to be set forward hereafter, (saving always their Honours and Reverences,) as unequal and unrighteous, most tyrannical and violent, and from every grief to come, which shall happen to me, as well for myself as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my side—unto a free general council, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a sure place, to the which place I, or a proctor deputed by me, may freely and with safety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may, by the law, privilege, custom, or otherwise, challenge and appeal.

And I desire the first, the second, and third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling abuse, inequality, and unrighteousness, or otherwise as I shall be better able:

choice and liberty reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my sayings, and to reform all things after a better fashion, saving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be, on my part.

"And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the holy catholic church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

"And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err, but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy catholic church; desiring none other thing than meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

"And I protest and openly confess, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament, and of other my doctrine, whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things, as the catholic church, and the most holy fathers of old, with one accord have meant and judged; but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for a heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion.—Given," &c.

This appeal being put up to Thirleby, the bishop of Ely, he said, "My Lord, our commission is to proceed against you, all appeal being removed, and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," quoth he, "then you do me the more wrong; for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the pope and me *immediate*, and none otherwise: and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause."

"Well," quoth Ely, "if it may be admitted, it shall," and so received it of him. And then began he to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to

consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him : and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it had not been the king and queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, else no worldly commodity should have made him to have done it ; concluding that, to be one of the sorrowfullest things that ever happened unto him. The archbishop gently seeming to com-

fort him, said, he was very well content withal. And so proceeded they to his degradation.

Here then, to be short, when they came to take off his pall, (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop,) then said he, " Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall ; " which imported as much as they, being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges ; but being the pope's delegates, they might take his pall. And so they did, and so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put



on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly, as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whilst they were thus doing, " All this," quoth the archbishop, " needed not ; I had myself done with this gear long ago." Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil-favouredly made as one might lightly see, and a townsman's cap on his head ; and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake Lord Bonner, saying to him, " Now are you no lord any more." And so when-

soever he spake to the people of him, (as he was continually barking against him,) ever he used this term, " This gentleman here," &c. And thus, with great compassion and pity of every man, in this evil-favoured gown was he carried to prison : whom there followed a gentleman of Gloucestershire with the archbishop's own gown, who, standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the bishops, had it delivered unto him, who by the way talking with him, said the bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears. " Yet," said he, " he might have used a great deal more friendship towards me, and never have been the worse thought on, for I have well deserved it." And going into the prison up with him, asked him if he would drink ; who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt fish, that he had

better will to eat ; for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little : “ but now that it is past, my heart,” said he, “ is well quieted.” Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he, being one toward the law, and fearing Master Farmer’s case, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him, “ for my Lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him,” and so left him ; my Lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers and all his friends. That night this gentleman was stayed by Bonner and Ely, for giving him this money, and but for the help of friends he had been sent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment.

In this mean time, while the archbishop was thus remaining in durance, (whom they had kept now in prison almost the space of three years,) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could about Master Cranmer, to have him recant, essaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise, how to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the dean’s house of Christ’s church in the said university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and slightly they suborned certain men, which when they could not expugn him by arguments and disputation, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recantation ; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood stedfast in his sentence : and again on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating, and promising, and all other means ; specially Henry Sydal, and Friar John, a Spaniard de Villa Garcia, to the end to drive him, to the uttermost of their possibility, from his former sentence to recantation.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him, and for his soul’s health, the same should be. They added moreover, how the council and the noblemen bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying it was but a small matter, and so easy that they required him to do, only that he would sub-

scribe to a few words with his own hand ; which if he did, there should be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity ; or else if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he listed, without all public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper. But if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon ; for the queen was so purposed, that she would have Cranmer a catholic, or else no Cranmer at all. Therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the course of nature did call him ; for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying, that he was not so old, but that many years yet remained in this his so lusty age ; and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he should do it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health, than he was himself : saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues, which, being adjoined with his life, would be profitable both to himself and to many others ; but, being extinct by death, should be fruitful to no man : that he should take good heed that he went not too far ; yet there was time enough to restore all things safe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health, while it was offered, lest, if he would now refuse it while it was offered, he might hereafter seek it, when he could not have it.

Finally, If the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and especially in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous ; but to die in the fire and such torments, is most grievous of all. With these and like provocations, these fair flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge him, using all means they could to draw him to their side ; whose force his manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last, when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop, being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

It might be supposed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come ; but, as we may since perceive by the letter of his sent to a lawyer, the most cause why he desired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun. But howsoever it was, plain it was, to be against

his conscience. But so it pleaseth God, that so great virtues in this archbishop should not be had in too much admiration of us without some blemish, or else that the falsehood of the popish generation, by this means, might be made more evident, or else to minish the confidence of our own strength, that in him should appear an example of man's weak imbecility. The form of which recantation made by the friars and doctors, whereto he subscribed, was this :

"I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which be contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess, one holy and catholic church visible, without the which there is no salvation ; and thereof I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine ; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

"And in the other six sacraments also, like as in this, I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the Church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the catholic church and Church of Rome holdeth and teacheth : I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church ; and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me. And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent Majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of

this realm of England, &c., and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly, and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others."

This recantation of the archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all men's hands ; whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription ; then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydal and Friar John de Villa Garcia. All this while Cranmer was in uncertain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors ; but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly ; but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent.

Now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that neither he could die honestly, nor yet dishonestly live. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

In the mean time, while these things were adoring (as I said) in the prison amongst the doctors, the queen, taking secret counsel how to despatch Cranmer out of the way, (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looked for nothing less, than death,) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the twenty-first of March, he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning ; and, so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, sendeth him away.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Thame, and the Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Cole the doctor having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part ; who, as the day

of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith; Cole, departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. And therefore in the morning, which was the twenty-first day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any money; to whom when he answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and so exhorting him so much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business, as to his sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof which should remain with him; and that he did also. But yet the archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation written in another paper, which he minded to recite to the people, before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest, if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine of the clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen that were sent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation. For first of all, they that were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should stablsh the vanity of their opinion: the other part, which were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he which by continual study and labour for so many years had set forth the doctrine

of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined either to this part or to that, so, according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet, because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end, all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

In this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at length cometh from the prison of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church, (the chief church in the university,) because it was a foul and rainy day, in this order: the mayor went before; next him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, who, mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*, and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a councillor, and of so long-continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary. Whom after he had praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts, (according to the solemn custom of the schools,) intending to speak,

first, of the mercy of God : secondly, of his justice to be showed : and last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reprov'd him, that once he, being inducd with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholic doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious error ; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error ; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same altogether to go unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden choose of three kinds of punishment which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days ; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all : and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, seeing he repented him of his errors, yet there were causes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death ; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some. First, that being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the king her father, and [her] mother ; besides the driving out of the pope's authority, while he was metropolitan. Secondly, that he had been a heretic, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinions that so many years have prevailed in England did first rise and spring ; of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay of the catholic church. And further, it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the duke of Northumberland of late, made even with Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church, so there should be one that should make even with Fisher of Rochester ; and because that Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed meet that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up their part of equality.

Besides these there were other just and weighty causes, which seemed to the queen and council,

which were not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is so high, that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none : therefore they should beware and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the queen's Majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause she would spare other men ; that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune ; who, from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into so great misery, as they might now see, being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates in the church, and an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person in the realm of long time, a man thought in greatest assurance, having a king on his side ; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a councillor to become a caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him : briefly, so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with these and such like ; bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise : and out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of the fire, by this, The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength : by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew : adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross, the patience of St. Laurence on the fire ; assuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the

time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, (he said,) and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be diriges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul.

Cranmer in all this mean time, with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present do testify that they never saw in any child more tears, than burst out from him at that time, all the sermon while; but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago, namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed." "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and that with a good will;" who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people: "I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed. But among all the rest, there is one offence which most of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in process of my talk you shall hear more in its proper place." And then, putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people in his sense.

Cranmer.—"Good Christian people, my dearly-beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above

measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all."

And here kneeling down he said,

Cranmer.—"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c.

And then he, rising, said:

Cranmer.—"Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, it is a heavy case to see, that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: that you set not your minds over-much upon this glozing world, but upon God, and upon the world to come; and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, That the love of this world is hatred against God.

"The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

"The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

"The second is of St. John, whose saying is this, He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?

"The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner: Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust; and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire. You gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last day. Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sentences; for if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

"And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I come to the great thing, which so

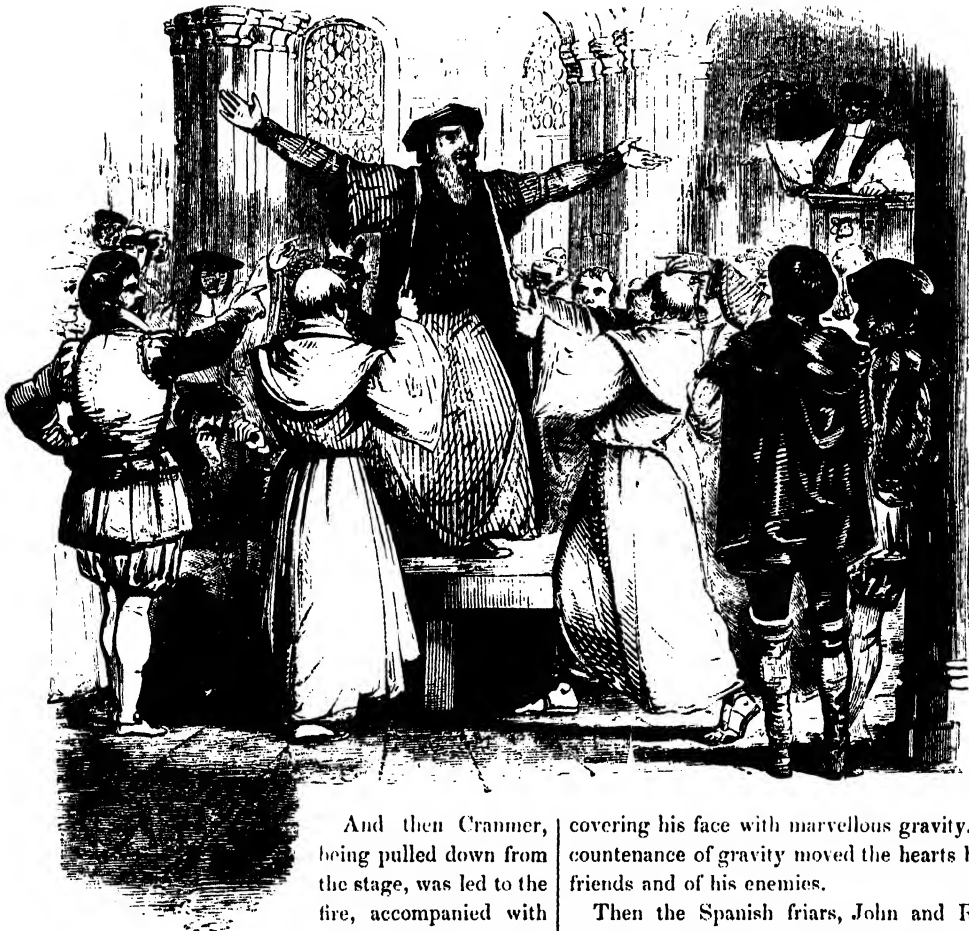
much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished there-for; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy, and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

Here the standers-by were all astonied, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood. Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived; for it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victory and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation; who, as soon as they heard these things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief—for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased, now, being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so, when they could do nothing else unto him, yet, lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered, "Ah! my masters," quoth he, "do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled:" and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and specially Cole cried out upon him, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."



And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madness," say they, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saying that to one troubling him in the way, he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his book diligently; saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, "Didst thou it not?"

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down, he prayed to God; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare; likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick,

covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer, with stedfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand, and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and specially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly: and chid those sergeants and citizens which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brasen-nose.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more stedfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held

so stedfast and immovable, (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face,) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and stedfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated "his unworthy right hand," so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare, and not used among the Spaniards, when Friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples, which are of like constancy, have been common here in England, ran to the Lord Williams of Thame,

crying that the archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, which was not ignorant of the archbishop's constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and (as it were) by silence rebuked the friar's folly. And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil-subscribing he should have perished, by well-recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and Master Allen, or if there were any other, with whose burning and blood his hands had been before any thing polluted. But especially he



had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was to be numbered amongst Christ's martyrs, much more worthy the name of St. Thomas of Canter-

bury, than he whom the pope falsely before did canonize.

And thus have you the full story concerning the life and death of this reverend archbishop and martyr of God, Thomas Cranmer, and also of divers other the learned sort of Christ's martyrs burned in Queen Mary's time, of whom this archbishop was the last,

being burnt about the very middle time of the reign of that queen, and almost the very middle man of all the martyrs which were burned in all her reign besides.

Divers books and treatises he wrote both in prison and out of prison; among the which especially he had a mind to the answer which he made to Marcus Antonius Constantius, which book was the chief cause why he made his appeal, (as he, writing to the lawyer, confesseth himself,) and peradventure was some cause why he recanted; to have leisure and time to finish that book, of the which two parts be yet extant, and peradventure if God give time and life, may hereafter be published. The third part some say also was written, and afterwards lost at Oxford, which, if it be so, it is a great pity.

Now after the life and story of this foresaid archbishop discoursed, let us adjoin withal his letters, beginning first with his famous letter to Queen Mary, which he wrote unto her incontinent after he was cited up to Rome by Bishop Brooks and his fellows, the tenor whereof here followeth.

To the Queen Mary.

“May it please your Majesty to pardon my presumption, that I dare be so bold to write to your Highness; but very necessity constraineth me, that your Majesty may know my mind rather by mine own writing, than by other men’s reports. So it is, that upon Wednesday, being the twelfth day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the king and your most excellent Majesty; which matters the Thursday following were objected against me by Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, your Majesty’s proctors before the bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome. But, alas! it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural subject, to be accused of the king and queen of his own realm, and specially before an outward judge, or by authority coming from any person out of this realm: where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, shall complain and require justice at a stranger’s hands against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws—as though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms against their own subjects, but they must seek it at strangers’ hands in a strange land—the like whereof, I think, was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries; and, I think, that death shall not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious sovereign

lord and lady, to whom under God I do owe all obedience, to be mine accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and outward power. But, forasmuch as in the time of the prince of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, your Grace’s father, I was sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England; therefore, lest I should allow his authority contrary to mine own oath, I refused to make answer to the bishop of Gloucester sitting here in judgment by the pope’s authority, lest I should run into perjury.

“Another cause why I refused the pope’s authority, is this, that his authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same; which every true subject is bound to defend. First, for that the pope saith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his commandment and beck.

“But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and jurisdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject unto none, but to God alone.

“Moreover, to the imperial laws and customs of this realm the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, be sworn, and all the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and customs being repugnant to his laws, and declareth to be accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such laws or customs; as it appeareth by many of the pope’s laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the Decrees is written thus: ‘The constitutions or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome or their good customs, are of none effect.’ Also, ‘We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their fautors, and receptors, and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, except they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Also we excommunicate the statute-makers and writers of those statutes, and all the potentates, consuls, governors, and councillors of places where such statutes and customs shall be made or kept; and also those that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notify in public form the matter so adjudged.’

“ Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority, which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your Grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, be naught ; and as well your Majesty, as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed amongst heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope have such power as he claimeth) until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) be taken away and blotted out of the law books. And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few ; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime ; which clerks by the pope's laws be so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be nowhere sued, but before their ordinary.

“ Also the pope by his laws may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual ; which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

“ By the pope's laws, *Jus patronatus* shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge ; but by the laws of the realm it shall be sued before the temporal judge.

“ And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's laws like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire* : so that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into the *præmunire*.

“ But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever letteth the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the pope's power standeth accursed. So that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them, until such time as they do give place unto his laws.

“ But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do execute still the laws and customs of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the pope's power be of force ; and for the same we stand excommunicate, and shall do, until we leave the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing such authority, whereby the realm standeth accursed before God, if the pope have any such authority.

“ These things (as I suppose) were not fully opened in the parliament-house, when the pope's authority was received again within this realm ; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or

queen's Majesties, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the same, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial as well to the crown as to the laws and customs and state of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and such of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himself as it were a God. These seek to maintain the pope, whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle ; and so being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration (I ween) some that knew the truth, held their peace in the parliament ; whereas if they had done their duties to the crown and whole realm, they should have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and shown the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm.

“ And if I should agree to allow such authority within this realm, whereby I must needs confess, that your most gracious Highness, and also your realm, should ever continue accursed, until ye shall cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm ; I could not think myself true either to your Highness, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men ; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which he challengeth every where is, to the crown, laws, and customs of this realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in any wise how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth, to the crown and state of this realm.

Another cause I alleged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this : That by his authority he subverteth not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God ; so that whosoever be under his authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's religion purely, as Christ did command. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all Christian people be bounden diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpose he ordained holy-days, when they ought, leaving apart all other business, to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people

may understand and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as a harp or lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? for all the sound is in vain; so is it in vain and profiteth nothing, saith Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speak to the people in a language which they know not; for else he may profit himself; but profiteth not the people, saith St. Paul. But herein I was answered thus; that St. Paul spake only of preaching, that the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people did know, or else his preaching availed nothing: but, if the preaching availed nothing, being spoken in a language which the people understand not, how should any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? And yet that St. Paul meant not only of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words: for he speaketh by name expressly of praying, singing, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, whereunto the people say 'Amen,' which they use not in preaching, but in other Divine service; that whether the priests rehearse the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profession of their faith, or humble confession of their sins, with earnest request of mercy and forgiveness, or make suit or request unto God for any thing; then all the people, understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say 'Amen;' that is to say, allow what the priests say; that the rehearsal of God's universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and of the people, might ascend up into the ears of God all together, and be as a sweet savour, odour, and incense in his nose; and thus was it used many hundred years after Christ's ascension. But the aforesaid things cannot be done when the priests speak to the people in a language not known, and so they (or their clerk in their name) say 'Amen,' but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St. Paul saith, How can the people say 'Amen' to thy well saying, when they understand not what thou sayest? And thus was St. Paul understood of all interpreters, both the Greeks and Latins, old and new, school authors and others that I have read, until above thirty years past; at which time Eckius, with others of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul of preaching only.

"But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where

indeed that which they called the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old,) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor, for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy, (not one saying contrary,) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue, and that St. Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. was so to be understood. And so is St. Paul to be understood in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinian, a most godly emperor, in a synod writeth on this manner:—'We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation and prayers used in holy baptism, not after a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard of the faithful people, so that the hearers' minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so Paul teacheth also in the Epistle to the Corinthians, If the spirit do only bless, (or say well,) how shall he that occupieth the place of a private person say Amen to thy thanksgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou sayest. Thou dost give thanks well, but the other is not edified.' And not only the civil law, and all other writers a thousand and five hundred years continually together, have expounded St. Paul not of preaching only, but of other service said in the church; but also reason giveth the same, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand; or else (as St. Paul saith) what availeth it to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church shall hear they wot not what, and shall answer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

"And again I said, whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received of all Christian people under the forms of bread and wine, and said of the cup, Drink ye all of this; the pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation, as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ pertained not to laymen. And whereas Theophilus of Alexandria (whose works St. Jerome did translate about eleven hundred years past) saith, 'That if Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them;' yet the pope denieth the cup of Christ to Christian people, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the pope in these things, I must needs disobey my Saviour Christ.

"But I was answered hereunto, (as commonly the papists do answer,) that under the form of bread

is whole Christ's flesh and blood : so that whosoever receiveth the form of bread, receiveth as well Christ's blood as his flesh. Let it be so, yet in the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drunken, but eaten ; nor is it received in the cup under the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only ; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the pope keepeth from all lay-persons the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

"And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone ; so that the lay-people receive not the whole sacrament whereby Christ's death is represented as he commanded.

"Moreover, as the pope taketh upon him to give the temporal sword, by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes, so doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him ; and commandeth the subjects to disobey their princes, assailing the subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful oaths made unto their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

"One John, patriarch of Constantinople in the time of St. Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. To whom St. Gregory wrote, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him, that is to say, the bishop of Rome, the bishop of Alexandria, and the bishop of Antioch ; which three were patriarchal sees, as well as Constantinople, and were brethren one to another. 'But,' saith St. Gregory, 'if any one shall exalt himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, the same passeth in pride.' But now the bishop of Rome exalteth himself not only above all kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to set up and pull down, as he shall think good. And as the devil, having no such authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him ; in like manner the pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms, being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

"And moreover, his lawyers and glozers so flatter him, that they feign he may command emperors and

kings to hold his stirrup when he lighteth from his horse, and to be his foot-men : and that, if any emperor and king give him any thing, they give him nothing but that is his own ; and that he may dispense against God's word, against both the Old and New Testament, against St. Paul's Epistles, and against the Gospel. And furthermore, whatsoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himself into hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, because he, being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were a God ; and nameth himself God's vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play antichrist's part, I cannot tell what is antichrist, which is no more to say, but Christ's enemy and adversary ; who shall sit in the temple of God, advancing himself above all others, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion, shall subvert the true religion of Christ, and under pretence and colour of Christ's religion, shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of antichrist. Now if any man lift himself higher than the pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the world ; or can be more adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's laws ; and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary ; that man must needs be taken for antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find antichrist. Wherefore, seeing the pope thus to overthrow both God's laws and man's laws, taketh upon him to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects unto him, especially the crown of this realm, with the laws and customs of the same ; I see no mean how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's laws, mine allegiance and duty to your Majesty, and my love and affection to this realm.

"This that I have spoken against the power and authority of the pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the pope's person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote God's honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predecessors in these latter days. Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble ; but I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England ; but most specially to discharge my conscience in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Christ, who saith, Fear not them that kill

the body, and cannot kill the soul; but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. He that for fear to lose this life will forsake the truth, shall lose the everlasting life: and he that for the truth's sake will spend his life, shall find everlasting life. And Christ promiseth to stand fast with them before his Father, which will stand fast with him here. Which comfort is so great, that whosoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly pass on this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

“And as touching the sacrament, I said, forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ, *This is my body, This is my blood*; I said that Christ in these words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And whereas the papists say in those two points contrary unto me, that Christ called not bread his body, but a substance uncertain, nor spake figuratively; herein, I said, I would be judged by the old church; and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And forasmuch as I have alleged in my book many old authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old author, that saith in these two points as they say, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them. But when I bring forth any author that saith in most plain terms as I do, yet say the other part, that the authors meant not so; as who should say, that the authors spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author that saith in words as they say; yet say they, that the authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer me to the judgment of all indifferent hearers: yea, the old Church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the sacrament, as the Church of Rome hath done of late years; for in the beginning, the Church of Rome taught a pure and a sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the Church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of transubstantiation; with the doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old Church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so fond and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it, if he knew what it is. But,

howsoever they bear the people in hand, that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort. For by their doctrine, of one body of Christ is made two bodies: one natural, having distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, nor tarrieth longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digesting: so that when the form of bread is digested, that body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men be as long in digesting as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) entereth as far and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed?

“It seemeth to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body; which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul: and though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness; and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as meseemeth) a sound doctrine, according to God's word, and sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. And if it can be showed unto me, that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the sacrament is erroneous, (which I think cannot be showed,) then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I shall with all humility submit myself unto the pope, not only to kiss his feet, but, &c.

“Another cause why I refused to take the bishop of Gloucester for my judge, was the respect of his own person, being more than once perjured. First, for that he, being divers times sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme heads of this realm, as by God's laws they be: contrary to that lawful oath, the said bishop sat then in judgment by authority from Rome; wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as a judge.

“The second perjury was, that he took his bi-

shopric both of the queen's Majesty and of the pope, making to each of them a solemn oath, which oaths be so contrary, that the one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declareth himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm; whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my judge."

Extract of another letter to the Queen Mary.

"I learned by Dr. Martin, that at the day of your Majesty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your Majesty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he useth to minister to princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, (which I know not but by report.) then I beseech your Majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to expend and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your Grace's conscience shall give you: for I am surely persuaded, that willingly your Majesty will not offend, nor do against your conscience for any thing. But I fear me that there be contradictions in your oaths, and that those which should have informed your Grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your Majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart.

"Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, from pen and ink, saving at this time to write unto your Majesty, which all were necessary for a man being in my case. Wherefore I beseech your Majesty, that I may have such of these as may stand with your Majesty's pleasure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your Majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mouth to defend his truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly to his Majesty's pleasure."

To Dr. Martin and Dr. Story.

"I have me commended unto you: and, as I promised, I have sent my letters unto the queen's Majesty unsigned, praying you to sign them, and deliver them with all speed. I might have sent them by the carrier sooner, but not surer. But

hearing Master Bailiff say, that he would go to the court on Friday, I thought him a meet messenger to send my letters by: for better is later and surer, than sooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the queen's Majesty enclosed and sealed; which I require you may be so delivered without delay, and not be opened until it be delivered unto her Grace's own hands. I have written all that I remember I said, except that which I spake against the bishop of Gloucester's own person, which I thought not meet to write. And in some places I have written more than I said, which I would have answered to the bishop, if you would have suffered me.

"You promised I should see mine answers to the sixteen articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promise you kept not. And mine answer was not made upon my oath, nor repeated, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*, as I protested; nor to the bishop of Gloucester as judge, but to you the king and queen's proctors. I trust you deal sincerely with me without fraud or craft, and use me as you would wish to be used in like case yourselves. Remember, that what measure you mete, the same shall be measured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God send you his Spirit, to induce you into truth."

Ye heard before how the archbishop Dr. Cramer in the month of February was cited up to Rome, and in the month of March next following was degraded by the bishop of Ely and Bishop Bonner. In time of which his degradation he put up his appellation. In this his appellation, because he needed the help of some good and godly lawyer, he writeth to a certain friend of his about the same:—

"The law of nature requireth of all men, that so far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one should seek to defend and preserve his own life: which thing when I about three days ago bethought myself of, and therewithal remembered how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from Pope Leo the Tenth, to a general council, (lest I should seem rashly and unadvisedly to cast away myself,) I determined to appeal in like sort to some lawful and free general council. But seeing the order and form of an appeal pertaineth to the lawyers, whereof I myself am ignorant, and seeing that Luther's appeal cometh not to my hand, I purposed to break my mind in this matter to some faithful friend and skilful in the law, whose help I might use in this behalf, and you only among others came to my remembrance, as a man most meet in this university for my purpose. But this is a matter

that requireth great silence, so that no man know of it before it be done. It is so that I am summoned to make mine answer at Rome, the sixteenth day of this month; before the which day I think it good, after sentence pronounced, to make mine appeal. But whether I should first appeal from the judge delegate to the pope, and so afterward to the general council, or else, leaving the pope, I should appeal immediately to the council, herein I stand in need of your counsel.

"Many causes there be, for the which I think good to appeal. First, because I am by an oath bound never to consent to the receiving of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm. Besides this, whereas I utterly refused to make answer to the articles objected unto me by the bishop of Gloucester, appointed by the pope to be my judge, yet I was content to answer Martin and Story, with this protestation, that mine answer should not be taken as made before a judge, nor yet in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all: moreover, after I had made mine answer, I required to have a copy of the same, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good. The which, though both the bishop of Gloucester, and also the king and the queen's proctors, promised me, yet have they altogether broken promise with me, and have not permitted me to correct my said answers according to my request, and yet notwithstanding have (as I understand) registered the same, as acts formally done in place of judgment.

"Finally, forasmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon my departing from the bishop of Rome, and from the popish religion, so that now the quarrel is betwixt the pope himself and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent judge in his own cause; it seemeth (methinks) good reason, that I should be suffered to appeal to some general council in this matter; specially seeing the law of nature (as they say) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in such cases.

"Now, since it is very requisite that this matter should be kept as close as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect skill herein you shall have need of further advice; then I beseech you, even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Christ, that you will open to no creature alive whose the case is. And forasmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beseech you, that laying aside all other your studies and business for the time, you will apply this my matter only, till you have brought it to pass. The chiefest cause in very deed (to tell you the truth) of this mine appeal is, that I might

gain time (if it shall so please God) to live until I have finished mine answer against Marcus Antonius Constantius, which I have now in hand. But if the adversaries of the truth will not admit mine appeal, (as I fear they will not,) God's will be done; I pass not upon it, so that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Christ's quarrel and to reign with him, than here to be shut up, and kept in the prison of this body, unless it were to continue yet still awhile in this warfare, for the commodity and profit of my brethren, and to the further advancing of God's glory. To whom be all glory for evermore. Amen.

"There is also yet another cause why I think good to appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to answer there for myself, I am notwithstanding kept here fast in prison, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed. And moreover, forasmuch as the state I stand in is a matter of life and death, so that I have great need of learned counsel for my defence in this behalf; yet when I made my earnest request for the same, all manner of counsel and help of proctors, advocates, and lawyers, was utterly denied me.

"Your loving friend,

THOMAS CRANMER."

To Mrs. Wilkinson, exhorting her to fly in the time of persecution.

"The true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whosoever hath him, hath company enough, although he were in a wilderness all alone: and he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you seek your dwelling there, where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's true religion? If you be loth to depart from your kin and friends, remember that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kin.

"If you be loth to depart for slandering of God's word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his apostles, that if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window,

to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used from time to time to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles, albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they showed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good; and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death; which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ; then they showed how little they passed of death; how much they

feared God more than men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life.

"Wherefore I exhort you as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of yours and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God, and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutors' hands. And the Lord send his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go; and all that be godly will say, Amen."

PERSECUTION IN SUFFOLK;

Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield, martyrs.



IN the story of Robert Samuel, mention was made before of two godly women in the same town of Ipswich, which short-

ly after him suffered likewise, and obtained the crown of martyrdom, the names of whom were Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten, and another, Joan, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a shoemaker, both dwelling in one town: who, about the same time that the archbishop aforesaid was burned at Oxford suffered likewise in the foresaid town

of Ipswich, either in the same month of March, or, as some say, in the end of February the next month before.

Their opinion or persuasion was this, that in the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion: "for," said they, "Jesus Christ is ascended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and not in the sacrament, as he was born of the Virgin Mary." For this they were burned. In whose suffering their constancy worthily was to be wondered at, who being so simple women, so manfully stood to the confession and testimony of God's word and verity; insomuch that when they had prepared and undressed themselves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earnestly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions; despising the ordinances and institutions of the Romish antichrist, with all his superstitions and rotten religion. And so continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands, and called unto God constant'y so long as life did endure.

This Potten's wife, in a night a little before her death, being asleep in her bed, saw a bright burning fire, right up as a pole, and on the side of the fire she thought there stood a number of Queen Mary's friends looking on. Then being asleep, she seemed to muse with herself whether her fire should burn so bright or no; and indeed her suffering was not far unlike to her dream.

This also I thought further to note, how these two being always together in prison, the one which was Michael's wife seemed to be nothing so ardent and zealous as Potten's wife was, although (God be thanked) they did stoutly stand to the confession of the truth both. But when the said Michael's wife came to the stake, and saw nothing but present death before her, she much exceeded the other in joy and comfort: albeit both of them did so joyfully suffer, as it was marvelled at of those that knew them, and did behold their end. And thus these two martyrs ended their lives with great triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like. Amen.

The story of three martyrs suffering at Salisbury: John Maundrel, William Coberley, and John Spicer.

After these two women of Ipswich, succeeded three men, which were burnt the same month at one fire in Salisbury, who, in the like quarrel with the others that went before them and led the dance, spared not their bodies, to bring their souls to the celestial felicity, whereof they were thoroughly as-

sured in Christ Jesus by his promises, as soon as the furious flames of fire had put their bodies and souls asunder. Their names were, John Spicer, freemason; William Coberley, tailor: John Maundrel, husbandman.

First, John Maundrel, who was the son of Robert Maundrel of Rowde, in the county of Wiltshire, farmer, was from his childhood brought up in husbandry; and after he came to man's state, did abide and dwell in a village called Buchampton, in the parish of Keevil, within the county of Wiltshire aforesaid, where he had wife and children, being of good name and fame. Which John Maundrel, after that the Scripture was translated into English by the faithful apostle of England, William Tyndale, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, so that he delighted in nothing so much as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a very good memory, so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament; his conversation and living being very honest and charitable, as his neighbours are able to testify.

So it was, that in the days of King Henry the Eighth, at what time Dr. Trigonion and Dr. Lee did visit abbeyes, the said John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trigonion at an abbey called Edington, within the county of Wiltshire aforesaid; where he was accused that he had spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such-like ceremonies; and for the same did wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the market, in the town of Devizes, which is in the said county. Nevertheless, his fervency did not abate, but by God's merciful assistance he took better hold, as the sequel hereof will declare. For in the days of Queen Mary, when popery was restored again, and God's true religion put to silence, the said John Maundrel left his own house, and departed into the county of Gloucester, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, with whom as a servant to keep their cattle he there did remain with John Bridges or some other at Kingswood; but after a time he returned to his country, and there coming to the Vyes, to a friend of his named Anthony Clee, had talk and conference with him in a garden, of returning home to his house. And when the other exhorted him by the words of Scripture, to fly from one city to another, he replying again by the words of the Apocalypse, of them that be fearful, &c., said that he needs must go home, and so did: where he,

with Spicer and Coberley, used at times to resort and confer together.

At length, upon the Sunday following, they agreed together to go to the parish church called Keevil, where the said Maundrel and the other two, seeing the parishioners in the procession to follow and worship the idol there carried, advertised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, namely, speaking to one Robert Barksdale, headman of the parish; but he took no regard to their words.

After this the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory; the said John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said, "That was the pope's pinfold," the other two affirming the same. After which words, by commandment of the priest, they were had to the stocks, where they remained till their service was done, and then were brought before a justice of peace, and so the next day carried to Salisbury all three, and presented before Bishop Capon, and W. Geoffrey being chancellor of the diocese; by whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their houses, but seldom openly.

And at the last examination these were the articles which the chancellor alleged against them, being accompanied with the sheriff of the shire, one Master St. John, and other popish priests in the parish church of Fisherton Anger, demanding how they did believe.

They answered, "As Christian men should and ought to believe:" and first they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the twelve articles of the creed, the Holy Scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he apposed them in particular articles: first, Whether that they did not believe that in the sacrament of the altar, (as he termed it,) after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary? Whereunto they answered negatively, saying that the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ; but confessing that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly ministered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood are spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth; they answered negatively, saying, that the bishop

of Rome doth usurp over emperors and kings, being antichrist, and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, "Will you have the church without head?" They answered, "Christ was Head of his church, and, under Christ, the queen's Majesty." "What," said the chancellor, "a woman head of the church?" "Yea," said they, "within her Grace's dominions."

Also, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardons, and the suffrages of the church. They said, they believed faithfully the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they nothing feared the pope's purgatory, nor esteemed his pardons.

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed unto and worshipped. They answered negatively; John Maundrel adding that wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the church; whereby idolatry was committed.

Those articles thus answered, (for their articles were one, and their answers in manner like,) the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff. Then spake John Spicer, saying; "O Master Sheriff, now must you be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent blood before the Lord." This was the twenty-third day of March, anno 1556; and the twenty-fourth day of the same month they were carried out of the common gaol to a place betwixt Salisbury and Wilton, where were two posts set for them to be burnt at: which men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together: and then, being dis clothed to their shirts, John Maundrel spake with a loud voice, "Not for all Salisbury;" which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, which offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner spake John Spicer, saying, "This is the joyfulest day that ever I saw." Thus were they three burnt at two stakes; where most constantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for testimony of his truth.

As touching William Coberley, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was in the keeper's house the same time detained, while her husband was in prison: where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had secretly heated a key fire-hot, and laid it in the grass in the backside. So speaking to Alice Coberly to fetch her the key in all haste, the said Alice went with speed to bring the key, and so taking up the key in haste, did piteously burn her hand. Whereupon she, crying out at the sudden burning

of hand, "Ah! thou drab," quoth the other, "thou that canst not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body?" and so she afterward revoked. But to return again to the story of Coberley, who, being somewhat learned, and being at the stake, was somewhat long a burning as the wind stood: after his body was scorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the

fire, the flesh being burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the chain, and with the right hand, being somewhat starned, knocked upon his breast softly, the blood and matter issuing out of his mouth. Afterward, when they all thought he had been dead, suddenly he rose right up with his body again. And thus much concerning these three Salisbury martyrs.

The death and martyrdom of six other martyrs, suffering at London.



ABOUT the 23d day of April, A. D. 1556, were burned in Smithfield at one fire, these six constant martyrs of Christ, suffer-

ing for the profession of the gospel, namely, Robert Drakes, minister; William Tyme, curate; Richard Spurge, shearman; Thomas Spurge, fuller; John Cavel, weaver; George Ambrose, fuller.

They were all of Essex, and so of the diocese of

London, and were sent up, some by the Lord Riche, and some by others at sundry times, unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England, about the twenty-second day of March, anno 1555; who, after small examination, sent them, some unto the King's Bench, and others unto the Marshalsea, where they remained almost all the whole year, until the death of the said bishop of Winchester; and had during that time nothing said unto them. Whereupon, after that Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, was chosen to the office of lord chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, being now weary of this their long imprisonment, made their supplication unto the said Dr. Heath,

requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance : the copy whereof ensueth.

“ May it please your honourable good Lordship, for the love of God to tender the humble suit of your Lordship's poor orators, whose names are subscribed, which have lain in great misery in the Marshalsea by the space of ten months and more, at the commandment of the late lord chancellor, to their utter undoing, with their wives and children. In consideration whereof, your Lordship's said orators do most humbly pray and beseech your good Lordship to suffer them to be brought before your Honour ; and there, if any man of good conscience can lay any thing to our charge, we trust either to declare our innocency against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign punishments to satisfy the law according to your wise judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy toward us and all men, according to your godly office ; in the which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of God. Amen.”

This supplication was sent (as is said) and subscribed with the names of these four under following :—Richard Spurge, Thomas Spurge, George Ambrose, John Cavel.

Upon the receipt and sight hereof, it was not long after, but Sir Richard Read, knight, then one of the officers of the court of the chancery, the sixteenth day of January, was sent unto the Marshalsea to examine the said four prisoners ; and therefore beginning first with Richard Spurge upon certain demands, received his answers thereunto : the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the parson of Bocking unto the Lord Riche, for that they came not unto their parish church of Bocking, where they inhabited ; and thereupon was by the said Lord Riche sent unto the late chancellor, about the twenty-second day of March last past, viz. anno 1555.

And further, he said, that he came not to the church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin (Christmas day then a twelvemonth only excepted) ; and that, because he misliked both the same and the mass also, as not consonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unless it pleased the lord chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge being then next examined, made the same answer in effect that the other had done ; confessing, that he absented himself from the church, because the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly ministered in

such sort as was prescribed by the same word. And being further examined of his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he said that if any could accuse him thereof, he would then make answer as God had given him knowledge therein.

The like answer made George Ambrose, adding moreover, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, entitled, *De Vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, inveighing (both) against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he did much less set by their doings than before.

John Cavel, agreeing in other matters with them, answered, that the cause why he did forbear the coming to the church was, that the parson there had preached two contrary doctrines. For first, in a sermon that he made at the queen's first entry to the crown, he did exhort the people to believe the gospel ; for it was the truth, and if they did not believe it, they should be damned. But in a second sermon, he preached that the Testament was false in forty places ; which contrariety in him was a cause amongst others of his absenting from the church.

About the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes also was examined, who was parson of Thundersley in Essex, and had there remained the space of three years. He was first made deacon by Dr. Taylor of Hadley, at the commandment of Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. And within one year after, (which was the third year of King Edward,) he was by the said archbishop and Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, admitted minister of God's holy word and sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after such order as was after established ; and was presented unto the said benefice of Thundersley by the Lord Riche, at the suit of Master Causton and Master Treheron ; and now, notwithstanding, was sent up by the said Lord Riche, with the others before mentioned : and at his coming to the bishop of Winchester, was by him demanded whether he would conform himself like a subject to the laws of this realm then in force. To the which he said he would abide all laws that stood with the laws of God ; and thereupon was committed to prison, where he and the rest abovenamed did remain ever since.

Now remaineth likewise to declare the examination of William Tyns, deacon and curate of Hockley in Essex. But before I come to his examination, first here is to be opened and set forth the order and manner of his trouble, how and by whom he was first apprehended in Essex, and from thence sent up to London ; the story whereof followeth in this manner.

"There were at Hockley in Queen Mary's days two sermons preached in the woods, the which woods were appertaining to Master Tyrrel; and the name of the one wood was called Plumborough-wood, and the other Beaches-wood: and there was at the same sermons an honest man and his wife with him, whose name was John Gye, the which Gye was Master Tyrrel's servant, and did dwell under him, being his herd at a farm of his called Plumborough. Shortly after, it was known to Master Tyrrel, how that his woods were polluted with sermons, the which he did take very evil, and much matter did arise about it, as an unlawful assembly; the which was laid to John Gye's charge, because he did not disclose that unlawful act to his master, being then in the commission of peace, appointed at that time to keep down the gospel; the which he did to the uttermost, as it may appear in many of his acts. Good God, give him repentance, if it be thy will!

"Shortly after it pleased Master Tyrrel to come to Hockley, to sift out this matter, and to know who was at these preachings. Well, there were found many faulty; for it is supposed there were a hundred persons at the least. So it pleased Master Tyrrel to begin first with John Gye, and asked him where that naughty fellow was, that served their parish, one Tymes; 'for it is told me,' said he, 'that he is the cause to bring these naughty fellows into the country. Therefore I charge thee, Gye, to fetch me this naughty fellow Tymes, for thou knowest where he is.' 'No,' said Gye, 'I do not know.' So in no wise could he make him fetch him.

"Then stepped forth another of Master Tyrrel's men, willing to show his master pleasure, whose name was Richard Sheriff, and said to his master, 'Sir, I know where he is.' 'Well,' said Master Tyrrel, 'go to the constables and charge them to bring him to me.'

"So this Sheriff being diligent, made sure work, and had him brought before his master with the constables, whose names be these, Edward Hedge and John James.

"So when he came before the said Master Tyrrel, then Master Tyrrel commanded all men to depart; and it was wisely done, for he was not able to open his mouth against Tymes without reproach; and there he kept him about three hours. But there were some that listened at the walls, and heard Master Tyrrel say thus to Tymes:

"'Methinketh,' said Tyrrel, 'that when I see the blessed rood it maketh me think of God.'

"'Why sir,' said Tymes, 'if an idol that is made with man's hands doth make you remember God, how much more ought the creatures of God, as man

being his workmanship, or the grass, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God!'

"So Master Tyrrel ended his talk with Tymes it should seem in a heat, for he burst out and called him traitorly knave.

"'Why sir,' said Tymes, 'in King Edward's days you did affirm the truth that I do now.'

"'Affirm?' quoth Tyrrel; 'nay, by God's body, I never thought it with my heart.'

"'Well,' said Tymes, 'then I pray you, Master Tyrrel, bear with me; for I have been a traitor but a while, but you have been a traitor six years.'

"After this, Tymes was sent to London to the bishop, and from him to the bishop of Winchester, and so from him to the King's Bench; and then was Master Tyrrel's rage ceased with them that were in the woods at the sermons. So Master Tyrrel took away Gye's coat, and gave it to John Traiford; and sent him to St. Osyth's to see good rule kept there.

"When Tymes came before the bishop of London, there was at that time the bishop of Bath, and there was William Tymes examined of his faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true-hearted man, that he had wherewith to answer them both; for the constables did say that brought him before the bishop, that they never heard the like. Then the bishop (as though he would have had Tymes to turn from the truth) said to the constables, 'I pray you,' said he, 'give him good counsel, that he may turn from his error.' 'My Lord,' said the constables, 'he is at a point, for he will not turn.'

"Then both the bishops waxed weary of him, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the bishops began to pity Tymes' case, and to flatter him, saying, 'Ah! good fellow,' said they, 'thou art bold, and thou hast a good fresh spirit; we would thou hadst learning to thy spirit.' 'I thank you, my lords,' said Tymes, 'and both you be learned, and I would you had a good spirit to your learning.' So thus they broke up, and sent Tymes to the bishop of Winchester, and there were Edward Hedge and John James the constables aforementioned discharged, and Tymes was commanded to the King's Bench, where he was mightily strengthened with the good men that he found there."

And thus hitherto ye have heard, first upon what occasion this William Tymes was apprehended, how he was entreated of Master Tyrrel the justice, and by him sent up to the ordinary of the diocese, which was Bishop Bonner; who, after certain talk and debating he had with the said Tymes, at length directed him to the bishop of Winchester, being then lord chancellor, and yet living, and so was commanded by him upon the same to the King's Bench.

Here by the way is to be understood, that Tyms, as he was but a deacon, so he was but simply, or at least not priestly, apparelled, forasmuch as he went not in a gown, but in a coat; and his hosen were of two colours, the upper part white, and the nether stocks of sheep's russet. Whereupon the proud prelate, sending for him to come before him, and seeing his simple attire, began to mock him, saying, "Ah, sirrah! are you a deacon?" "Yes, my Lord, that I am," quoth Tyms. "So methinketh," said the bishop, "ye are decked like a deacon." "My Lord," said Tyms, "my vesture doth not so much vary from a deacon; but methinketh your apparel doth as much vary from an apostle."

So then there spake one of the bishop's gentlemen: "My Lord," said he in mockage, "give him a chair, a toast and drink, and he will be lusty." But the bishop bade, have him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

But Winchester, for lack of leisure, or because of sickness growing upon him, or for what cause else I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary bishop from whence he came. So William Tyms, being put off again to Bishop Bonner, was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs above named, and with them brought together to public examination before the bishop the twenty-first day of March, first in the bishop's palace of London, where the said bishop after his accustomed manner proceeding against them, inquired of them their faith upon the sacrament of the altar. To whom they answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest: of the which opinion they had been of long time, some later, some sooner, even as God of his mercy did call them unto the knowledge of his gospel.

Then the bishop's chaplains began to reason with them, but with no great authorities either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient fathers, ye may be sure, as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another examination of Tyms and Drakes, and the rest, before the bishop of London.

"The twenty-third day of the same month next after, the bishop sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and *ex officio* did object unto them certain articles, the sum and manner whereof were the same which before were objected to Whittle, Greene, Tudson, Went, Brown, Elizabeth Foster, Joan Lashford: which see before. And the twenty-sixth day of the

same month, he sent for the other four, ministering unto them also the same general articles: unto the which they all in effect answered in matters touching their faith, as did the said Bartlet Greene and the rest.

"Other appearings they had, as the bishop's common manner of proceeding was, more (as I have often said) for order and form of law, than for any zeal of justice. But in conclusion, the twenty-eighth day of this month of March, William Tyms, and Robert Drakes, with the other four above named, were brought to the open consistory in Paul's, before the said bishop of London, to be condemned for heresy.

"The bishop first began in this or like sort: 'Tyms,' quoth he, 'I will begin with thee first, for thou art and hast been the ringleader of these thy companions; thou hast taught them heresies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and hast endeavoured, as much as in thee lieth, to make them like unto thyself. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have used thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Christ in Matt. xviii., have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldst not have heard me, I would not so have left thee, but I, with two or three others, would have exhorted thee; and if that would not have served, then would I have told the church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifest to the world, and thou thyself remainest stout in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof St. Paul speaketh, Such as sin, rebuke them openly, that others may fear. For this cause art thou brought before me in the face of this people, to receive judgment according to thy deserts. Let me see what thou canst say, why I should not proceed against thee as thine ordinary.'

"'My Lord,' quoth Tyms, 'will you now give me leave to speak?' 'Yea,' quoth the bishop. 'Then,' said Tyms, 'my Lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company; but how untruly you have said, shall shortly appear: for there is none of all these my brethren, which are brought hither as prisoners, but when they were at liberty and out of prison, they dissented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this present; and for that cause they are now prisoners. So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in prison. And as for me, I never knew them, until such time as I by your commandment was prisoner with them: how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? So that all

the world may see how untruly you have spoken. And as for my fault which you make so grievous, whatsoever you judge of me, I am well assured that I hold none other religion than Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for the which you have cruelly burned them, and now you seek our blood also. Proceed on hardly by what rule you will, I force not; I do not refuse you for my ordinary.'

"Then," said the bishop, 'I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How sayest thou, wilt thou submit thyself to the catholic church, as an obedient child? In so doing thou shalt be received and do well enough: otherwise thou shalt have judgment as a heretic.'

"Then one of the prisoners (whose name is not certainly known) said, 'My Lord! you are no upright judge, for you judge after your own lust. But if you will judge us according to the holy Testament of Christ, which is the word of truth, we will accord to your judgment; for unto that word we wholly submit ourselves. But as for your judgment without the truth, God shall condemn.' And this prisoner was very earnestly in hand with the bishop, that they might be judged by the word of God. With this the bishop was offended, calling him busy knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue; or else he should be had away to a place of smaller ease.

"Then Tyms answered and said, 'My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatsoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporal oath promised never to consent to the same. Contrary to the which you have received into this realm the pope's authority, and therefore you are falsely perjured and forsworn, all the sort of you. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that usurped power, and now you do burn men that will not acknowledge the pope to be supreme head.'

"Have I?" quoth the bishop; 'where have I written any thing against the Church of Rome?'

"My Lord," quoth Tyms, 'the bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, entitled, *De Vera Obedientia*, which containeth worthy matter against the Romish authority. Unto the which book you made a preface, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.'

"Then was the bishop somewhat abashed, and looking upon such as were present, spake very

gently, saying, 'Lo! here is goodly matter indeed. My Lord of Winchester, being a great learned man, did write a book against the supremacy of the pope's Holiness, and I also did write a preface before the same book, tending to the same effect. And thus did we, because of the perilous world that then was: for then was it made treason by the laws of this realm to maintain the pope's authority, and great danger it was to be suspected a favourer of the see of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope's authority, he suffered death for it.' And then turning his tale unto Tyms, he said, 'But since that time, even since the coming in of the queen's Majesty, when we might be bold to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my Lord of Winchester himself shamed not to recant the same at Paul's Cross. And also thou thyself seest that I stand not in it, but willingly have submitted myself. Do thou also as we have done.'

"My Lord," quoth Tyms, 'that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well approved by the Scriptures. But that which you now do, is against the word of God, as I can well prove.'

"Then another (I suppose it was Dr. Cooke) said, 'Tyms, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou speakest much of the Scripture, and yet understandest it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayest be compared. Thou art like to one which intending to go on hunting, riseth up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the hills, and down into the valleys; he passeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch; he searcheth the woods and thickets: thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night, home he cometh, weary of his travail, not having caught any thing at all: and thus fareth it by thee. Thou labourest in reading of the Scriptures; thou takest the letter, but the meaning thou knowest not; and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man I spake of even now.'

"Sir," quoth Tyms, 'you have not well applied your similitude; for I praise God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably: but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me so much as I doubt not is sufficient for my salvation.'

"Then said the bishop, 'You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you speak much of Scripture, and you know not what Scripture is. I pray thee tell me; how knowest thou

that thing to be the word of God, which thou callest Scripture?’

“To this answered Robert Drakes, that he did know it to be the word of God, for that it doth show unto men their salvation in Christ; and doth revoke and call back all men from wicked life, unto a pure and undefiled conversation.

“The bishop replied, that the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture, and yet their writings are not esteemed to be God’s word.

“To this answered Tyms, saying, ‘The Old Testament beareth witness of those things which are written in the New, for,’ quoth he, ‘there is nothing taught in the New Testament, but it was fore-shewed in the law and prophets.’

“‘I will deny all,’ quoth the bishop, ‘I will deny all; what sayest thou then?’ Then Robert Drakes alleged a sentence in Latin out of the prophet Isaiah, in the fifty-ninth chapter of his prophecy, My Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of the seed of thy seed, from henceforth even for ever; meaning thereby to prove, that he which had the Spirit of God, could thereby discern and judge truly which was God’s word. But before he could explicate his mind, he was interrupted by the bishop, who spake unto Dr. Pendleton, saying, ‘Master Doctor, I pray you say somewhat unto these folks that may do them some good.’ Then Dr. Pendleton, as he leaned near unto the bishop, covered his face with both his hands, to the end he might the more quietly devise what to say; but other talk was presently ministered, so that for that time he said nothing.”

And thus much William Alsbury, witness hereof, being present thereat, so far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was spoken and there said, (for they made not yet an end a good while after,) because he departed then out of the house, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the bishop, after this and such-like communication thus passed between them, proceeding at length in form of law, caused both his articles and answers to the same, there and then to be openly read: the sum of which his confession recorded and left by his own hand-writing, tended to this effect as followeth:—

“First, I did truly confess and believe, that I was baptized into the true catholic church of Christ: for when I was baptized, there was the element and the word of God, according to Christ’s institution. And my godfathers and godmothers did promise for me, that I should forsake the devil. and all his

works, and that I should keep God’s commandments, and believe all the articles of the Christian faith; the which I do believe at this day, and with God’s help I trust to do while I live; for it was not the wickedness of the minister that made the sacrament of none effect, &c.

“Item, I confessed two sacraments, and but two in Christ’s true church; that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; and that Christ is present with his sacraments, as it pleaseth him.

“Item, I confessed that Christ hath a visible church, wherein the word of God is truly preached, and the sacraments truly ministered.

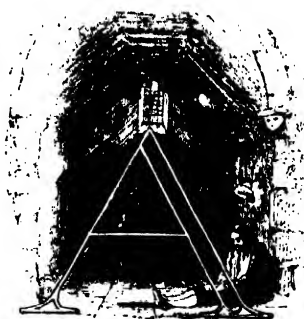
“Item, I confessed the see of Rome to be as the late bishop of Winchester hath written in his book, *De Vera Obedientia*, to the which I said unto the bishop of London, that he had made a godly preface; and also John Bale hath plainly declared in his book, called ‘*The Image of both Churches*,’ even so much as I believe thereof.

“Item, I confessed the mass to be blasphemy to Christ’s death and passion.

“Item, I confessed that in the sacrament of the altar Christ is not present either spiritually or corporally; but, as they use it, it is an abominable idol.

“Last of all, I confessed the bishop of London to be mine ordinary.”

The condemnation of Tyms, Drakes, Spurge, and three others.



AFTER this the bishop, falling to entreating and persuasions earnestly exhorted Tyms to revoke his heresies, (as he termed them,) and to reform himself unto the church of Rome,

and not to stick so much to the literal sense of the Scriptures, but to use the interpretation of the old fathers. To the which he answered, “I will not reform myself thereunto. And I thank God for this day; for I trust he will turn your cursings into blessings.”

And furthermore, asking this question, Tyms said, “And what have you to maintain the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, but only the bare letter?” “We have,” quoth the bishop, “the catholic church.” “No,” said Tyms, “you have the popish church of Rome for you, for which you be perjured and forsworn. And the see of Rome is

the see of antichrist; and therefore to that church I will not conform myself, nor once consent unto it."

Then the bishop, seeing his constant boldness to be unmovable, proceeding to his condemnation, pronounced the sentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the secular power.

After calling for Robert Drakes, he used towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before. To whom Drakes said, "As for your Church of Rome, I utterly defy and deny it, with all the works thereof, even as I deny the devil and all his works."

The bishop then using his accustomed order of law, with his like exhortations, at last gave him the like blessing that Tyns had, and so charged the sheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge, being next demanded if he would return to the catholic church, said as followeth: "As for your Church of Rome, I do utterly deny it: but to the true catholic church I am content to return, and continue in the same, whereof I believe the Church of Rome to be no part or member."

Then in fine, calling the rest in their courses, and upon the like demands receiving the like answers, the said bishop gave unto each of them their several judgments, and so ridding his bloody hands, committed them unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, whither they went all most joyfully, abiding there the Lord's good time, wherein they should seal this their faith with the shedding of their blood; which they most stoutly and willingly performed the fourteenth day of April, as before is mentioned.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM TYMS.

To his faithful sister in the Lord, parishioner in the town of Hockley, named Agnes Glascock.

"The grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear sister Glascock, both now and evermore. Amen.

"My most dear and entirely beloved sister, yea, mother I may rightly well call you, for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same: and as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire, neither

sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

"And now, my dear heart! remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go upon Friday next to the bishop of London's coal-house, which is the twentieth day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. Howbeit I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in heaven; and hie you after! I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you be so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me, merrily singing, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth, at my journey's end. Therefore now, my dear heart! make good haste, and loiter not by the way, lest night take you, and so ye be shut out of the gate with the foolish virgins. And now, my sister, in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will seal the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests. Amen."

These words following were written with his own blood:

"Continue in prayer.	By me, William Tyns,
Ask in faith.	in the King's Bench
And obtain your desire.	for the gospel of Christ."

Another letter, wherein he doth comfort his sister Glascock, being in great sorrow and repentance for going to the mass.

"God be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and send you faith to believe the same, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"My dear sister, I have me most heartily commended unto you: and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that idolatrous priest; so have I, since I heard of your earnest repentance, very much rejoiced, and also praised Almighty God for his mercy showed unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourself, but since your denial, he hath showed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and so caused you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your sins: whereas if God had left you to yourself, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart should either have been hardened, or else

you should have despaired of the mercy of God. And seeing that God hath been so merciful unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankful unto him for the same. For I certify you that your sorrowful heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your sins for the blood-shedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

"Therefore as Peter, after the time that Christ had forgiven him his sin, did boldly confess Christ before all his enemies; even so, my dear heart in the Lord, seeing that God hath so mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your sins, now cleave unto him and be at defiance with his enemies the papists: and as they do bear witness with their father the devil, by going to the church, and shedding the innocent blood of all those that will not go with them; even so do you bear witness with Christ, by not coming there: for all those that do go thither shall be partakers of their brethren's blood, that is shed for the testimony of Christ, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may so do, I beseech the eternal God for his Christ's sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the same good God that hath been so merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beseech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may have always affiance in him, and evermore seek his honour and glory, to your everlasting comfort in Christ. Amen. Thus fare you well.

"From the King's Bench this 28th of August.

"By me,

WILLIAM TYMS."

Another letter to certain godly women of his parish, followers of the gospel.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you both now and evermore. Amen.

"Dear sisters, I have me most heartily commended unto you, thanking you for the great kindness showed unto me in this time of mine imprisonment, and not only unto me, but also unto my poor wife and children; and also for the great kindness that you show unto all the living saints that be dispersed abroad, and are fain to hide their heads for fear of this cruel persecution.

"Dear sisters, when I do remember your constancy in Christ, I call to remembrance the constancy of divers godly women, as Susannah, Judith, Esther, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions saved both her husband's life, and all her household, when David had thought to have slain him for his churlish answer that he sent him. Also I do remember Rahab, that lodged the

Lord's spies, how God preserved her and her whole household for her faithfulness that she bare to God's people. So I do believe that when the Lord shall send his angel to destroy these idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and shall find the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the door-post of your hearts, he will go by, and not hurt you, but spare your whole households for your sakes. Also I do remember Mary Magdalene, how faithful she was; for she was the first that preached the resurrection of Christ. Remember the blessed martyr Anne Askew in our time, and follow her example of constancy. And for the love of God take heed that in no case you do consent to idolatry, but stand fast to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her seven sons put to death before her face, and she always comforting them; yea, and last of all suffered death herself, for the testimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beseech God to send you grace and strength to stand fast to the Lord, as she did, and then you shall be sure of the same kingdom that she is sure of; to the which kingdom I pray God bring both you and me. Amen.

"By me, WILLIAM TYMS,
prisoner in the King's Bench."

Another letter to his friends in Hockley.

"The grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear brethren, both now and evermore. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have showed unto me, sevenfold into your bosoms; and as you have always had a most godly love unto his word, even so I beseech him to give you grace to love your own souls; and then I trust you will flee from all those things that should displease our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of those that would have you to worship God any otherwise than is contained in his holy word. And beware of those masters of idolatry; that is, these papistical priests. My dear brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have said unto you, and also written, the which I am now ready to seal with my blood. I praise God that ever I lived to see the day, and blessed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a body to glorify his name. And, dear hearts! I do now write unto you for none other cause, but to put you in remembrance, that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me, but to remember well what I have simply by word of mouth

and writing taught you ; the which although it were most simply done, yet truly, as your own conscience beareth me record : and therefore in any case take good heed that you do not that thing which your own conscience doth condemn. Therefore come out of Sodom, and go to heaven-ward with the servants and martyrs of God, lest you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked nation, from the which the Lord God defend you, and send us a joyful meeting in the kingdom of heaven ; unto the which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongst you, which thing is uncertain unto me, as yet.

"By me your poorest and most unworthy brother in Christ, W. Tyms, in Newgate, the twelfth day of April, condemned to die for Christ's verity."

Another letter, giving thanks to his parishioners, for their charity showed to his wife, being brought to bed of a child in his captivity.

"The everlasting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increase of your faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlasting kingdom of heaven, be with you, my dear brethren and sisters, both now and ever, Amen.

"My most dear brethren and sisters in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ! I have me most heartily commended unto you, with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have showed unto me, and especially now in this time of my necessity, when that God hath sent my poor wife a child in my captivity ; which is no little care to me, so to provide, that I might keep both the child and my wife from the antichristian church : the which thing, I thank my good God, through his most gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God : and it grieveth me that I have been so chargeable to them as I have been, and specially you, my dear brethren, I being so unworthy a member as I have been, and also of so small acquaintance ; but such is the merciful goodness of God, so to move your hearts with charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts so to do, even so I beseech God to give you power to forsake and refuse all things which be displeasing in his sight, and to do all things which be requisite to a Christian ; and send you grace to go forwards in the same as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor sword. And my most dear hearts ! remember well the simple plain doctrine the which I have

taught you, and also written unto you, which was the truth ; and for a testimony of the same, I trust that you shall shortly hear, or else see, that I will seal the same with my blood. And in the meantime I desire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with God's help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Christ's sake, will so finish the days of our pilgrimage, that we may rest together with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the everlasting kingdom of heaven ; to the which I beseech the eternal God for his Christ's sake to bring both you and all yours. Amen.

"By me,

WILLIAM TYMS."

Another letter to his sister Colfox and Agnes Glascock.

"Grace and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, both now and evermore. Amen.

"My most dear and entirely beloved sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least bound to do ; that is, I give you warning of your enemies, which be the papists : and take good heed to them, for they serve a crafty master : yea, and, as St. Peter saith, he sleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they see that you will not run to the idol's temple with them, it will seem a strange thing unto them, that ye run not to the same excess of riot, as St. Peter saith ; and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

"But, my dear sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not seem a strange thing unto you. But when they do so, remember wherefore it is, and for whose sake ; even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God, and then it is God's cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his sake, think yourselves most happy : for if you suffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, then shall ye be sure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants always have persecuted the true members of Christ, as he himself hath promised that they shall do unto the end of the world.

"By the way I will bring to your remembrance

the holy martyr St. Stephen, who, for favouring, maintaining, and defending the same doctrine that we now suffer for, was called a blasphemer, and stoned to death at Jerusalem. And Christ's apostles were diversely afflicted all the world over for the same, by this viperous generation. Antipas, the faithful witness of Christ, was slain at Pergamos. Jason, for receiving Paul and Silas, with other disciples and teachers of the gospel, was brought before the council of Thessalonica, and accused for a seditious traitor against Cæsar. No marvel therefore though at this day we be vexed on the same sort, maintaining the same cause, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true servants of God now, than hath been afore-times? No surely, for so hath Christ promised. And if they have persecuted him, needs must they persecute his members; if they have called the master of the house, Beelzebub, so will they do his household; You shall be hated of all men (saith Christ) for my name's sake.

"It is no new thing, my dear hearts! to see the true members of Christ handled as in our days they be, as it is not unknown to you, how they be cruelly entreated, and blasphemed without any reasonable cause. For heretics must they be taken, which follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ a heretic, for he never allowed their dirty ceremonies: he never went a procession with a cope, cross, or candlestick: he never censed image, nor sang Latin service: he never sat in confession: he never preached of purgatory, nor of the pope's pardons: he never honoured saints nor prayed for the dead: he never said mass, matins, nor even-song: he never commanded to fast Friday nor vigil, Lent nor Advent: he never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palms, candles nor bells: he never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the Pharisees, and damnable hypocrisy; admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He curseth all those that add to his word such beggarly shadows, wiping their names clean out of the book of life. St. Paul saith, They have no portion with Christ, which wrap themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

"Therefore, my dear hearts, seeing that our good God hath by the light of his holy word delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and wrap not yourselves again in the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which, as St. Peter saith, will

come as a thief in the night. And our Captain Christ saith, If the good man of the house knew what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch.

"Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage never so sore against you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who, according to his promise, for the weakness of our nature hath so assuaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren which are gone before us, to the sight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you surely God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and say with St. Paul, Who shall separate us from the love of God? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, either hunger, either nakedness, either peril, either sword? as it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, &c.

"Therefore, my dear sisters, if, to save your lives, any dissembling gospellers would have you to go to the idol's temple with them, say unto them, 'No, for my Master Christ saith, He that would save his life shall lose it. And in another place to comfort us he saith, There shall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your heavenly Father's will.' And therefore say you, that you will not be of that sort that be neither hot nor cold, lest God should spew you out of his mouth. But make them this answer, saying, 'St. Paul saith, Bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, what company hath light with darkness, what concord hath Christ with Belial, either what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God, as God saith, I will dwell among them, walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord.'

"Thus, mine own bowels in the Lord! as I began, so make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your cross, and follow your Captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by persecution, and then you shall be sure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlasting kingdom, which he himself hath purchased with his own most precious blood: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour both now and for ever. Amen.

"By me,

WILLIAM TYMS."

Another letter, with an exhortation to all God's faithful servants to eschew the society of idolaters, and God's enemies.

"Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

"I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladness, because of the fellowship which ye have in the gospel, from the first day that I knew you, until this day; and I am surely certified of this, that he which hath begun a good work in you, shall go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increase more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I most heartily desire God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile earthly body in this time of persecution, so he will strengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my imprisonment do not discomfort, but rather strengthen and comfort you, to see the goodness of God showed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three such bishops concerning worldly wisdom, he gave me both mouth and wisdom: insomuch that the bishop of London went away in a great haste from me, and after that, he sent his man with a Bible, turning to Heb. ix., and the bishop of Bath looking on it, said, 'What meaneth my Lord? this maketh nothing for his purpose.' Then I looked on it, and said, 'My Lord seeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me: for here he hath condemned the sacrifice of your mass. For you say that you offer a daily sacrifice in your mass, both for the quick and the dead; and here St. Paul saith, Without blood-shedding there is no forgiveness of sins, therefore that is here condemned.' He answered, 'Yea, saith he so? So say all such heretics;' and so forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbours that heard them can declare; therefore I leave them. This have I written, that you should not be afraid, but call upon God, as he hath commanded us to ask, and we shall have: Seek, and you shall find, knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Also he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promised to hear us. Therefore if we have not both mouth and wisdom at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our wickedness, and amend our lives, or else we be unfaithful, and believe not the promises of God; and so we ourselves are the cause that this wisdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any case, as I have always said unto you, since I first knew

you, so say I now: beware of idolatry, and of your own good intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the children of Israel had made them a golden calf, did not God say they had marred all; and would have destroyed them, had not Moses earnestly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for idolatry; therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep us unstained from it. You have example out of the Old Testament, how loth the godly fathers were to be partakers with the wicked: and yet to see how little we regarded it, it would make any Christian man's heart to weep. God send us more grace. First look in Genesis xi. and xii.: Abraham, because he would not be partaker of their idolatry, fled from the people of Chaldaea, being his native country. And in Genesis xix. Lot, at the commandment of the angels, departed from Sodom, lest he, tarrying with the Sodomites, should have been consumed with them. In Genesis xxi. Sarah would not suffer Ishmael, which was given to mocking, to keep company with her son Isaac, lest he should also become a mocker. Look in Numbers xvi. Moses at God's appointment commanded the people to depart from the dwelling-places of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, lest they also should be all wrapped in their sins, and so perish among them. So do I, even as Moses commanded them that they should not keep company with those wicked people, lest the vengeance of God should light on them, so do I give you warning that you should not keep company with the idolaters in their idolatrous temples, lest the wrath of God come upon you to destroy you.

"Look what St. Paul saith in 2 Cor. vi. Set yourselves, saith he, therefore at large, and bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with Belial? either what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God, as saith God, I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing.

"Good brethren, mark what cometh of keeping company with the wicked. Syrach saith, He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled withal: and he that keepeth company with the proud, shall clothe himself with pride. Even so he that is familiar with idolaters cannot be unstained from idolatry, except

he do it to win them to Christ, as there be but a few that do: yea, it may not be where idolatry is openly committed, as for an example, Peter, so long as he continued with Christ and Christ's disciples, he continued in the truth, preached the truth, confessed openly Christ to be the Son of the living God, and promised that he would not only go to prison, but also to very death with him: but when he came once into the court into the bishop's house, he straightway was stricken with such fear, that a poor maiden and simple ruffian, (such a one as my Lord of London hath, that said, 'By God's blood, if I meet with any of these vile heretics, I will thrust an arrow in him,') when Peter, I say, was amongst them, he denied his Master, and swore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confessed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the believing Jews, commanding them, among other his godly exhortations, to save themselves from that untoward generation. How many of our priests before this storm of persecution, when the gospel was freely preached, were bold, and could say, they would die rather than deny their Master! But when they come once into the bishops' houses, they preach no more Christ, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or else send them more grace and strength. It is needful to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

"Paul, all the while he was among the bishops, was a cruel persecutor; but after he was called of God from the bishops, he became a true preacher: therefore God keep all Christian men out of the hands of our bishops. St. Paul, in Romans xv., saith, I dare not speak any of those things that Christ hath not wrought by me. He saith also, I beseech you, brethren, mark them that make division, and give occasion of evil, contrary to the doctrine that ye have learned, and them avoid: for they that are such serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and with sweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the simple. Our Master Christ himself hath given us warning which they be: for he hath set the plain mark on them, in Matthew xxiv., If they say here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not, saith Christ: If they say, he is in the desert, go not forth. If they say, he is in the secret place, believe them not. And I pray you, where can he be more secret, than in so small a piece of bread? For my Lord of London, like a liar, said to me, that after the words be spoken, there remaineth neither bread nor wine. Then I asked him what he said to David, where he saith, Thou shalt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption. 'How say you to that? Will not your

sacrament of the altar putrify or corrupt?' He answered, 'Yes.' I asked him what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wine. He answered, and said, 'The accidents.' I said unto him, it was a mad accident without substance: for you say, there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothing to corrupt: with many such-like arguments.

"Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with such arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deal the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceive you, because you have had so much warning. Repent you betimes of your sinful lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their hearts, or else take them away; or else he will give us that, that he promised to his disciples, if we be contented to take the same reward they had. And if we disdain the one, let us not look for the other: for he that will be his father's heir, must be contented to receive his father's correction. For St. Paul saith in Heb. xii., If we be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are we bastards and not sons.

"And you know what belongeth to a bastard: he shall not be his father's heir. And if we remember ourselves well, (how negligent we have been to our Father's commandment,) we shall find ourselves worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuse his correction, he will refuse us to be his sons. I pray you look what he promised to his disciples, and I pray you also look how willingly they received it. And so must we do, if we will be partakers with them. First let us see what Christ promised to his disciples. Look in Matt. x., and there shall you see these words, Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves. Be wise therefore as serpents, and innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to the councils, and shall scourge you in their synagogues: ye shall be brought before the head rulers and kings for my name's sake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought, how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you, &c. Read the whole chapter, for it is very comfortable to a Christian man; and mark it well, and you shall find what we ought to do in the time of persecution. Also look in 2 Cor. iv.; St. Paul saith, For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might appear in our mortal flesh. Thus have you heard that St. Paul doth boast of persecution; even so should we, for it is the way to bring us to rest.

"Therefore let us strive to enter in at the nar-

row gate, and let us remember the saying of St. Paul in Acts xxi., when he was going to Jerusalem. When he was in the house of Philip the evangelist, there came in a prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, saying, Thus shall they do with the man that owneth this girdle, when he cometh to Jerusalem. When the disciples heard that, they would have persuaded him that he should not go thither. Here you shall see what answer this pastor made them; he was a faithful shepherd: What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not ready to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

“Yet I think there be some that will say, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I say unto them, that the shrinking away of so many of our shepherds as be gone, maketh so many of the flock to scatter; which will be required at their hands, of the Master of the sheep. What will he say to them at the day of account, when they shall come to receive their wages? He shall say to them, Depart from me, ye wicked hirelings, for when ye saw the wolf come, ye ran away, and left my sheep in the wilderness. If you had been good shepherds, you would rather have lost your lives, than have lost one sheep committed to your charge, through your fault. And I pray you, what case be the sheep in, when their shepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the danger that followeth so well.

“Therefore let us pray to God to send us faithful shepherds, and also obedient sheep, that will not hear a stranger’s voice. I would all men would mark well the saying of St. Paul in Rom. viii., where he saith in these words, Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, either nakedness, either peril, either sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as sheep appointed to be slain: nevertheless we overcome strongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am sure that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither rule, neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither height, neither depth, neither any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God; and so forth. Also he saith in another place, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Father’s rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient children, and then our Father will love us.

“Yet hear what St. Peter saith in his First Epistle, chap. iv. Dearly beloved, saith he, be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happen-

ed unto you: but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ’s passions, that when his glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory and the Spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. Here St. Peter saith, It is no strange thing; and that I have partly proved before, because we have nothing else promised us in this world. Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye sure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for ensample, look in 1 Sam. xix., you shall see how Saul persecuted David, purposing to kill him: but his labour was in vain. Also in 1 Kings xix. Jezebel threatened and sware to slay Elias, but the Lord preserved him. Also in Job ii. you see that Satan could do nothing to Job, till God suffered him, neither exercise his cruelty any further than God had appointed him. The godly woman Susannah, in Dan. xiii., through the false accusation of the wicked judges, was even at a point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. These have I written to put you in remembrance, that man can do no more than is the will of God: therefore let us not resist his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy word.

“Dear brethren, for the blood of Christ refuse not the cross of Christ, but remember the saying of the godly man David in his Psalm cxix., where he saith, It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy statutes. In the same place he saith, Before I was in trouble, I went wrong; but now I have kept thy word. Even so it is in trouble with us, for the word of God was never so sweet and comfortable as it is now that we be in trouble. Also St. Paul saith in Rom. v., We rejoice in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not ashamed.

“Also I pray you remember the saying of St. Paul, in 2 Tim., where he saith, Be not ashamed to testify the Lord: neither be ashamed of me. Even so I say unto you, dear brethren, be not ashamed of my imprisonment, neither sorry, but rejoice with me, that it hath pleased God of his goodness to call me to such a dignity as this shall be unto me, if I may have his grace to lose my life (which I regard as most vile) for his name’s sake: for then I shall be sure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I desire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodness will send me his grace and

strength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preserve you from all the wicked ways of antichrist, and strengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleasure that you shall suffer any thing for his name's sake, as he hath faithfully promised to do. And I certify you, that if all men knew the comfort they should receive at the hand of God, being in prison, I think there would come more to prison than there do. For surely we find such comfort at the hand of God since we have been in prison, that we had rather die than be abroad to see the idolatry that is committed among them that be abroad; beside the seeking one of another's blood, with other wickedness too much; God send me more grace! But, I trust, among you there be none such: and if there be, repent, and amend, lest it be verified on you, that is spoken by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. ii., where he saith, My people have committed two great evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of the living waters, and digged them pits: pits (I say) that are broken, and can hold no water. Also in chap. viii. he saith, Hear not the words of the prophets that preach their own dreams. Good brethren, beware of those false prophets that I have given you warning of.

"Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, desiring the same health both of body and soul unto you all, that I would have myself, and I end with the same that St. Peter saith in his First Epistle, chap. v., Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be sober and watch, for your adversary the devil like a roaring lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour, whom resist stedfast in faith: remembering that ye do but fulfil the same afflictions that are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. The God of all grace, that called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after you have suffered a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and establish you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the world endureth. Amen.

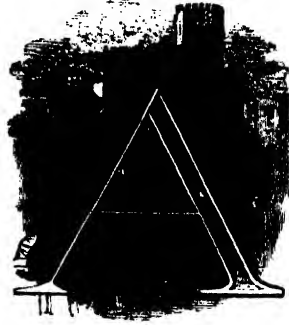
"Greet one another with a holy kiss of love. Peace be with you all which are in Christ Jesus. I pray you all say, Amen.

"These be in the same prison where I am: the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Master Philpot, and my singular good father Master Bradford, with five other of Sussex, laymen.

"I desire some good brother to write this anew, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the keepers had found me, they would have taken it from me, and my pen and ink also.

"Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me, past all the comfort of any man: for, I thank him, I was never merrier in Christ.

"By me, WILLIAM TYMS,
prisoner in the King's Bench."



ABOUT this time, or somewhat before, came down certain commissioners assigned by the queen and council, to Norfolk and Suffolk, (as to other countries else besides,) to inquire

of matters of religion: unto the which commissioners there was a supplication then exhibited by some good and well-disposed men (as by the same may appear) dwelling about those parts: which supplication, as I thought it not unworthy to be read, bearing the date of this present year, to be printed; so I thought it was not to be omitted, nor unworthy here to be placed, in consideration of the fruit which thereof might ensue to the reader.

A certain godly supplication exhibited by certain inhabitants of the county of Norfolk, to the commissioners come down to Norfolk and Suffolk, fruitful to be read and marked of all men.

"In most humble and lowly wise, we beseech your Honours, right honourable commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor men, and true, faithful, and obedient subjects, who as we have ever heretofore, so intend we, with God's grace, to continue in Christian obedience unto the end, and (according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those superior powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul saith: Let every soul be subject to the superior powers; for there is no power but of God; but those powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whosoever resisteth the powers, the same resisteth God; and they that resist, get themselves judgment.

"These lessons, right honourable commissioners, we have learned of the holy word of God, in our mother tongue. First, that the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for man to be governed by; and that the same is of God, the fountain and author of

righteousness. Secondly, that to obey the same in all things not against God, is to obey God; and to resist them, is to resist God. Therefore, as to obey God in his ministers and magistrates bringeth life; so to resist God in them, bringeth punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned of St. Peter, saying, Be ye subject to all human ordinances for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as to the most highest, or to the lieutenants sent from him, to the punishment of evil-doers, but to the praise of such as do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye should stop the mouths of foolish and ignorant men; as free, and not as having the liberty to be a cloak to malice, but as the servants of God.

"Wherefore, considering with ourselves, both that the magistrates' power is of God, and that for the Lord's sake we be bound to Christian obedience unto them, having now presently a commandment, as though it were from the queen's Majesty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained of God, (which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her Grace,) and with due reverence unto you her Grace's commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer unto this commandment, given unto us.

"First, right honourable commissioners, we have considered ourselves to be not only Englishmen, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptism, to prefer God's honour in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly spirits) is due unto God's word; insomuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that wholly and fully agreeth not with God's word.

"Then have we weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin service, given unto us, to dissent and disagree from God's word, and to command manifest impiety, and the overthrow of godliness and true religion, and to import a subversion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romish bishop's supremacy, with all errors, superstitions, and idolatry, wasting of our goods and bodies, destroying of our souls, bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear lest the same shall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly protest, that we cannot be persuaded that the same wicked commandment should come from the queen's Majesty, but rather from some other, abusing the queen's goodness and favour, and studying to work some feat against the queen, her crown, and the

realm, to please with it the Roman bishop, at whose hands the same thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

"As the Agagite Haman wrought maliciously against the noble king Ahasuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought against the good king Darius; so think we the queen's most gentle heart to be abused of some, who, seeking themselves and their own vain-glory, procure such commandments as are against the glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an opinion in her Majesty, that she should subvert the most godly and holy religion, (so accordingly to God's word set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent king, a very saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, her Grace's brother,) except she were wonderfully abused; who, as hating reformation, will rather the destruction of all others, than acknowledge their errors, and to be according to God's word reformed. For truly, the religion lately set forth by King Edward, is such in our consciences as every Christian man is bound to confess to be the truth of God; and every member of Christ's church here in England must needs embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth, and (if need require) lose and forsake, not only house, land, and possessions, riches, wife, children, and friends; but also (if God will so call them) gladly to suffer all manner of persecution, and to lose their lives in the defence of God's word and truth set out amongst us. For our Saviour Christ requireth the same of us, saying, Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my word before this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. And again saith he, Whosoever will confess me before men, I will confess him before my Father that is in heaven. And whosoever will deny me before men, I will also deny him before my Father that is in heaven. And, Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall rail against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.

"We humbly beseech the queen's Majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, be not offended with us, for confessing this truth of God, so straitly given us in charge of Christ; neither bring upon us that great sin that never shall be forgiven, and shall cause our Saviour Jesus Christ in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the blessed price and ransom of his bloodshed, wherewith we are redeemed. For in that day, neither the queen's Highness, neither you, nor any man, shall be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a pardon of Christ

for this horrible sin and blasphemy of casting aside and condemning his word. We cannot agree nor consent unto this so horrible a sin; but we beseech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace, most earnestly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be so) to suffer all extremity and punishment in this world, than to incur such damnation before God.

“Manasseh, who restored again the wickedness of idolatrous religion, (before put down by Hezekiah his father,) brought the wrath of God upon the people; so that the Scripture saith, Notwithstanding the reformation made by Josias, the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath wherewith he was angry against Judah, because of the provocation with which Manasseh provoked him. And the Lord said, Even Judah will I take away from my presence, as I cast away Israel: and I will cast away this city of Jerusalem, and the house whereof I said, My name shall be there. Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected up a new-found service of God, and not only sinned himself, but also made all Israel to sin with him, so that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Israel for obeying that his ungodly commandment; yet was it not so heinous an offence to bring in an idolatry never yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly kings and princes, by the virtuous and holy bishops, by the prophets and servants of God, to reject and cast off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a damned impiety.

“This most heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the same be painted and coloured with the name of reformation, restoring of religion, ancient faith, with the name of the catholic church, of unity, catholic truth, and with the cloak of feigned holiness. These are sheepskins, under the which (as Christ saith) ravening wolves cover themselves. But Christ willet us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them: and truly that is no good fruit, to cast aside God's word, and to banish the English service out of the churches; and in the place of it to bring in a Latin tongue, unknown unto the people, which as it edifieth no man, so it hath been occasion of all blindness and error among the people. For afore the blessed reformation, (begun by the most noble prince of godly memory the queen's good father, and by our late holy and innocent king her good brother finished,) it is not unknown what blindness and error we were all in, when not one man in all this realm unlearned in the Latin, could say in English the Lord's prayer, or knew any one article of his belief, or [could] rehearse any one of the ten commandments. And

that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of all idolatry, sodomitical monkery, and whorish chastity of unmarried priests, of all whoredom, drunkenness, covetousness, swearing, and blasphemy, with all other wicked sinful living. These brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing sin, with famine and pestilence; and at last the sword consumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living, as it is greatly to be feared the same or more grievous plagues shall now again follow.

“We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our English tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and for it a Latin service, (we wot not what, for none of us understand it,) to be again brought in amongst us, specially seeing that Christ hath said, My sheep hear my voice, and follow me; and I give to them everlasting life. The service in English teacheth us that we are the Lord's people, and the sheep of his pasture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's wrath in the wilderness; lest he swear unto us, as he did swear unto them, that they should not enter into his rest.

“The service in Latin is a confused noise; which if it be good, (as they say it is,) yet unto us that lack understanding, what goodness can it bring? St. Paul commandeth, that in the churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is God's commandment. But in the Latin service nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to destroy those that are already edified, and to drive us from God's word and truth, and from believing of the same; and so to bring us to believe lies and fables, that, tempting and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that blessed Paul speaketh of, saying, Antichrist shall come according to the working of Satan, with all manner of power and signs, and lying wonders, in all deceivableness of unrighteousness in those that perish: because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God will send them strong delusion, that they should believe lies and be damned; as many as have not believed the truth, but have approved unrighteousness.

“Thus, altogether drawn from God, we shall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he swear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that such infidels shall not enter into his rest.

“In the administration of the Lord's supper, which we confess to be the holy communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy congregation, we have learned God's holy commandments; and,

at the rehearsal of every one of them, to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them; and to ask grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the same may not only outwardly sound in our ears, but also inwardly by the Holy Ghost be written in our hearts.

"We have learned also the holy prayer made for the queen's Majesty, wherein we learn that her power and authority is of God; therefore we pray to God for her, that she, and all magistrates under her, may rule according to God's word, and we her subjects obey according to the same.

"Truly, most honourable commissioners, we cannot think these things evil, but think them most worthy to be retained in our churches; and we would think ourselves not to have true subjects' hearts, if we should go about to put away such godly prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we think, at this present the unquiet multitude had more need to have these things more often and earnestly beaten and driven into them, (specially given in many places to stir and trouble,) than to take from them that blessed doctrine, whereby only they may to their salvation be kept in quiet.

"Furthermore, we cannot forsake that blessed partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ's institution, ministered with such godly prayers, exhortations, and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Christ, breaking his body upon the cross for our sins, and shedding his most precious blood for our redemption: which we, in eating of that blessed bread and drinking of the blessed cup, assuredly believe that we receive, and be perfectly joined with Christ and his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby each member faithfully embraceth other. We must needs confess this institution of Christ to be most holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in conscience against sin and damnation, with the assurance of salvation, and whereof hath ensued reformation of many heinous sins; much lawing, strife, and contention is ended; drunkenness, whoredom, and other vices, in some reformed; goodness and virtue increased and nourished.

"In the Latin mass we never had no such edifying, but only we saw a great many of ceremonies and strange gestures; as turning of the priest, crossings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we understand not. And concerning the Latin tongue, wherein the priest prayeth, we

wot not whether he blesseth or curseth us. We are not partakers of the sacrament, as Christ's institution appointeth we should be.

"In the ministering of the sacrament, the priests alter the institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Christ's blood, contrary to Christ's commandment, saying, Drink ye all of this.

"They rob us also of God's word, speaking all things in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Christ commandeth not that his supper should be ministered in an unknown tongue: but forasmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of God's word, how can we believe Christ's word and promise made unto us in this holy sacrament, saying, This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins, if the same promises of Christ either be not at all recited, or else so recited in Latin, that the congregation understandeth not, nor heareth not what is spoken? St. Paul saith thus, reciting the saying of Isaiah, As truly as I live, saith the Lord, all knees shall bow unto me, all tongues shall give praise unto God. Also he saith, All tongues must confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. The Holy Ghost came upon the apostles in fiery tongues, so that they spake the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul ministered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of strange tongues into the congregations. We cannot think it to be well, that so holy an apostle rebuked. And whatsoever virtue the Latin tongue hath to such as understand it, to us Englishmen not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our churches.

"The priests complain that we laymen love them not, nor have them in honour; but it is their own fault, for how should we love them, that only seek to keep us in blindness and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to rob and spoil our goods and substance under a colour of pretended holiness? We know, right honourable commissioners, what honour is due to such wolves, and how, by the authority of God's word, such are to be fled, as pestilences to the Lord's lambs, whom they miserably daily murder.

"But we have rather chosen by this our meek supplication, humbly to desire the queen's Majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, to render God's word again unto the churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the same. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately set out by the holy

saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, is Christ's true religion written in the Holy Scripture of God, and by Christ and his apostles taught unto his church. Wherefore we cannot allow with safe consciences this refusal of it, and casting of it out of our churches; forasmuch as to refuse, cast off, and to reject it, is to cast off Christ himself, and to refuse our part in his blessed body broken for our sins, and his blood shed for our redemption: which thing whoso doth, the same without repentance can look for no sacrifice for his sins, but most fearfully waiteth for the judgment, and for that vehement fire that shall destroy Christ's adversaries. For if he that despiseth the law of Moses, is without mercy put to death under two or three witnesses, how much more grievous torments shall he suffer, that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and esteemeth the blood of the testament (whereby he was sanctified) as a profane thing, and contumeliously useth the Spirit of grace?

"Wherefore, we most humbly pray and beseech the queen's gracious Majesty, to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is against our consciences, and shall so incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin mass and service that nothing edifieth us, and casting out of Christ's holy communion and English service, so causing us to sin against our redemption. For such as willingly and wittingly against their consciences shall so do, (as it is to be feared many a one doth,) they are in a miserable state, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe that they shall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Christ's holy word and communion before men, so will Christ deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

"And whereas it is very earnestly required, that we should go in procession, (as they call it,) at which time the priests say in Latin such things as we are ignorant of, the same edifieth nothing at all unto godliness, and we have learned that to follow Christ's cross, is another matter, namely, to take up our cross, and to follow Christ in patient suffering for his love, tribulations, sickness, poverty, prison, or any other adversity, whensoever God's holy will and pleasure is to lay the same upon us. The triumphant passion and death of Christ, whereby in his own person he conquered death, sin, hell, and damnation, hath most lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Christ's cross declared by our preachers; whereby we have learned the causes and effects of the same more lively in one sermon, than in all the processions that ever we went in, or ever shall go in.

"When we worshipped the divine Trinity kneeling, and, in the litany, invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, asking mercy for our sins, and desiring such petitions as the need of our frail estate and this mortal life requireth, we were edified, both to know unto whom all Christian prayers should be directed, and also to know that of God's hand we receive all things, as well to the salvation of our souls, as to the relief of our mortal necessities. And we humbly beseech the queen's Majesty, that the same most holy prayers may be continued amongst us; that our ministers praying in our mother tongue, and we understanding their prayers and petitions, may answer 'Amen' unto them. At evening service we understood our ministers' prayers; we were taught and admonished by the Scriptures then read, which in the Latin even-song is all gone.

"At the ministration of holy baptism, we learned what league and covenant God had made with us, and what vows and promises we upon our part had made; namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

"The Christian catechism continually taught and called to remembrance the same, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good men of forty years, that had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, but to wash their hands ere they departed the church, or else to fast five Fridays with bread and water.

"O merciful God, have pity upon us! shall we be altogether cast from thy presence? We may well lament our miserable estate, to receive such a commandment, to reject and cast out of our churches all these most godly prayers, instructions, admonitions, and doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Christ our Saviour, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our salvation, the candle to our feet, and the light to our steps, the bread coming down from heaven that giveth life, which whoso eateth, it shall be in him a well-spring streaming unto eternal life; whereby we have learned all righteousness, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity one towards another, all good works that God would us to walk in, what punishment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to those that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

"Wherefore, right honourable commissioners, we cannot without impiety refuse and cast from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing set forth by our most godly late King Edward and his virtuous proceedings, so

agreeable to God's word : and our most humble suit is, that the commandment may be revoked, so that we be not constrained thereunto. For we protest before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken some root amongst us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in assisting the queen, our most dear sovereign, against her Grace's mortal foe, that then sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service.

"And we meekly pray and beseech the queen's Majesty for the dear passion of Jesus Christ, that the same word be not taken away out of her churches, nor from us her loving, faithful, and true subjects ; lest if the like necessity should hereafter chance, (which God for his mercy's sake forbid, and ever save and defend her Grace, and us all,) the want of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occasion of great ruin to an infinite number of her Grace's true subjects. And truly we judge this to be one subtle part of the devil, (enemy to all godly peace and quietness,) that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way to all mischief and wickedness : and by banishing the holy gospel of peace, he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues ; as death, strange sickness, pestilence, murrain, most terrible uproars, commotions, and seditions. These things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refusing his word, saying, Go, and thou shalt say unto this people : Ye shall hear indeed, but ye shall not understand ; ye shall plainly see, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, stop their ears, and shut their eyes, that they see not with their eyes, hear not with their ears, and understand not with their hearts, and convert and be healed. And I said, How long, Lord ? And he answered, Until the cities be destroyed, utterly wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without men, till the land also be desolate and lie unbuilded. And the prophet Micah, considering the contempt of God's word among the Israelites, threatened them thus, When the day that thy preachers warned thee of, cometh, thou shalt be wasted away. And let no man believe his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keep the door of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom : for the son shall put his father to dishonour, and the daughter shall rise against her mother, the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be even they of his own household. The same plague threatened Christ unto the Jews, for refusing his peace proffered them in the gospel ; and he wept

on the city Jerusalem, which murdered the prophets, and stoned such as were sent unto her.

"The same plagues, we are afraid, will also fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Christ's word and peaceable gospel, we had great benedictions of God, especially this Christian concord and holy peace, so that all were at a full and perfect stay in religion, no man offended with another, but as the sons of peace, each of us with Christian charity embraced other : now, alas for pity ! the devil (riding upon the red horse, showed unto St. John in the Revelation) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious busybodies curiously search out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in despising God's word, then will they spitefully and hatefully rail against him and it, calling it error and heresy, and the professors thereof heretics and schismatics, with other odious and spiteful names, as ' traitors,' and ' not the queen's friends,' ' not favourers of the queen's proceedings,' as if to love God's word were heresy, and as though to talk of Christ were to be schismatic ; as though none could be true to the queen, that were not false to God ; as though none were the queen's friends, but such as spitefully rail on her Grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they set forth ; as though none favoured the queen's Majesty, but such as hate all godly knowledge.

"And in very deed these things that all this turmoil is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church of their own imaginations, without commandment or ensample either of Christ, or of his apostles ; and there is not one word in the Bible that, being truly alleged, maintaineth them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Augustine's days, as it hath been divers times sufficiently proved before all the whole parliament and convocation of this realm. Yet these, being mere traditions of bishops, are set out for God's commandments ; and the queen's authority (given to her of God to maintain his word) must be abused to put down God's word. And you, right honourable justices, and keepers of laws and righteousness, are also abused and made the bishop's apparitors, to set forth such Romish trash as is to Christ's dishonour, and against the supreme authority of the regal estate of this realm. And we poor subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted for seditious, and not the queen's friends.

"But God, who is blessed for ever, knoweth that they slander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot, and put it in ours : for the Searcher of hearts

knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her Grace, and unto all her proceedings, that are not against God and his holy word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to lighten her Grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the gospel, that she may establish and confirm that religion, that her Grace's brother, our most dear king, did set out amongst us; and so governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, she may long live, and with prosperity, peace, and honour reign over us.

"But we cannot think that those men do seek either God's honour, or her Grace's prosperity, or wealth of the realm, that take from her Grace's faithful subjects God's word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her Grace, and of all honesty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear, lest the root being taken away, the branches will soon wither and be fruitless: and when the Philistines have stopped up the well-spring, the fair streams that should flow shall soon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers, have taught us, that as long as we retained God's word, we should have God our gracious merciful Father; but, if we refused and cast off the Lord's yoke of his doctrine, then shall we look for the Lord's wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And Paul saith, God gave to them the spirit of unquietness and uproar, eyes wherewith they should not see, and ears wherewith they should not hear, until this day. And as David said; Let their table be made a snare to take themselves withal, a trap to catch them, and a stumbling-block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they see not, and bow thou down their backs always.

"O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increased, and we fear at last it will so bow down our backs, that we shall utterly be destroyed. The troublesome spirit of uproar and unquietness daily troubleth men's hearts, and worketh such unquietness in all places, that no man that loveth quietness, can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes, and see not how grievous an offence it is to cast off the yoke of God's doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and hear not the warning of God's word, calling us to true repentance, nor his threats against our impiety. Our most sweet table of Christ's word and most holy communion is taken away, and turned to a most perilous snare, through the brawling disputations of men. And as the idol of abomination betokened final subversion unto the Jewish nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the gospel and holy

communion of Christ, and the placing in of a Romish religion, betokeneth desolation of this noble realm of England to be at hand.

"For the plagues of hunger, pestilence, and sword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs shall be so bowed, that the like horrible plagues were never seen. And no marvel; for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his word, and in plain English to say, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the gospel! Those mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me. God be merciful unto us, and move the queen's Majesty's heart, and the hearts of her honourable council, and your hearts, right honourable commissioners, to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call God's word into your council, and then you shall see how it agreeth with this bishoplike commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the same, as you are prudent and wise in matters of the world; lest, if the Almighty be contemned, he stretch forth his arm which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, that no man can quench.

"We have humbly opened unto you our consciences, doubtless sore wounded and grieved by this commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the queen's Majesty, for the precious death and bloodshedding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her Grace's poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic, whereof her Grace is supreme head. All our bodies, goods, lands, and lives are ready to do her Grace faithful obedience and true service of all commandments that are not against God and his word: but in things that import a denial of Christ, and refusal of his word and holy communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourselves in baptism to be Christ's disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels in the day of judgment: which we trust her benign Grace will not require of us.

"And we humbly beseech her Majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her Grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God's commandment; so we may be permitted freely to serve God and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our souls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that so (as Christ teacheth) we may render to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God.

"For we think it no true obedience unto the queen's Highness, or to any other magistrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the things contrary to God's word, although the same be never so straitly charged in her Grace's name. The bishop of Winchester hath truly taught in that point, in his book of True Obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not against the Lord; as the apostles answered before the council at Jerusalem, commanding them no more to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus: 'Judge you,' said they, 'whether it be right in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God.' And again they said, 'We must obey God rather than man.' Wherefore we learn, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords; and for him, in him, and not against him and his word, to obey the princes and magistrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

"Tobias disobeyed not his king, although, contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the usage of all other, when they went to Dan and Bethel, he went unto Jerusalem, and worshipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refusing king Nebuchadnezzar's commandment, pleased God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel, that prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius's commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the king, than those wicked counsellors that procured that wicked law, or those that for fear or flattery obeyed it: which two pestilences, fear and flattery, have ever destroyed true obedience to God and man; when wicked godless men (that care not if the devil were worshipped, so they might get and obtain riches, promotions, and dignity, and worldly glory) turn to and fro, as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men, fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing, that their hearts and consciences inwardly abhor, and so outwardly disobey God, and in heart dissemble with man, which dissimulation we think worthy hate of all men, and most uncomely for Christian men.

"Wherefore, we humbly beseech the queen's Majesty with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable suit of us her poor subjects, which be by this commandment sore hurt and wounded in our consciences, and driven to many miseries; and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, slanders, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful stir or commotion to seek remedy; but intend, by God's grace, to obey her Majesty in all things—not against God and his holy word: but

unto such ungodly bishoplike commandments, as are against God, we answer with the apostles, God must be obeyed rather than man. If persecution shall ensue, (which some threaten us with,) we desire the heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven; to hear our cry; to judge between us and our adversaries; and to give us faith, strength, and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to shorten these evil days, for his chosen's sake; and so we faithfully believe he will.

"Notwithstanding, we trust the queen's gracious and merciful heart will not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful, and obedient subjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world, but to sue unto her Highness, our most gracious and benign sovereign; whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our lamentable case and hurt of conscience, and to call back all such commandments as are against God's honour, as the good king Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, and Theodosius, and divers other have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion (set forth by our most holy and innocent King Edward, a very saint of God) to be restored again unto our churches, to be frequented amongst us. So shall we grow and increase in the knowledge of God and of Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life: so shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates and all superiors ordained of God: so shall love and charity (of late through this commandment so decayed) be again restored, the honour of her regal estate the more confirmed and established, and godliness and virtuous life among her loving subjects increased and maintained.

"And we most heartily pray you, right honourable commissioners, to be means unto the queen's Highness, and to her honourable council, that this our humble suit may be favourably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we shall not cease day and night to pray unto the heavenly Father long to preserve her Grace and all other magistrates in his fear and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honour. Amen.

"Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christ's true religion in Norfolk and Suffolk."

The story of John Harpole, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Rochester, and Joan Beach, widow, of Tunbridge : with their examinations, answers, condemnation, and martyrdom.



TOUCHING the examination of Joan Beach, widow, and of John Harpole, within the diocese of Rochester, by Maurice, bishop of the

said diocese, remembrance was made before in the story of Nicholas Hall, wherein were declared the four articles consistorial of the bishop, objected and laid, as unto the said Nicholas Hall and his company, so also to this Joan Beach, widow : whereof the first was this :

“ 1. That she was of the parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

“ 2. Item, That all persons which preach, teach, believe, or say otherwise or contrary to that their mother holy catholic church of Christ, are excommunicate persons and heretics.

“ 3. Item, That the said Joan Beach hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to

the said mother church of Christ, videlicet, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very body and blood of Christ is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

“ 4. Item, That she hath been, and yet is, amongst the parishioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently suspected, to be a sacramentary and heretic.”

To the which foresaid articles, her answers were these :

“ 1. That she was and is of the said parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

“ 2. That all persons which do preach and hold otherwise and contrary to that which the holy catholic church of Christ doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretics ; adding withal, that nevertheless she believeth not the holy catholic church to be her mother, but believeth only the Father of heaven to be her Father.

“ 3. That she hath, and yet doth verily believe,

hold, and affirm, in the sacrament of the altar under forms of bread and wine, not to be the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver; and this his body and substance is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

"Lastly, as touching how she hath been or is noted and reputed among the parishioners of Tunbridge, she said, she could not tell: howbeit she believed, she was not so taken and reputed."

The like matter and the same four articles were also the same present time and place ministered to John Harpole, by the foresaid Bishop Maurice; who, after the like answers received of him as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence, according to the tenor and course of their several sentence; which ye may read before in Master Rogers' story.

And thus these two Christian martyrs, coupled in one confession, being condemned by the bishop, suffered together at one fire, in the town of Rochester, where they together ended their lives about the first day of this present month of April.

John Hullier, minister and martyr, at Cambridge.

Next after these ensueth the martyrdom of John Hullier, minister, who, being first brought up in the school of Eton, was afterward scholar, and then conduct in the King's College, at Cambridge; who suffered under Dr. Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the sincere setting out of the light of God's gracious gospel revealed in these our days; in whose behalf this is to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and stirring pens in that university, so little matter is left unto us touching the process of his judgment, and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life in such a cause among the midst of them. By certain letters which he himself left behind, it appeareth that he was zealous and earnest in that doctrine of truth, which every true Christian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was about the second day of this present month of April.

A letter of John Hullier to the Christian congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the doctrine of the Lord.

"It standeth now most in hand, O dear Christians, all them that look to be accounted of Christ's flock at the great and terrible day, when a separation shall be made of the sort that shall be received, from the others which shall be refused, faithfully in this time of great afflictions to hear our Master

Christ's voice, the only true Shepherd of our souls, which saith, Whosoever shall endure to the end shall be safe. For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well see) that our Saviour Christ spake of so long before, which should follow the true and sincere preaching of his gospel. Therefore in this time we must needs either show that we be his faithful soldiers, and continue in his battle unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breast-plate of love, the helmet of hope and salvation, and the sword of his holy word, (which we have heard plentifully,) with all instance of supplication and prayer: or else, if we do not work and labour with these, we are apostates and false soldiers, shrinking most unthankfully from our gracious and sovereign Lord and Captain Christ, and leaning to Belial. For as he saith, plainly, Whosoever beareth not my cross and followeth me, he cannot be my disciple. And, No man can serve two masters: for either he must hate the one and love the other, or else he shall lean to the one and despise the other. The which thing the faithful prophet Elias signified, when he came to the people and said, Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, then follow him.

"Now let us not think, but that the same was recorded in writing for our instruction, whom the ends of the world are come upon, as the apostle St. Paul saith, Whatsoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning. If Christ be that only good and true Shepherd that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our consciences sprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our salvation, his heavenly voice and calling, according to our profession and first promise. But if we shall not so do, certainly, (say what we can,) although we bear the name of Christ, yet we be none of his sheep indeed. For he saith very manifestly, My sheep hear my voice, and follow me: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger.

"Therefore let every man take good heed in these perilous days, (whereof we have had so much warning aforehand,) that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward show and appearance, as Eve was of our old subtle enemy, whose craft and wiliness is so manifold and diverse, and so full of close windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain straight way to consent to his suggestions, then he will allure him and wind him in by some other false ways, (as it were by a train,) that he shall not perceive it; to deceive him withal, and to steal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and eternal

crown of glory, which no man else can have, but he that fighteth lawfully : as at this present day, if he cannot induce him thoroughly, as others do, to favour his devilish religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the same, yet he will inveigle him to resort to his wicked and whorish school-house ; and at the leastwise to be conversant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and say nothing, whatsoever he think, so that he be not a diligent soldier and a good labourer on Christ's side, to further his kingdom : by that subtle means flattering him that he shall both save his life, and also his goods, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Christ's holy will and testament, we shall perceive that he came not to make any such peace upon earth, nor yet that he gave any such peace to his disciples : I leave peace with you, saith he, my peace I give you, not as the world giveth it, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye should have peace. In the world ye shall have affliction ; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. The servant is not greater than his Lord and Master. If they have persecuted me, they shall also persecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wife, children, sisters, yea, and moreover his own life, it is not possible for him to be my disciple. Blessed be ye that now weep, for ye shall laugh : and woe be unto you that now laugh, for ye shall mourn and weep. He that will find his life shall lose it.

" Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preserve and keep us, that we never obey such a false flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietness, everlasting trouble, vexation, and disquietness ; for these vain and transitory goods, extreme loss and utter damage of the eternal treasure and inheritance ; for this mortal life, deprivation of the most joyful life immortal ; finally, the entrance into endless death most miserable, unmeasurable pain and torment both of body and soul.

" Now conferring these two schoolmasters together, let us consider the thing well, and determine with ourselves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which seemeth here most pleasant, and that the most part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better, to go to school with our Master Christ, and to be under his ferula and rod, (although it seemeth sharp and grievous for a time,) that at the length we may be inheritors with him of everlasting joy, rather than to keep company with the devil's scholars, the adulterous generation, in his school that is all full of pleasure for

a while ; and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the most horrible lake, which burneth evermore with fire and brimstone without any end. What shall then these vain goods and temporal pleasures avail ? Who shall then help when we cry incessantly, Woe, woe, alas, and weal away, for unmeasurable pain, grief, and sorrow ? O let us therefore take heed betimes, and rather be content to take pains in this world for a time, that we may please God. Our Saviour Christ the true teacher saith, Every branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away.

" It is also not written in vain, The children of the ungodly are abominable children ; and so are they that keep company with the ungodly. What doth he else, I pray you, that resorteth to the ministration and service that is most repugnant and contrary to Christ's holy testament ; there keeping still silence, and nothing reproving the same ; but in the face of the world, by his very deed itself, declare himself to be of a false, fearful, dissembling, feigned, and unfaithful heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, discouraging as much as lieth in him all the residue of Christ's host, and giving a manifest offence to the weak, and also confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the hearts of the adversaries in all their evil doing ? By which example he doth show himself neither to love God, whom he seeth to be dishonoured and blasphemed of an antichristian minister, nor yet his neighbour, before whom he should rebuke the evil, as it is expressly commanded in God's holy law, where it is said, Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not sin for his sake. Wherefore let such a one never fantasy to deceive himself, that his name is registered in the book of life, to have the stipend of Christ's soldier, except he do the duty and perform the part of a faithful and right true soldier, as others have done before. For such fearfulness cometh not from God, as testifieth St. Paul, saying, God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not ashamed, saith he, to testify our Lord, but suffer adversity also with the gospel, through the power of God, which saved us, and called us with an holy calling.

" To be now fearful, when most need is that we should be of strong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulness and disobedience to the express commandment of our Saviour Christ, which saith in his holy gospel, Fear not them that kill the body, &c. : for what faithfulness do we express towards him, when he saith thus to us ? and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving Israelites, which unfaithfully feared God's enemies

the heathen Canaanites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true prophet Moses, to do the contrary; for the which cause, all the whole number of that sect were destroyed in process of time in the wilderness, and enjoyed not the pleasant land of promise; which was a bodily figure showed before, and now agreeing to the promise of the heavenly inheritance, which shall be given to none other, but only to all such as with love unfeigned be wholly bent, without any fear of man, to fulfil God's holy will and pleasure. But all they that pertain to the lively faith, to the winning of the soul, will faithfully stick to the commandment, trusting most firmly and faithfully that he that gave the same, will also give strength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakest vessels of all, even as we have heard and seen by many and divers examples: he only be praised there-for.

"St. Peter saith, Fear not though they seem terrible unto you, neither be troubled; but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts. Only, saith St. Paul, let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ. Continue in one spirit, and in one soul; labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the gospel, and in nothing fearing your adversaries, which is to them a token of damnation, and to you of salvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe in Christ, but also suffer for his sake. Wherefore let us be right well assured, that we shall yield a most strait reckoning and account, if we transgress the said most wholesome precepts given us of our Master Christ, and of his apostles, and now, in this troublesome time, wherein the gospel is persecuted, show ourselves fearful soldiers; as it is manifestly declared in the Revelation of St. John, where it is written, That the fearful shall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Again, it is written in the same book for our warning, Because thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth.

"Now, therefore, good Christians, these true testimonies of God's lively word deeply considered and weighed, let us chiefly stand in awe of his most terrible judgments, and be not as they that presumptuously tempt him. Let him always be our fear and dread. He now chasteneth, he now nurtureth us for our profit, delighting in us even as a loving father in his beloved child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his holiness. He now judgeth us, (not utterly taking away his everlasting love and mercy from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked,) that we should not be

condemned with the wicked world. But if we now refuse his most loving chastising, and follow the world, we must needs have our portion with the world. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way which leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: but strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a time! In consideration whereof, let us, without any more slacking and further delays in this great warning by God's loving visitation, submit ourselves betimes under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come.

"And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further; beseeching you most heartily to pray for me, that I may be strong through the power of his might, and stand perfect in all things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal rest; and I will pray for you, as I am most bound. So I trust he will graciously hear us for his promise's sake made unto all the faithful in his dearly beloved Son Christ, our alone Saviour, whose grace be with your spirit, most dear Christians, for ever. So be it.

"By your Christian brother, a prisoner of the
Lord,
JOHN HULLIER."

*To the congregation of Christ's faithful
followers.*

"John Hullier, being of long time prisoner, and now openly judged to die for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, wisheth heartily to the whole congregation of God, the strength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlasting health both of body and soul.

"I now, most dear Christians, having the sweet comfort of God's saving health; and, being confirmed with his free Spirit, (be he only praised there-for,) am constrained in my conscience, thinking it my very duty to admonish you, as ye tender the salvation of your souls, by all manner of means to separate yourselves from the company of the pope's hirelings, considering what is said in the Revelation of St. John, by the angel of God, touching all men. The words be these: If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be punished with fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up evermore. Mark well here, good Christians, who is this beast, and worshippers that shall be par-

takers of that unspeakable torment. The beast is none other but the carnal and fleshly kingdom of antichrist, the pope with his rabble of false prophets and ministers, as it is most manifest; which, to maintain their high titles, worldly promotions, and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily more and more set forth and establish their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to God's holy ordinances, statutes, laws, and commandments, and wholly repugnant to his sincere and pure religion and true worshipping.

"Now, what do they else, but worship this beast and his image, who, after they had once already escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are yet again tangled therein and overcome, using dissimulation unfaithfully for fear of their displeasure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; so having them in reverence under a cloak and colour, to whom they ought not so much as to say, God speed, and adjoining themselves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhor as a den of thieves and murderers, and as the brothel-house of most blasphemous fornicators: whose voices being contrary to Christ's voice, if they were of his flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himself, being the good Shepherd of our souls, doth full well in his holy gospel testify. Again, what do they else, I pray you, but receive the beast's mark in their foreheads and in their hands, which do bear a fair face and countenance outwardly in supporting them as others do, being ashamed openly to confess Christ and his holy gospel? But this feignedness and dissimulation Christ and his gospel will in no wise allow; of whom it is said, Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with his holy angels. Therefore saith Almighty God by his prophet Malachi, Cursed be the dissemblers. Ye were once lightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted of the word of God, and of the power of the world to come. And our Saviour Christ saith, No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God. Therefore St. John the apostle useth this for a manifest token, that the backsliding of the true preachers of God's word declareth evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For, saith he, They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us. Surely, so long as we use dissimulation, and do play on both hands, we are not in the light. For

whatsoever is manifest, the same is light, as the elect vessel of God, St. Paul, witnesseth.

"Wherefore, good Christians, for God's most dear love, deceive not yourselves through your own wisdom, and through the wisdom of the world, which is foolishness before God; but certify and stay your own conscience with the sure truth and faithful word of God, and with the infallible testimonies of Holy Scripture. For although God's mercy is over all his works, yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of hope unto the end, not being weary in well-doing, but rather waxing every day stronger and stronger in the inward man. Therefore in the Revelation of St. John, where it is entreated of the beast and his image, it is also said, Here is the sufferance of saints, and here are they that keep the commandments, and the faith of Jesus Christ. Whereby Almighty God doth show plainly, that he doth use those wicked men as instruments for a time, to try the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof we can have no part among the living; but as it is said in the same Revelation, The fearful shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

"But peradventure ye will object and say unto me, What shall we do? shall we cast ourselves headlong to death? I say not so. But this I say, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive salvation at God's hand) in this case wholly to be obedient to his determinate counsel and foreknowledge, expressed by the gift of the Spirit in Holy Scripture; and then to cast all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the best, unto them that love him: and thus he giveth commandment, saying, Come away from her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. Now who, hearing this terrible voice of God, which must needs be fulfilled, will not with all speed and diligence apply himself to do thereafter, except such as will presumptuously tempt him? And as touching such, the wise man saith, He that loveth peril and danger, shall perish therein. But they that be of the faith of Abraham, even as he did, so will they in all essays and trials be obedient to the heavenly voice, howsoever it seemeth contrary to their own natural will and carnal reason, according to the sure word of faith, which saith, Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his way: hold thee still in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him. Let not thy jealousy move thee also to do evil. Come out from among them, and join not yourselves to their unlawful assemblies; yea, do not once show yourselves with the least part of your body to favour their wicked doings, but glorify God (as most right is) as

well in your whole body outwardly, as inwardly in your spirit, or else you can do neither of both well; for your body doth belong to God as well as your spirit. At the dreadful day of judgment we shall all receive the works of our bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

"Therefore whatsoever we do, we may not bring the spirit in bondage to the body, but contrariwise we must subdue the body and the will of the flesh to the spirit, that the spirit may freely accomplish the will of God in all things: for otherwise, we shall never be partakers of his promise, with the true children of Abraham. For as St. Paul saith, They which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God. If we shall live according to the flesh, we shall die. For to be carnally-minded is death; but to be spiritually-minded is life and peace: because that the fleshly mind is enmity to God; for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God. Now choose you which way you will take; either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Christ himself, and his faithful followers, have gone through before; or else the broad pathway that leadeth to destruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleasure in for a while. I for my part have now written this short admonition unto you of good will, (as God is my witness,) to exhort you to that way which at length you yourselves shall prove and find to be best, yea, and rejoice thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will also (with the assistance of God's grace) ratify and confirm and seal the same with the effusion of my blood, when the full time shall be expired that he hath appointed, which (so far forth as I may judge) must needs be within these few days. Therefore I now bid you all most heartily farewell in the Lord, whose grace be with your spirit, Amen. Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray. So be it.

"JOHN HULLIER."

Besides these letters, the said John Hullier left also a godly prayer.

A prayer of John Hullier.

"O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall speak forth thy praise," with Pater-noster, the articles of his belief, and then to this prayer.

"O God Almighty, O most merciful God and heavenly Father, for whose love alone, as thou knowest, O Lord, I now relinquish and most willingly forsake my loving and well-beloved, yea, and my most lawful wife, my dear and lawfully begotten children, and all my friends, with all delights, pomps,

and pleasures of the world, yea, and mine own life, being contented most gladly to leave them all; and now in thy trial, O good Lord, not to regard them, but joyfully to give my life, and to die for thee and thy gospel's sake, whom I most wholly love above all other. I beseech thee, of thy fatherly pity, with humble and content heart, now most chiefly to strengthen me with thy Holy Spirit, most merciful Lord; and at this present time, when most need is, to send down thine holy angel to comfort, assist, aid, and succour me; to prosper my journey, and safely to bring me through the strait gate and narrow way, into thy most joyful, heavenly, and everlasting rest: the which gate and way thy only begotten and dear Son, and our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, hath most victoriously, for our comfort, run through before, making passage and entrance only thereby to all others that constantly, with a quick and a lively faith, believe in him, that is, to all such as not only be professors of the gospel with their mouth, but also do here live according to the gospel, and be earnest followers of Christ, being made like and conformable to his image in faithfulness, in love, in sufferance, in goodness, in pureness, and in all godliness, honesty, and truth. Wherefore I now wholly submit myself to thee, O God, having trust and confidence in none other but in thee, O heavenly Father, and in the cross, passion, death, and bloodshedding of thy Son Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified in me, O Lord, and I to the world; hungering and thirsting for nothing else but the health and salvation of my soul, and to live with Christ, who is my life, my joy, my hope, and all my whole delight, solace, and treasure.

"The sight of this great fire shall seem ugly and terrible, O Lord: but let thy right hand and almighty power give now unto me sufficient ability and strength to sustain and abide it. O merciful Lord, keep my soul! O Lord, be merciful unto me; and speedily deliver me, O thou most mighty God and Maker of all things, and Ruler of all the kings of the earth! forasmuch as of thy most bountiful goodness thou hast now surely grafted in my heart to fear thee above all men, and only to put my whole trust and confidence in thy mercy. O heavenly Father, I now clearly before all this assembly of people, even from the very bottom of my heart, forgive all the world as I desire forgiveness at thy hand. O Lord, therefore now have mercy upon me, after thy great goodness; and according to the multitude of thy great mercy, do away, O Lord, all my sins and offences of my youth, O God, thou that art the God of my salvation. Yea, and from my hid and secret faults now thoroughly cleanse me, I most heartily beseech thee, good Lord, for Christ's

most precious death and bloodshedding : for as for our merits and deservings, they be nothing before thee, O thou most just and righteous God. But yet, good Lord ! the good works that thou hast appointed for us to walk in, we are most bound, for the sure confirmation of our faith, always to do to the uttermost of our power, under pain of damnation. Notwithstanding, O heavenly Father, when we have done all that we can do, yet are we unprofitable servants, doing but our duties, and must even then be fain to say, yea, even the best of us all, with the lowly and penitent publican, God be merciful to me a sinner, desiring mercy in thy sight through Christ for our justification and salvation. And therefore, for this mine own death's sake, good Lord, I challenge and claim no merit at all, but only thereby perform my most bounden duty and reasonable service for thee, upon confession and testimony of thy truth, rendering wholly to thy almighty name, O everlasting God, grace and thanks, of whom alone I received freely the gift to stand to the same unto this day. My strength do I ascribe unto thee, O God : for thou art my defence. Wherefore even now also, I beseech thee likewise, O heavenly Father, for thine infinite mercy and faithfulness' sake, make perfect my ways in thy paths, that my goings slide not ; but that now I may depart hence, and end my course in thy peace.

"Pour down the perfect gift of patience upon me, O heavenly Father, which art the God of all humility and patience, even as thou knowest now, O Lord, to be most expedient for me ; for into thy merciful defence I commend my whole spirit, soul, mind, [and body, desiring only thy goodness to direct and guide all my whole thought and mind,] so long as there remaineth any manner of life or breath within me, according to thy heavenly will and pleasure. And now, O good Lord, to do all that lieth in me, I lift up my heart, mind, and hands, unto thy heavenly throne of grace, crying and calling unto thee for help in this my distress and extreme trouble, as thou, O Lord, hast commanded me to do.

"Now, O most merciful Lord, according to thy most faithful and loving promise made therein, let thy great power and exceeding virtue be made perfect through mine infirmity and weakness, that I may this day most quietly, meekly, and stedfastly suffer death, and, with a constant and perfect faith, give a strong witness to the world, even as my Christian brethren have done before me, for thy word's sake, and for the most true and infallible testimony of thy dear Son Jesus Christ.

"O thou mighty God, that madest heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is, of nothing : O thou mighty God, that safely broughtest the chil-

dren of Israel, thy people, through the midst of the Red Sea, as it had been a most dry land : thou most mighty God, that didst send thine angel before them, to vanquish the great and terrible giants : thou that didst most gloriously deliver those three children out of the mighty burning oven : thou that stoppest the mouths of the cruel and ramping lions, and didst wondrously deliver thy true servant Daniel, being cast into the midst of them : thou that always triest the people through the fire of affliction, even as the pure [and fine] gold is tried in the furnace, that they may be found laudable in thy sight ; and yet of thy goodness, O Lord, wilt not suffer them to be tried above their strength ; but, even in the midst of their temptation, O Lord, according to thy very faithfulness, makest a way that they may be able to bear it ; for there is nothing wonderful unto thee ; for thou, Lord, who didst strengthen the first martyr Stephen, being stoned to death for the true confession of thy Son Christ ; thou most righteous God, who art rich in compassion and mercy towards all men that faithfully call upon thee ; thou most gracious God—God I say, that from the beginning always strengthenedst thy prophets, and all other thy faithful servants that ever have suffered before, for thy name's sake : now vouchsafe, O Lord, I beseech thee, to extend thine accustomed goodness and mercy in comforting me, thy poor servant ; regard thy truth, and defend thine own rightful cause, O Lord, that thy Son Christ may be magnified in my mortal and corruptible body.

"O God, I put no trust at all in myself, but in thee alone, which mightily raisest the dead to life, to the declaring and setting forth of thine incorruptible and everlasting glory, to the commodity of thy congregation, and to their everlasting comfort in Christ. For in Christ, and by Christ, which is the author and finisher of our faith, I now give unto thee, as most worthy, O heavenly Father, all that whole praise, honour, and glory, for evermore, and world without end, in all things praising thy holy name. And to this, let all people, with one voice and godly consent together, only for the love of thee and thy truth's sake, say Amen. Now, heavenly Father, glorify thine own name.

"I remember what our Saviour Christ himself saith in the gospel, to the comfort of all his true and faithful servants : Ye are they which have hid with me in my temptation ; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed to me ; that ye may be with me, and eat and drink at my table in my kingdom. Enter in at the strait gate ; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in

thereat ; but strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth to life, and few there be that find it. What doth it profit a man, if he win all the whole world, and lose his own soul ? Be ye ready, for the Son of man will come in such an hour as you think not. Through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God. Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven. He that findeth his life, shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it. Every one that forsaketh house or land, brother or sister, father or mother, wife or children, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life. I say with the godly man, Eleazar, that thou, O God, which hast the whole knowledge, knowest openly, that whereas I might be delivered from death, I suffer these sore pains of my body, but in my mind am well contented to suffer them, because I fear thee ; and as for me, like as my brethren have done, I offer my body for thy truth's sake, calling upon God, that he will soon be merciful unto his people, yea, and by a showing forth his Almighty power may make their adversaries to know, that He only is to be feared above all the rulers of the world. It is better to suffer affliction as children of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a while. It was said unto them that were under the altar, and were killed for the word of God, that they should rest from their labours for a little time or season, until the number of their fellows and brethren which should be killed as they were, were fulfilled. Blessed are the dead which die hereafter in the Lord : Amen. So saith the Spirit, that they rest from their labours ! It is a true saying, If we be dead with Christ, we shall also live with him : if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him ; if we deny him, he shall also deny us. I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, [and I shall be clothed again with this skin, and see God in my flesh ; yea, I myself shall behold him, not with other eyes, but with these same eyes.] And I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. Lord Jesu, receive my spirit. Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. My soul is joyful in the Lord, and I rejoice in his help. Amen.

The death and martyrdom of six constant professors of Christ, burned at Colchester, for the testimony of the gospel, the twenty-eighth day of April.



or long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Essex martyrs, executed in Smithfield, as is above specified, followed in the same order likewise of

martyrdom, at one like fire in the town of Colchester, (where the most part of them did inhabit,) six other blessed martyrs, whose names be these :

Christopher Lyster of Dagenham, husbandman ; John Mace of Colchester, apothecary ; John Spencer of Colchester, weaver ; Simon Joyne, sawyer ; Richard Nichols of Colchester, weaver ; and John Hamond of Colchester, tanner.

With these six was also joined another, whose name was Roger Grasbroke, but he afterward submitted himself. Of these above named, the bishop, because he (as it seemed by the short process recorded by his registrar) waxed now weary, made a very quick despatch. For soon after that, they were delivered unto one John Kingstone, bachelor of civil law, and then commissary to the bishop, by the earl of Oxford and other commissioners, (as appeareth by a bill indented, made between the commissioners and the said commissary, for the receipt of the said prisoners, dated the twenty-eighth day of March, in the second and third year of the king and queen, Philip and Mary, which is 1556,) and by him sent up unto his lord and master, the bishop caused them to be brought unto his house of Fulham ; where, in the open church, judicially were ministered unto them the same articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Greene and others, mentioned before. To the which they made their several answers, agreeing altogether in one truth, as by the sum and effect thereof here ensuing, more plainly appeareth.

" To the first article they all consented and agreed ; John Spencer adding further thereto, that the church malignant (which is the Church of Rome) is no part of Christ's catholic church ; and that he neither hath nor doth believe the doctrine and religion taught and set forth in the said Romish and malignant church.

“To the second they answered, that they believed that in the true catholic church of Christ there be but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

“To the third article they all agreed, confessing that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had professed and promised for them, as is contained in the same article.

“To the fourth they answered, that they always were, and yet then did continue in the faith and profession wherein they were baptized; Richard Nichols adding also, that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profession by the doctrine set forth in King Edward the Sixth's days, and thereupon he had builded his faith, and would continue in the same to his life's end, God assisting him.

“To the fifth they answered, that they neither swerved nor went away from the catholic faith of Christ. Howbeit they confessed, that within the time articulate, (and before,) they had misliked, and spoken against, the sacrifice of the mass, and against the sacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers thereof, because they had and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christ's church and gospel, and that he ought not to have any authority in England. For all which sayings they were no whit sorry, but rather rejoiced and were glad.

“To the sixth they answered, that they never refused, nor yet then presently did refuse, to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church: but they said they had, and then did, and so ever would hereafter, utterly refuse to come to the Church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the see thereof; but did utterly abhor the same, for putting down the book of God, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonical mass, with all other of antichrist's merchandise.

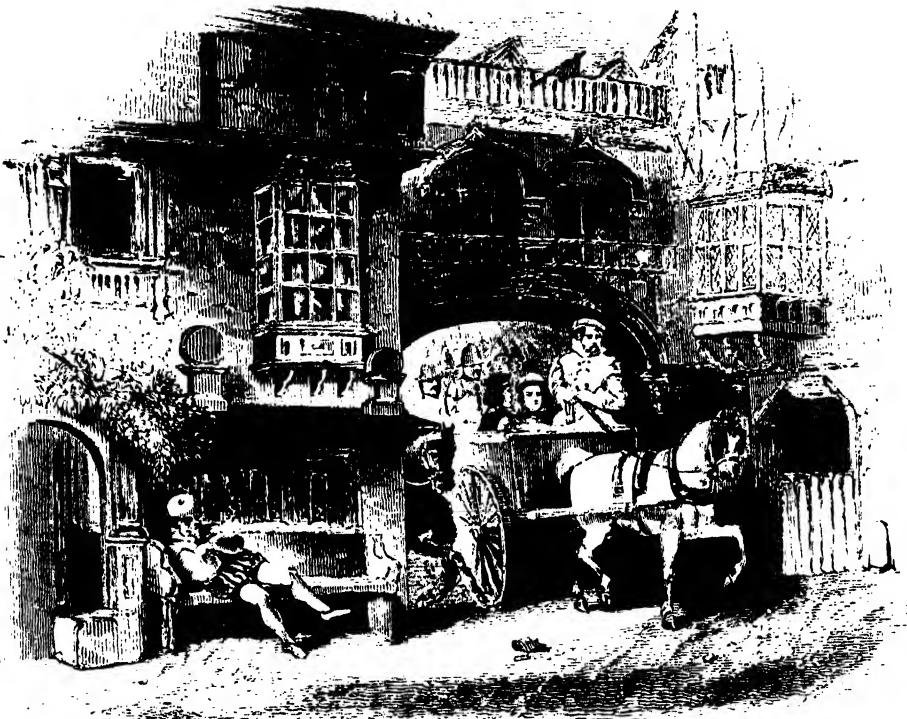
“To the seventh article, the effect thereof they all granted. And Simon Joyne declared further, that the cause of his refusing to be partaker of their trumpery was, for that the commandments of God were there broken, and Christ's ordinances changed and put out, and the bishop of Rome's ordinances instead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the sacrament of Christ's body, Christopher Lyster affirmed, that in the said sacrament there is the substance of bread and wine, as well after the words of consecration as before, and that there is not in the same the very body and blood of Christ really, substantially, and truly, but only sacramentally and spiritually by faith in the faithful receivers, and that the mass is not propitiatory for the quick or for the dead, but mere idolatry and abomination.

“To the eighth they said, that they were sent to Colchester prison by the king and queen's commissioners, because they would not come to their parish churches, and by them sent unto the bishop of London, to be thereof further examined.

“To the ninth they all generally agreed, that that which they had said in the premises was true, and that they were of the diocese of London.”

These answers thus made, the bishop did dismiss them for that present until the afternoon. At which time, having first their articles and answers read unto them again, and they standing most firmly unto their Christian profession, they were by divers ways and means assayed and tried if they would revoke the same their professed faith, and return to the unity of antichrist's church; which thing when they refused, the bishop stoutly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, committing them unto the temporal power; which, upon the receipt of the king and queen's writ, sent them unto Colchester, where, the twenty-eighth day of April, most cheerfully they ended their lives, to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock, a lame old man, of the parish of Barking, painter, aged sixty-eight, and John Apprice, a blind man, martyrs; burned at Stratford-le-Bow.



IN the discourse of this parcel or part of history, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unsearchable mercies of God, (with

whom there is no respect in degrees of persons, but he chooseth as well the poor, lame, and blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to set forth his glory,) or else to note the unreasonable or rather unnatural doing of these unmerciful catholics, (I mean Bishop Bonner and his complices,) in whom was so little favour or mercy to all sorts and kinds of men, that also they spared neither impotent age, neither lame nor blind, as may well appear by these two poor creatures, whose stories hereunder follow.

These two poor and simple creatures, being belike accused by some promoting neighbour of theirs unto the bishop and other of the king and queen's commissioners, were sent for by their officer; and so, being brought and delivered into the hands of

the said bishop, were, the first day of May, examined before him in his palace at London; where he first propounded and objected against them those nine articles, whereof mention is made before, ministered as well unto Bartlet Greene, as also unto many others. To the which they answered in effect, as Christopher Lyster, John Mace, and others before mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were again sent to prison, and (beside other times) the ninth day of the same month, in the consistory of Paul's, were again openly produced; and there (after the old order) travailed withal to recant their opinions against the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto Hugh Laverock first said, "I will stand to mine answers, and to that I have confessed; and I cannot find in the Scriptures, that the priests should lift up over their head a cake of bread."

The bishop then turned him unto John Apprice, and asked what he would say. To whom he answered, "Your doctrine," said he, "that ye set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable

with the Scripture of God. And ye are not of the catholic church; for ye make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman." At which words the bishop, belike somewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their condemnation any longer, (such was now his hot burning charity,) commanded that they should be brought after him unto Fulham, whither he before dinner did go: and there in the afternoon, after his solemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the definitive sentence of condemnation against them; and so, delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, thought to despatch his hands of them, but could not so despatch his conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent blood.

The poor men, being now in the temporal officer's hands, might not there be suffered long to remain; and therefore the fifteenth day of May, very early in the morning, they were carried from Newgate in a cart to Stratford-le-Bow, and most quietly in the fire, praising God, yielded up their souls into his hands, through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom unto the end they did most constantly confess.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch; and comforting John Apprice, his fellow martyr, said unto him, "Be of good comfort, my brother; for my Lord of London is our good physician. He will heal us both shortly; thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness." And so patiently these two good saints of God together suffered.

Three women the same time burned in Smithfield: Katharine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, and Joan Horns.

The next day after martyrdom of this lame and blind man above specified, in the said month of May, were brought to the fire three women, with whom also was adjoined another, who being in the same constancy with them, was likewise partaker of the said condemnation. The names of these were: Katharine Hut of Bocking, widow; Joan Horns of Billericay, maid; Elizabeth Thackvel of Great Burstead, maid; Margaret Ellis of Billericay, maid.

How these, with divers other more, were persecuted and sent up, especially by Sir John Mordant, and Edmund Tyrrel, esquire, justices of peace, this their letter following will declare.

"Our humble commendations to your Lordship: these shall be to advertise you, that we have sent unto your good Lordship Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, James Harris, servant of William Harris of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellis, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the church, nor

to the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, to use your Lordship's pleasure with them, as you think good; not doubting with the punishment of these and others before sent to your Lordship, but that the parishes of Great Burstead and Billericay shall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave.—From Great Burstead, this present second day of March, 1556.

"Your Lordship's to command,

JOHN MORDANT, EDMUND TYRREL."

After the receipt of these letters, Bishop Bonner, entering to examination of these four women above-named, laid and objected the like articles to them as after his usual form he used to minister, and are before expressed: whereunto the same women likewise agreeing in the same unity of spirit and doctrine, accorded in their answers, much agreeing unto the others before them.

"As first, to the article in the first place objected, they consented and granted, believing the said article to be true in every part thereof.

"To the second, partly they answered, they could not tell what a sacrament is; Elizabeth Thackvel and Katharine Hut adding moreover, that matrimony, and baptism, and the Lord's supper, were sacraments ordained in the church: but whether the other specified in this article be sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. Margaret Ellis being examined severally, as the others were, upon the same, it was demanded of her, where she had borne her candle on Candlemas-day, and where she received ashes upon Ash-Wednesday. Item, Where she was confessed, and where she received the sacrament of the altar at Easter last before. To the which she answered, that neither had she borne candles, nor received ashes; neither yet had been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, because her conscience did not suffer nor permit her to approve or allow any of those things. But she confessed that about two years then last past, one Sir John, the vicar of Much Burstead, did minister unto her in the church there, the communion in English; at which time he did give her a piece of bread, which she received in remembrance of Christ's death and passion. And further, being demanded how many sacraments there were, answered, (as a young maid unskilled,) in her simple ignorance, that she could not tell. Howbeit she had heard (she said) that there was one sacrament, but what it was called she could not tell. Notwithstanding this her simplicity and small knowledge, (which had more need to have been chari-

tably and favourably instructed, than thus cruelly to be condemned,) she was yet, in the end, after divers and sundry open examinations, denounced and adjudged a heretic; and thereupon was delivered to the sheriffs of London, who sent her to Newgate, there to abide her appointed hour of burning; which the Lord, in his secret yet merciful judgment, prevented; calling her, in the mean while, in his mercy, out of this her miserable life, by sickness, into his eternal joy and rest, before that she could seal her faith with the shedding of her blood, which willingly she would have done, if the Lord's good will had so been.

"To the third likewise they granted, that they were baptized by their godfathers and godmothers, 'which godfathers and godmothers,' said Margaret Ellis, 'did not then know so much, as she doth now know:' Katharine Hut adding withal and saying, that she was baptized; but what her godfathers and godmothers did then promise for her in her name, she could not tell, &c.

"To the fourth article Margaret Ellis and Elizabeth Thackvel did grant thereunto: Katharine Hut said moreover, that she, being of the age of fourteen years, was of the faith wherein she was christened; and yet nevertheless the said faith in that age (she said) was but a dead faith, because she did not then understand what she did believe. Joan Horns added, that she, being eleven years of age, began to learn the faith set forth in King Edward's days, in the which faith and religion (she said) she hath hitherto, and yet doth, and so will hereafter continue, God so assisting her.

"To the fifth article they answered and confessed, according all in this effect, that as touching the mass, they knew no goodness in it; and as touching the sacrament of the altar, they believed that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar; and as concerning the see of Rome, they acknowledged no such supremacy in that see, neither have they any thing to do therewith.

"In answering the sixth article, they did all generally refuse to be reconciled or united to the Church of Rome, or any other church, contrary to that wherein they now stood and did profess.

"To the seventh article they answered likewise, that they had so done and said in all things, as it is in this article contained: Katharine Hut adding moreover the reason why; for that (said she) neither the service in Latin, mass, matins, and even-song, nor the sacraments, were used and ministered according to God's word: and furthermore, that the mass is an idol, neither are the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they make men believe.

"The answer to the eighth article, declared that

they were all and every one sent up to Bonner by Sir John Mordant, knight, and justice of peace in Essex, (the Lord of his mercy send us better justices, I beseech him,) for that they could not affirm the presence of Christ's body and blood to be truly and really in the sacrament, and for that they came not to their popish parish church.

"To the ninth article, they answered and confessed the premises thereof to be true, and denied not the same; save that Katharine Hut said, that she was of Bocking in Essex, of the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury, and not of the diocese and jurisdiction of London."

After these their answers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of April to further examination, and so at length to their final judgment; where Katharine Hut, widow, standing before the bishop, boldly and constantly stood to that which she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror: who being required of the sacrament to say her mind, and to revoke herself unto the fellowship of the catholic faith, openly protested, saying, "I deny it to be God; because it is a dumb god, and made with men's hands." Wherein the good and faithful martyr of Christ firmly persisting, so received her sentence, being condemned of Bonner to the fire; which she with great constancy sustained by the grace and strength of the Lord, and did abide for the cause and love of Christ.

Joan Horns, maid, being produced likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and Christian fortitude declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's testament, giving no place to the adversary. But being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, of the which sacrament (contrary to the nature of a sacrament) the adversaries are wont to make an idol-service; to this she, protesting openly her mind, said as followeth: "If you can make your god to shed blood, or to show any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you: but it is but bread, as touching the substance thereof," meaning the matter whereof the sacrament consisteth; "and that which you call heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God in," &c. And as concerning the Romish see, she said, "My Lord," speaking to Bonner, "I forsake all its abominations; and from them, good Lord deliver us." From this her stable and constant assertion, when the bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly axe of his sentence. And so the holy virgin and martyr, committed to the shambles of the secular sword, was offered up with her other fellows

a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, "in the savour of a sweet and pleasant smell."

As touching Margaret Ellis, she likewise, persevering in her foresaid confession, and resisting the false catholic error and heresies of the papists, was by the said Bonner adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate prison, departed and slept in the Lord.

No less strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid, Elizabeth Thackvel, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of Scripture convince her affirmation, so by no forcible attempts they could remove her confession. Whereupon she, standing to the death, being in like sort condemned

by the said unbishoplike persecutor, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and sealing up of the sincere truth of God's word.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully by men condemned for the just quarrel and cause of God's gospel, were had to Smithfield, and there, cruelly bound to the stake, gave their bodies to the tormentors: their spirits they commended to God, for whose glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatsoever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, than some of them that burned them did, peradventure, in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his saints. The martyrdom of these saints of God was the sixteenth of May.

Thomas Drowry, a blind boy, and Thomas Croker, bricklayer, martyrs.



Y

E heard a little before of two men, the one blind, the other lame, which suffered about the fifteenth of May. And here is not to be forgotten

another as godly a couple, which suffered the like passion and martyrdom for the same cause of religion at Gloucester: of the which two, the one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, mentioned before in the history of Bishop Hooper, whom the said virtuous bishop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word. With him also was burned another in the same place, and at the

same fire in Gloucester, about the fifteenth of May, whose name was Thomas Croker, bricklayer.

Concerning the which blind boy, how long he was in prison, and in what year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this, credible intelligence I have received by the testimony of the registrar then of Gloucester, named John Taylor, alias Barker, that the said blind boy, at his last examination and final condemnation, was brought, by the officers under whose custody he had remained, before Dr. Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially with the said registrar in the consistory, near unto the south door, in the nether end of the church of Gloucester; where the said chancellor then ministered unto the boy such usual articles as are accustomed in such cases, and are sundry times mentioned in this book. Amongst which he chiefly urged the article of transubstantiation, saying in effect as followeth:—

Chancellor.—"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?"

To whom the blind boy answered, "No, that I do not."

Chancellor.—"Then thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?"

Thomas.—"You, Master Chancellor."

Chancellor.—"Where, I pray thee?"

Thomas.—"Even in yonder place;" pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church.

Chancellor.—"When did I teach thee so?"

Thomas.—"When you preached there [naming the day] a sermon to all men, as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said, the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have heretofore taught."

Chancellor.—"Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning."

Thomas.—"Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your conscience, yet will I not so do."

Chancellor.—"Then God have mercy upon thee; for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee."

Thomas.—"God's will be fulfilled."

The registrar being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the chancellor:

Registrar.—"Fie for shame, man! will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment."

Chancellor.—"No, registrar, I will obey the

law, and give sentence myself, according to mine office."

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy conscience,) delivering him over unto the secular power; who the said fifteenth day of May, brought the said blind boy to the place of execution at Gloucester; together with one Thomas Croker a bricklayer, condemned also for the like testimony of the truth, where both together, in one fire, most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

Persecution in Suffolk; three men burnt at Beccles, May the twenty-first.

After the death of these above rehearsed, were three men burnt at Beccles in Suffolk, in one fire, about the twenty-first of May, anno 1556, whose names are here specified: Thomas Spicer of Winston, labourer; John Denny, and Edmund Poole. This Thomas Spicer was a single man, of the age of nineteen years, and by vocation a labourer, dwelling in Winston in the county of Suffolk, and there taken in his master's house in summer, about or anon after the rising of the sun, (being in his bed,) by James Ling and John Keretch of the same town, and William Davies of Debenham in the said county.

The occasion of his taking was, for that he would not go to their popish church to hear mass and receive their idol, at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, of Gipping-hall in Suffolk, and certain other justices there, who sent both him and them to Eye dungeon in Suffolk, till at length they were all three together brought before Dunning, then chancellor of Norwich, and Master Mings the registrar, sitting at the town of Beccles, to be examined.

And there the said chancellor, persuading what he could to turn them from the truth, could by no means prevail of his purpose. Wherefore, minding in the end to give sentence on them, he burst out in tears, entreating them to remember themselves, and to turn again to the holy mother church, for that they were deceived and out of the truth, and that they should not wilfully cast away themselves, with such-like words.

Now as he was thus labouring them, and seemed very loth to read the sentence, (for they were the first that he condemned in that diocese,) the registrar there sitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or else perceiving the constant martyrs to be at a point, called upon the chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At the which words the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the secular power.

The articles, whereupon they were condemned.

"The articles objected to these, and commonly to all others condemned in that diocese by Dr. Hopton bishop of Norwich, and by Dunning his chancellor, were these :

"First, It was articulate against them, that they believed not the pope of Rome to be supreme head immediately under Christ in earth of the universal catholic church.

"2. Item, That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and all other like ceremonies used in the church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion.

"3. Item, That they believed not, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"4. Item, That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"5. Item, That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion.

"6. Item, That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest.

"7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himself free-will to do good or evil."

For this doctrine and articles above prefixed, these three, as is aforesaid, were condemned by Dr. Dunning and committed to the secular power, Sir John Silliard being the same time high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. And the next day following upon the same, they were all burnt together in the said town of Beccles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the writ *De comburendo* was not yet come down, nor could be, the lord chancellor, Bishop Heath, being the same time at London : which if it be true, then it is plain, that both they went beyond their commission, that were the executioners, and also the clergy, which were the instigators thereof, cannot make good that they now pretend ; saying, that they did nothing but by law. But this let the Lord find out when he seeth his time.

In the mean time, while these good men were at the stake, and had prayed, they said their belief ; and when they came to the reciting of the catholic church, Sir John Silliard spake to them : "That is well said, sirs," quoth he, "I am glad to hear you say, you do believe the catholic church. That is the best word I have heard of you yet." To the which his sayings Edmund Poole answered, that though they believed the catholic church, yet did they not believe in their popish church, which is no part of Christ's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they rose from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake ; and being bound thereto, and the fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those which stood by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the said Beccles, a very enemy of God's truth, and a persecutor of his people, being there present within hearing thereof, willed the tormentors to throw on faggots to stop the knaves' breaths, as he termed them ; so hot was his burning charity. But these good men, not regarding their malice, confessed the truth, and yielded their lives to the death for the testimony of the same, very gloriously and joyfully. The which their constancy in the like cause the Lord grant we may imitate and follow unto the end, (whether it be death or life,) to glorify the name of Christ, Amen !

And forasmuch as we have here entered into the persecution of Norfolk and Suffolk, it cometh therefore to mind, by occasion hereof, briefly to touch, by the way, some part (for the whole matter cannot be so expressed as it was done) touching the troubles of the towns of Winston and Mendlesham in Suffolk, raised and stirred by the said Sir John Tyrrel and other justices there of the like affinity. The sum and effect of which briefly is thus signified to me by writing.

By the procurement of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and others of his colleagues, there were persecuted out of the town of Winston in Suffolk, these persons hereafter following, anno 1556 : Mrs. Alice Twaites, gentlewoman, of the age of threescore years and more, and two of her servants ; Humphrey Smith and his wife ; William Catchpoole and his wife ; John Mauling and his wife ; Nicholas Burlingham and his wife ; and one Rought and his wife.

Such as were persecuted and driven out of the town of Mendlesham in the county of Suffolk :

Simon Harlstone, and Katharine his wife, with his five children : William Whitting, and Katharine his wife : Thomas Dobson, and his wife ; Thomas Hubbard, and his wife ; John Doncon, and his wife and maid ; William Doncon ; Thomas Woodward the elder ; one Konnold's wife ; a poor widow ; one Mother Semon's maid : besides those that were constrained to do against their conscience, by the help of the parish priest, whose name was Sir John Brodish.

These be the chief causes why those above-named were persecuted :

"First, They did hold and believe the holy word of God to be the sufficient doctrine unto their salvation.

"Secondly, They denied the pope's usurped au-

thority, and did hold all that church of antichrist to be Christ's adversaries. And further, they refused the abused sacraments, defied the mass and all popish service and ceremonies, saying they robbed God of his honour, and Christ of his death and glory, and would not come at the church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

"Thirdly, They did hold that the ministers of the church, by God's word, might lawfully marry.

"Fourthly, They held the queen to be as chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague sent of God for sin, &c.

"Fifthly, They denied man's free-will, and held that the pope's church did err, and many others in that point with them; rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in man's righteousness. Also, when any rebuked those persecuted for going so openly, and talking so freely, their answer was, They knowledged, confessed, and believed, and therefore they must speak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence, and that his judgments were right, to punish them with others for their sins; and that of very faithfulness and mercy God had caused them to be troubled, so that one hair of their heads should not perish before the time, but all things should work unto the best to them that love God. And that Christ Jesus was their life and only righteousness, and that only by faith in him, and for his sake, all good things were freely given them; also forgiveness of sins and life everlasting."

Many of these persecuted were of great substance, and had possessions of their own: give God the praise!

Forasmuch as we are now in the month of May, before we overpass the same, and because the story is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it shall not grieve the studious reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muse at the great works of the Lord. They that go down, saith the psalmist, into the sea, labouring upon the water, have seen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep, &c. The truth whereof may well appear in this story following: which story, as it is signified and written to me by relation of the party himself, which was doer thereof, called Thomas Morse, so I thought to purport the same as followeth:

"Upon Tuesday after Whitsunday, which was the twenty-sixth day of May, in this present year, 1556, (or else, as he rather thinketh, in the year next before, which was 1555,) a certain poor man whose name was Gregory Crow, dwelling in Malden, went to the sea, minding to have gone into Kent for

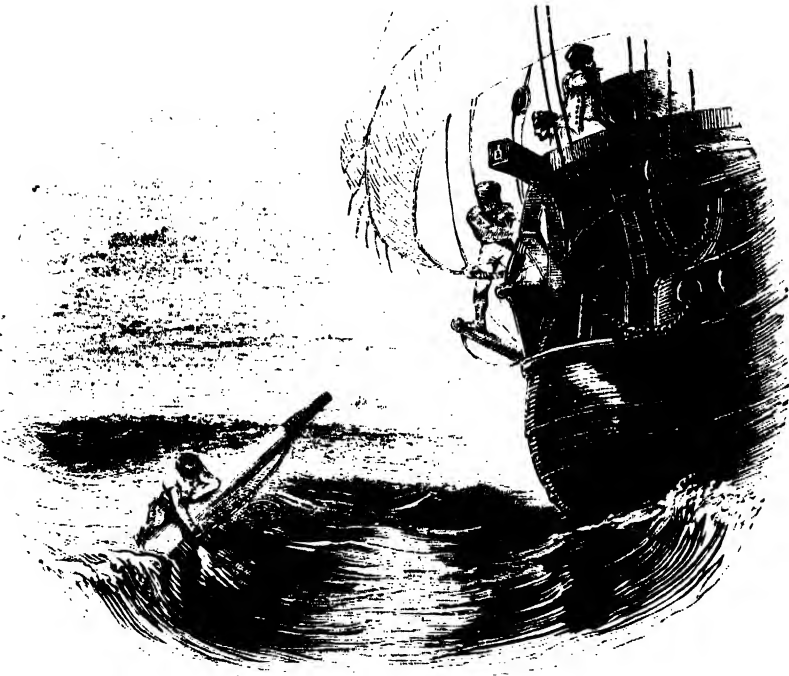
fulling earth; but by the way, being foul weather, was driven upon a sand, where presently the boat sank, and was full of water, so that the men were forced to hold themselves by the mast of the boat, and all things that would swim did swim out of her: amongst which Crow saw his Testament in the water, and caught it and put it in his bosom. Now it was ebbing water, so that within one hour the boat was dry, but broken so as they could not save her: but they went themselves upon the sand, (being ten miles at the least from the land,) and there made their prayers together, that God would send some ship that way to save them, (being two men and one boy in all,) for they might not tarry upon the sand but half an hour, but it would be flood; in the which time they found their chest, wherein was money to the sum of five pound six shillings and eight pence, the which money the man which was with the said Crow (whose name I know not) took and gave it unto Crow, who was owner thereof, and he cast it into the sea, saying, 'If the Lord will save our lives, he will provide us a living.' And so they went upon the mast there, hanging by the arms and legs for the space of ten hours, in the which time the boy was so weary and beaten with the sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

"And when the water was gone again, and the sand dry, Crow said to his man, 'It were best for us to take down our masts, and when the flood cometh, we will sit upon them, and so it may please God to bring us to some ship that may take us up.' Which thing they did, and so at ten of the clock in the night of the same Tuesday, the flood did bear up the mast whereupon they sat.

"And upon the Wednesday, in the night, the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this Crow, who, driving up and down in the sea, called upon God as he could, and might not sleep, for fear that the sea would have beaten him off.

"So at length, I myself (said Thomas Morse) being laden to Antwerp with my crayer, going from Leigh upon Friday, having within my crayer, of mariners and merchants, to the number of forty-six persons; and so coming to the Foreland, the wind was not very good, so that I was constrained to go somewhat out of my way, being in the afternoon about six of the clock, where at the last we saw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a small buoy, that fishermen do use to lay with their hooks.

"When we saw it, some said, 'Let us have some fish.' And I said to him that was at the helm, 'Keep your course away, for we shall but hinder the fisherman, and have no fish neither;' and so at my commandment he did. But at length,



he at the helm standing higher than all we did, said, 'Methink, master, it is a man.' But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a fisher's buoy, returned the ship from him again to keep their course.

"Crow, beholding the ship to turn from him, being then in utter despair, and ready now to perish with watching and famine, and moreover miserably beaten with the seas, at last took his mariner's cap from his head, and holding up the same with his arm, as high as he could, thought by shaking it as well as he might, to give them some token of better sight. Whereupon the steersman more sensibly perceiving a thing to move, advertised us again, declaring how he did see plainly a man's arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and so came to him and took him up. And as soon as we had him in our ship, he began to put his hand in his bosom; and one asked him if he had money there. 'No,' said he. 'I have a book here, I think it be wet;' and so drew out his Testament, which we then dried. But the sea had so beaten him, that his eyes, nose, and mouth were almost closed with salt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire and shifted him with dry clothes, and gave him *aqua composita* to drink, and such meat as was in the ship; and then let him sleep.

"The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the morning, and his blood began somewhat to appear in his flesh, (for when we took him up, his flesh was even as though it had

been sodden, or as a drowned man is,) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearsed. And so, sailing to Antwerp, the merchants, which saw the thing, published the same in Antwerp; and because it was wonderful, the people there, both men and women, came to the ship to see him, many of them. Some gave him a petticoat, and some a shirt, some hosen, and some money (always noting how he cast away his money, and kept his book). And many of the women wept when they heard and saw him. And Master Governor of the English nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and, pitying his case, commanded the officer of the English house to go with him to the free post-houses amongst the English merchants, and I with them; and at three houses there was given him six pound ten shillings. And so from thence he went with me to Rouen, where the people also came to him to see him, marvelling at the great works of God."

And thus much concerning this poor man with his New Testament preserved in the sea (which Testament the pope's clergy condemneth on the land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the party above-named, who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in Leigh, well known to all merchants of London. In which story this by the way understand, good reader, (which rightly may be supposed,) that if this poor man, thus found and preserved in the sea with a New

Testament in his bosom, had had instead of that a pix with a consecrated host about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Christendom over for a miracle, so far as the pope hath any land. But to let the pope with his false miracles go, let us return again to our matter begun, and adjoin another history of much like condition, testified likewise by the information of the said Thomas Morse above mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty, that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The story is thus declared, which happened anno 1556, about Michaelmas.

Another like story of God's providence upon three men delivered upon the sea.

"There was a ship," (saith the said Thomas Morse,) "whereof I had a part, going towards the Bay for salt, with two ships of Brightlingsea, which were all together going for salt, as before is said. At what time we were within ten miles of the North Foreland, otherwise called Thanet, the wind did come so contrary to our ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the way; and the other two ships kept their course still, until our ship was almost out of sight of them. And then they saw a thing driving upon the sea, and hoisted out their boat and went unto it; and it was three men sitting upon a piece of their ship, who had sitten so two days and two nights.

"There had been in their ship eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France called Oleron. They had been at Dantzic, and lost their ship about Orfordness, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God; the one of them was owner of the ship. Their exercise, while they were in our ship, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their deliverance. Both morning and evening they exercised prayer, and also before and after meat. And when they came into France, our ships went to the same place where these men dwelt; and one of them did sell unto our men their ship's lading of salt, and did use them very courteously and friendly; and not at that time only, but always whensoever that ship cometh thither, (as she hath been there twice since,) he always doth for them, so that they can lack nothing. I should have noted, that after our ship had taken up those three men out of the sea, they had the wind fair presently, and came and overtook the other two ships again, and so they proceeded in their voyage together."

For the more credit of this story above recited,

to satisfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alleged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but also expressed the matter in his own words, as I of him received it; the party and reporter himself being yet alive, and dwelling at Leigh, a man so well known amongst the merchants of London, that whosoever heareth the name of Thomas Morse, will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter itself being so notoriously known to merchants as well here as at Antwerp, that though his name were not expressed, the story can lack no witnesses.

The death of William Slech in the King's Bench.

The last day of the said month of May, in the year aforesaid, William Slech, being in prison for the said doctrine of the Lord's gospel, and the confession of his truth, died in the King's Bench, and was buried on the back side of the said prison; for that the Romish catholic spirituality thought him not worthy to come within their pope-holy churchyards, neither in any other Christian burial, as they call it.

In June next following, about the sixth day of the same month, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes, whose names were these: Thomas Harland, of Woodmancott, carpenter; John Oswald, of Woodmancott, husbandman; Thomas Avington, of Ardingley, turner; Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland I find in the bishop of London's registers, to be objected for not coming to church. Whereunto he answered, that after the mass was restored, he never had will to hear the same, because (said he) it was in Latin, which he did not understand, and therefore as good (quoth he) never a whit as never the better. John Oswald denied to answer any thing, until his accusers should be brought face to face before him; and nevertheless said, that fire and faggots could not make him afraid: but as the good preachers which were in King Edward's time have suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

These four, after long imprisonment in the King's Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Sussex, in one fire, the day of the month aforesaid.

The martyrdom of Thomas Whood and Thomas Milles.

In the same town of Lewes, and in the same month likewise, were burned Thomas Whood, minister, and Thomas Milles, about the twentieth day of the same month, for resisting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic Church of Rome.

Two dead in the King's Bench.

In the which month likewise, William Adherall, minister, imprisoned in the King's Bench, there died the twenty-fourth day of the same month, and was buried in the back side: also John Clement, wheelwright, who, dying in the said prison, in like sort upon the dunghill was buried, in the back side, two days after, viz. the twenty-sixth day of June.

A merchant's servant burned at Leicester.

The next day following of the said month of June, we read of a certain young man, a merchant's servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel persecution of the papists, and was burnt at Leicester the twenty-sixth day of the month of June above-named.

Thirteen martyrs burned at Stratford-le-Bow.

Not long after the death of the merchant's servant before mentioned, there followed in this happy and blessed order of martyrs burnt in one fire at Stratford-le-Bow by London, eleven men and two women, whose dwellings were in sundry places in Essex, and whose names hereafter follow:—Henry Adlington, Laurence Pernam, Henry Wye, William Halliwell, Thomas Bowyer, George Searles, Edmund Hurst, Lyon Cawch, Ralph Jackson, John Derifall, John Routh, Elizabeth Pepper, and Agnes George.

Unto whom the sixth of June, anno 1556, Dr. Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, in form of law ministered the same articles that were pronounced unto Thomas Whittle and his company, mentioned before; to the which they made their several answers, in simplicity and in a good conscience, the sum and effect whereof ensueth.

Their answers to the articles.

"To the first, they all answered affirmatively; but Lyon Cawch added further, that he believed that the true faith and religion of Christ is where-soever the word of God is truly preached.

"To the second article they all answered in effect, denying that there be seven sacraments; some affirming that in the church of Christ there be but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's supper. Others referring themselves to believe as the Scripture teacheth them: and other some refused to make answer because of their simplicity.

"To the third article they all answered affirmatively.

"To the fourth article they all answered affirmatively, saving John Routh, who said he would make no answer thereunto. But Lyon Cawch added, that

he believed the article to be true; but it was because he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in King Edward the Sixth's time she went from her old faith and religion, and believed in the faith and religion that was then taught and set forth.

"To the fifth, they all answered in effect affirmatively, saving John Routh, whose answer was, that the mass is such a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his conscience. And Henry Adlington answered, that for nine or ten years before, he misliked the mass, and also the sacrament of the altar, because they cannot be proved by the Scriptures. And as touching the authority of the see of Rome, he, being but fourteen years of age, took an oath against the same, which oath (he said) he intended to keep by the grace of God.

"To the sixth they all answered affirmatively, saving John Routh, and William Halliwell, who both refused to answer, because they knew not what they meant by this article. But the two women added, that they refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then used in the realm of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the catholic church of Christ.

"To the seventh article they all answered affirmatively; but William Halliwell denied that ever he called the mass idolatry and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the article to be true, yet he confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish church and received, before he was put in prison.

"To the eighth article Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson, and George Searles answered affirmatively. Henry Wye said he was brought before certain justices of peace in Essex, concerning one Higbed his late master, and thereupon he was committed to Colchester castle, and from thence sent to London to the bishop to be further examined. William Halliwell affirmed the like confession as Henry Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall said he was called before the Lord Riche, and Master Mildmay of Chelmsford, and was by them sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be further by him examined. Thomas Bowyer said he was brought before one Master Wiseman of Felstead, and by him was sent to Colchester castle, and from thence was carried to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Cawch said that he was sent to come before the king and queen's Majesties' commissioners, and there before them appearing three times, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington said, that he, coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwike there, being prisoner for

the testimony of Jesus Christ, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. John Routh said, that he was contented before the earl of Oxford, and by him sent to the castle of Colchester, and from thence conveyed to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam said, that he was committed to Hertford prison, because he would not go to church, and from thence sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Agnes George said, that she was committed to prison in Colchester, at the commandment of one Master Maynard, an alderman of the town, because she would not go to church, and from thence she was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper said she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for that she would not come to church, and by them was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined.

"To the ninth article, they all believed the premises to be true above by them confessed, and that they were of the diocess and jurisdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, that she was of the town of Colchester.

"And Agnes George added, that she was of the parish of Barefold. And Lyon Cawch added, that he was then of the city of London, by reason that he was at that present a merchant there.

"Henry Wye, brewer, was of the parish of Stanford-le-Hope, and of thirty-two years of age.

"William Halliwell was a smith, of the parish of Waltham Holy Cross, and of the age of twenty-four years, or thereabouts.

"Ralph Jackson was a servingman, of Chipping Ongar, and of the age of twenty-four years.

"Laurence Pernam was a smith of Hoddesdon, within the parish of Amwell, in the county of Hertford, and of the age of twenty-two years.

"John Derifall was a labourer, of the parish of Rettendon in Essex, and of the age of fifty years.

"Edmund Hurst was a labourer, of the parish of St. James's, Colchester, and of the age of fifty years and above.

"Thomas Bowyer was a weaver of Great Dunmow, and of the age of thirty-six years.

"George Searles was a tailor, between twenty or twenty-one years of age, of the parish of White Notley, where he was taken and carried to the Lord Riche, who sent him to Colchester castle, with a commandment that no friend he had should speak with him. There he lay six weeks, and was sent up to London, where he was sometime in the bishop's coal-house, sometime in Lollards' Tower, and

last of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent, about a fortnight before Easter, in the place aforesaid.

"Lyon Cawch was a broker, born in Flanders, and then resident, at his taking, in the city of London, and of the age of twenty-eight years or thereabouts.

"Henry Adlington was a sawyer, and of Grinstead in the county of Sussex, and of the age of thirty years.

"John Routh was a labourer, and of the parish of Wickes in Essex, and of the age of twenty-six years.

"Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper, weaver, of the parish of St. James's in the town of Colchester, and of the age of thirty years, or thereabouts, who, when she was burned at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as she then testified to one Bosom's wife, who then unloosed her neckerchief; saying, moreover, when she was asked why she did not tell them; and answering, 'Why,' quoth she, 'they knew it well enough.' Oh! such be the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the saints of the Lord, which truly profess Christ crucified only and alone, for the satisfaction of their sins.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George, husbandman, of West Barefold in the county of Essex, and of the age of twenty-six years. This Richard George had another wife burned beside her in the Postern at Colchester, and himself lay in prison until Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then was delivered."

When these thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed they should suffer, which was the twenty-seventh day of June, anno 1556, they were carried from Newgate in London the said day to Stratford-le-Bow, (which was the place appointed for their martyrdom,) and there divided into two parts, in two several chambers.

Afterward the sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast away themselves: unto whom they answered, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Christ crucified.

Then the sheriff, perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said (like a liar) the like to them, that they whom he had been with before, had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves, but to play the wise

men, &c. ; unto whom they answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Christ and his sure word, &c.

Now when he saw it booteth not to persuade, (for they were, God be praised, surely grounded on the

Rock, Jesus Christ,) he then led them to the place where they should suffer : and being all there together, most earnestly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the stake, and kissed it, and embraced it very heartily.



The eleven men were tied to three stakes, and the two women loose in the midst without any stake ; and so they were all burnt in one

occasion I cannot safely say, but by means thereof they then escaped.

The Sunday after these aforesaid sixteen were condemned, Fecknam, dean of Paul's, preached at Paul's Cross, where he declared, that they had as many sundry opinions as they were sundry persons. At the hearing whereof they drew out their faith, and set to their hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the same to their friends and the faithful congregation, as followeth.

fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ, that it made all the lookers-on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will, Amen.

In the company of these foresaid thirteen, were three more condemned to die ; whose names are hereunder specified : Thomas Freeman, William Stannard, and William Adams ; which three answered to those articles that were propounded unto the said thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the secular power, Cardinal Pole sent his dispensation for their lives, by what

"Unto all our dearly beloved friends, and the holy congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

"Be it manifest to all by whom this our certificate shall be seen, that whereas upon Sunday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham, before the bishop of London, sixteen of us (whose names hereunder are subscribed) were condemned to die for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's verity ;

which most godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adversaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the devil and his imps even at this present likewise daily slandered: upon this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea, constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable sermon lately preached at Paul's Cross, the fourteenth of the said month, being Sunday, by Master Fecknam, now dean of the same church; where he in that most worthy audience defamed us to be in sixteen sundry opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all Christian verity; and for a testimonial thereof, this hereunder written shall answer our cause: and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

"The first: We believe we were baptized in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his church, in the which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same; and we do persist, and will, by God's assistance, to the end.

"Now mark, that although the minister were of the church malignant, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renouncing for us the devil and all his works, and confessing the articles of the Christian faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptized, not in the faith of the Church of Rome, but in the faith of Christ's church.

"1. Item, There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

"2. Item, We believe that there is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly ministered, visible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet, as well as now.

"3. The see of Rome is the see of antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, &c., whereof the pope is head, under the devil.

"4. Item, The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

"5. Item, God is neither spiritually nor corporal-

ly in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"For these the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereunto, and in no one point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles.

"Apparent also let it be and known, that being of the former articles before the bloody bishop examined the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the Scriptures. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics, but said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else to be cut off like withered branches."

Their names subscribed to the same.

"Ralph Jackson.	Edmund Hurst.
Henry Adlington.	Laurence Pernam.
Lyon Cawch.	Thomas Bowyer.
William Halliwell.	Elizabeth Pepper.
George Searles.	Agnes George.
John Routh.	Thomas Freeman.
John Derifall.	William Stannard.
Henry Wye.	William Adams."

Trouble and business in the diocese of Lichfield.

In the diocese of Lichfield, about the fourteenth of June, in the same year, John Colstock, who was lately come from London before, and now dwelling at Wellington, though he suffered no martyrdom, yet sustained some trouble, being attached and examined by the bishop, named Ralph Banes, for his religion, especially for two points; in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against auricular confession to be made to the priest. For the which cause being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the church of St. Cedde to bear a faggot before the cross, bare-headed, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongst divers others which in the same diocese and the same time were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier of Uttoxeter, shoemaker, Nicholas Ball of Uttoxeter, capper, Thomas Pyot of Cheadle.

Item, Henry Crimes for marrying his wife on Palm-Sunday even, &c. Some others also there were which had the like penance enjoined them, as Thomas Johnson about the twenty-sixth day of this month of June, because he sware by the holy mass before the bishop sitting in judgment; who for the same was driven to go before the cross with his taper and beads, &c.

Concerning the which Thomas Flier above named, being a godly and a zealous man, this furthermore is to be noted, and not unworthy of grateful memory, that whereas in the town of Uttoxeter, commandment was directed unto him amongst others from the ordinary, for pulling down monuments of superstition, and namely, the rood-loft; he, being one of the churchwardens or sidemen, on a time had talk upon the same with certain of his neighbours, where one wished them ill to chieve, that should go about such an act. What passed else amongst them, ministering matter of further provocation, it is not perfectly known. In fine, the said Flier being offended, and afterward meeting with him that had used such words before, began to commune with him of the matter; but in the end the man so little repented him of those sayings, that he added yet more fierce words, and at length strokes also, in such wise, that at that conflict the said Thomas Flier was slain; and yet so was the matter handled, and such amends were made with money by the murderer and his friends, to the said Flier's wife, that he suffered little or nothing for the same, save only that he was banished the town, and sworn and bound never to come in it so long as the said Flier's wife should live.

Three men dead in the prison of the King's Bench.

After the burning of these in Stratford, the same month died in the prison of the King's Bench in Southwark, one Thomas Parret, and was buried in the postern, the twenty-seventh day of the month above-said. Also Martin Hunt (as is reported) in the same prison was famished the twenty-ninth day: at which time likewise died in the same prison, as I find recorded, one John Norice; and, after the same sort as the other, was buried on the back side of the said prison, the day above mentioned.

The story of Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson, three martyrs, suffering at St. Edmund's Bury, with two examinations of Bernard before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich.

After the death of the aforesaid Thomas Parret, Martin Hunt, and John Norice, were three martyred at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, in one fire, whose names are above specified.

When Roger Bernard came before the bishop, first he was asked whether he had been with the priest at Easter to be shriven, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar, or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard answered, "No, I have

not been with the priest, nor confessed myself unto him; but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me: wherefore I shall not need to go to the priest for such matters, who cannot help himself."

Bishop.—"Surely, Bernard, thou must needs go, and confess thyself unto him."

Roger.—"That shall I not do (by God's grace) while I live."

Bishop.—"What a stout boyly heretic is this! How malapertly he answereth!"

Roger.—"My Lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called heretic at your hands: for so your forefathers called the prophets and confessors of Christ, long before this time."

At these words the bishop rose up in a great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the bishop went and kneeled before that they call the sacrament of the altar; and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he came not, and did not as he did. Unto whom Bernard answered, "I cannot tell why I should so do." "Why," quoth the bishop, "thou lewd fellow, whom seest thou yonder?" pointing to the pix over the altar.

Roger.—"I see nobody there. Do you, my Lord?"

Bishop.—"Why, naughty man, dost thou not see thy Maker?"

Roger.—"My Maker! No, I see nothing but a few clouts hanging together on a heap."

With that the bishop rose up sore displeased, and commanded the jailer to take him away, and to lay irons enough on him: "for," quoth he, "I will tame him ere he go from me, I trow so:" and so he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the bishop, who asked him if he did not remember himself since the day before, that he was before him.

Roger.—"Yes, my Lord, I have remembered myself very well; for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of."

Then one of the guard standing by, said, "My Lord, I pray you trouble not yourself any more with him, but let me have the examining of him: I shall handle him after another sort, I trow, and make him a fair child ere he go, you shall see."

So he was committed to him, and brought by him to an inn, where were a great many of priests assembled together, and there they fell all in flattering him, and persuading him with gay enticing words what they could. But when therein they might not prevail, for that the Lord assisted the

good poor man, then began they to threaten him with whipping, stocking, burning, and such like, that it was wonderful the do they made with him. Unto whom Bernard said, "Friends, I am not better than my Master Christ and the prophets, which your fathers served after such sort; and I for his name's sake am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same according to his promise, in spite of the devil and all his ministers." So when they could not make him to relent or yield, they said, "Behold a right scholar of John Fortune;" whom they had then in prison. Then carried they him to the bishop, who immediately condemned him as a heretic, and delivered him to the secular power.

This Roger Bernard was a single man; and by his vocation a labourer, dwelling in Framsdon in Suffolk, who was taken in the night by Master Tamage's men, because he would not go to church to hear their unsavoury service, and so by them carried to prison.

Adam Foster.

Adam Foster, of the age six-and-twenty years, husbandman, being married, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk, was taken at home in his house a little before the sun going down by the constables of the said town, George Revet and Thomas Mouse, at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel of Gipping-hall in Suffolk, knight, because he would not go to church and hear mass, and receive at Easter, except he might have it after Christ's holy ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he must go with them unto the justice: unto whom Adam Foster said, for Christ's cause, and to save his conscience, he was well contented. And so they led him to Sir John Tyrrel, and he sent him to Eye dungeon in Suffolk, from whence at length he was sent to Norwich, and there condemned by Bishop Hopton.

Now after his taking, the said Thomas Mouse and George Revet were stricken with a great fear and sickness, whereby Mouse pined and consumed away even unto death, although he was a man of young and lusty age. But George Revet, who was the said Mouse's fellow, and a great reader of the Scripture, or (as a man may term it) a talkative gospeller, would not be premonished by the works of God, but set his son to help the priest say mass, and to be clerk of the same town of Mendlesham for lucre's sake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the grace so to consider it, the which thing was this.

A young man of the same parish newly married,

called Robert Edgore, being of a ripe wit and sound, was clerk in the said church before the said Revet set his son in that room, and executed the office a little, yea, alas! too long, against his own conscience; whereby at length the Lord so took away his wits, that many years after, his poor and woeful wife, good woman! was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, lest he should unawares do himself or some other some mischief, as many times (the more pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I said) would not admonish Revet, but needs he must persist in his wicked purpose. Notwithstanding at the length, as many men were offended with him in the parish, so honest women especially (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings) came to him and said, "Neighbour Revet, are ye not afraid to let your son help the naughty priest to say mass, and to serve that abominable idol?" and he said, "No." Then said they, "We fear not to go to church and hear mass, seeing you, being a man that so much profess Christianity, will let your son help the priest say mass," &c.

At which words Revet waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his prayer unto God after this manner, or with such-like words, saying, "(O Lord, if it be not thy will that my son should so do, then I beseech thee send some strange token to let me understand what thy good pleasure is therein," &c. So according to his petition, within short space after, his neighbour's bull came into his pasture, and there he, having a very proper gelding, which was his felicity above any thing he had, the bull running upon him, did so wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confessed, that it was the Lord's hand upon him for the sufferance of his son in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him still to use and frequent the same against his own conscience.

At the last, the Lord justly sent upon him a great swelling in his legs, which did so grievously vex and trouble him by reason it swelled upward, that at length, having thereby brought upon him a very strange sickness, he died most miserably, in so impatient manner, that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant, for Christ's sake, that we may observe his judgments better, to his glory and our comfort, Amen.

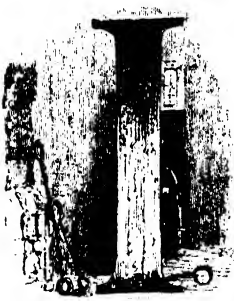
Robert Lawson.

Robert Lawson was a single man of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a linen-weaver, who

was apprehended in the night by one Robert Kereth, at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel of Gippinghall in Suffolk, knight, and so was immediately carried to Eye dungeon in Suffolk, where he remained a certain time, and after was led to Bury. The cause of his taking was, for that he would not go to church to hear mass, and receive their popish idol.

When these three foresaid martyrs were carried to their deaths, viz. Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson, at Bury, after they had made their prayer, being at the stake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such happy and blessed condition, as did notably set forth their constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same quarrel to do the like. The Lord of strength fortify us to stand as his true soldiers in what standing soever he shall think it good to place us. Amen.

The story of John Fortune, otherwise Cutler.



IN the examination of Roger Bernard, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the priests there, to John Fortune, and called his scholar. This John Fortune, otherwise called Cutler, of Hintlesham in Suffolk, was by his occupation a blacksmith,

whom they had before them in examination a little before the twentieth day of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, in his answers marvellous, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in prison, I cannot certainly find; but rather I suppose that he was burned. Certain it is, howsoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his answers and examinations were before Dr. Parker and the bishop, ye shall hear him, although not with his own mouth speaking, yet with his own hand you shall see written, what he did say, as followeth.

First, Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the catholic faith. And I asked him, which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death. Dr. Parker being moved said, "What a naughty fellow is this! you shall see anon he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar."

Then said Master Foster, "I know you well enough. You are a busy merchant. How sayest thou by the blessed mass?" And I stood still and made no answer.

Then said Master Foster, "Why speakest thou not, and makest the gentleman an answer?" And I said, "Silence is a good answer to a foolish question."

Then said the doctor, "I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also." And I said, "I know none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Then said he, "You deny the order of the seven sacraments. And why dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?" And I said, "Because it is not written in God's book."

Then said he, "You will not believe unwritten verities." And I said, "I will believe that those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities, be true: but those unwritten verities that be of your own making, and invented of your own brain, I do not believe."

"Well," said Master Foster, "you shall be whipped and burned for this gear, I trow." Then said I, "If you knew how these words rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them."

Foster.—"Away, thou fool! dost thou rejoice in whipping?"

"Yea," said I, "for it is written in the Scriptures, and Christ saith, Thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake; and since the time that the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this persecution."

"Away with him then," said he, "for he is ten times worse than Samuel:" and so I was carried to prison again.

Three examinations of John Fortune, before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich.

When I came before the bishop he asked me if I did not believe in the catholic church. I said, "I believe that church whereof Christ is the Head."

Then said the bishop, "Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?" And I said, "No, Christ is the Head of the true church."

Bishop.—"So do I believe also: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church; and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also."

Then said I, "The pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, that no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement for him unto God: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever."

And the bishop again fetching about a great circumstance said, Like as the bell-wether weareth her bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep, so is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a master-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive again, so doth our head bring us home again to our true church."

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man: and he said, "Yea." And I said again, "They are spiteful men; for in seventeen months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous seat of antichrist."

"It is maliciously spoken," said he, "for thou must obey the power, and not the man." And thus was the pope denied to be supreme head.

"Well," said he, "what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?"

And I answered, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, saith Christ. For they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end."

Bishop.—"They are good and godly, and necessary to be used."

Fortune.—"St. Paul called them weak and beggarly."

Bishop.—"No, that is a lie."

Fortune.—I hearing that, said, that "St. Paul writeth thus in Gal. iv., You foolish Galatians, saith he, who hath bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies? Now which of you do lie? you or St. Paul? And also it is said, that works instituted and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Matt. xv., In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments. And St. Paul saith, Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ to another kind of doctrine? And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, Pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition."

Bishop.—"Thou liest! there is not such a word in all the Scriptures, thou naughty heretic. Thou art worse than all other heretics: for Hooper," said he, "and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him!"

Here you may perceive, how that the catholic church cannot err, but whatsoever they say must needs be true. And so my Lord Bishop cannot lie, as it may appear to all men most plainly in the text.

The next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he made a sermon upon the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, of Christ's

words, I am the bread that came down from heaven, &c. And thereupon had a great bibble-babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me:

Bishop.—"How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe, that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?" And I answered him, "That is the greatest plague that ever came into England."

Bishop.—"Why so?"

I said, "If I were a bishop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question: for a bishop should be apt to teach, and not to learn."

Bishop.—"I am appointed by the law to teach: so are not you."

And I said, "Your law breaketh out very well; for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars to be in their stead."

Bishop.—"Now you may understand that he is a traitor: for he denieth the higher powers."

Fortune.—"I am no traitor; for St. Paul saith, All souls must obey the higher powers; and I resist not the higher powers, concerning my body, but I must resist your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul."

Then said a doctor, "My Lord, you do not well; let him answer shortly to his articles."

Bishop.—"How sayest thou? make an answer quickly to these articles."

Fortune.—"St. Paul saith, Christ did one sacrifice once for all; and sat him down on the right hand of his Father, triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins."

Bishop.—"I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article."

Fortune.—"If it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending."

Then said he, "Lo what a stiff heretic is this! he hath denied altogether. How sayest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament, or no?"

Fortune.—"God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth."

Bishop.—"I ask thee no such question: answer me directly."

Fortune.—"I answer that this is the god Mauzim, that robbeth God of his honour."

Bishop.—"It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak." Then said the scribe; "Here are a great many more articles."

Then said the bishop, "Away with him! for he hath spoken too much."

And when I came to mine examination again,

the bishop asked me if I would stand unto mine answer that I had made before: and I said, Yea: for I had spoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumstance upon the sacrament.

Then I desired him to stand to the text; and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, I am the bread which came down from heaven: "Believest thou not this?" And I said, "Yea, truly."

And he said, "Why dost thou deny the sacrament?" "Because your doctrine is false," said I.

Then said he, "How can that be false which is spoken in the Scriptures?" And I said, "Christ said, I am the Bread, and you say, the bread is He. Therefore your doctrine is false," said I.

And he said, "Dost thou not believe that the bread is He?" And I said, "No."

Bishop.—"I will bring thee to it by the Scriptures."

Fortune.—"Hold that fast, my Lord: for that is the best argument that you have yet."

Bishop.—"Thou shalt be burnt like a heretic."

Fortune.—"Who shall give judgment upon me."

Bishop.—"I will judge a hundred such as thou art, and never be shaven upon it."

Fortune.—"Is there not law for the spirituality, as well as for the temporality?" And Sir Clement Higham said, "Yes. What meanest thou by that?"

Fortune.—"When a man is perjured by the law, he is cast over the bar, and sitteth no more in judgment. And the bishop is a perjured man, and ought to sit in judgment of no man."

Bishop.—"How provest thou that?"

Fortune.—"Because you took an oath in King Henry's days to resist the pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment."

Bishop.—"Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that? No, for my chancellor shall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm."

Master Higham.—"It is time to weed out such fellows as you be, indeed."

Bishop.—"Good fellow, why believest not thou in the sacrament of the altar?"

Fortune.—"Because I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart."

Bishop.—"How knowest thou it is not there?"

Fortune.—"Because it is contrary to the second commandment. And seeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?"

Then the bishop having no more to say, com-

manded the bailiff to take him away. And thus much touching the examinations of this man.

Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwise prevented with death, as I said before, I am uncertain. In the register of Norwich this I do find, that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but whether it was pronounced, in the said register it is not expressed, according as the usual manner of the notary is to declare, in the end of the sentence. Nevertheless this is most certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howsoever it pleased the Lord by death to call him out of the world.

The death of John Careless, in the King's Bench.

About this time, the first day of July, amongst divers other prisoners which died the same year in the King's Bench, was also one John Careless, of Coventry, a weaver: who though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christ's martyrs, than others that suffered most cruel torments, as well for that he was for the same truth's sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had so determined it, as well may appear by his examination had before Dr. Martin.

When I came into his chamber, Master D. called me to him, saying, "Come you hither, sirrah; what is your name?" "Forsooth," quoth I, "my name is John Careless."

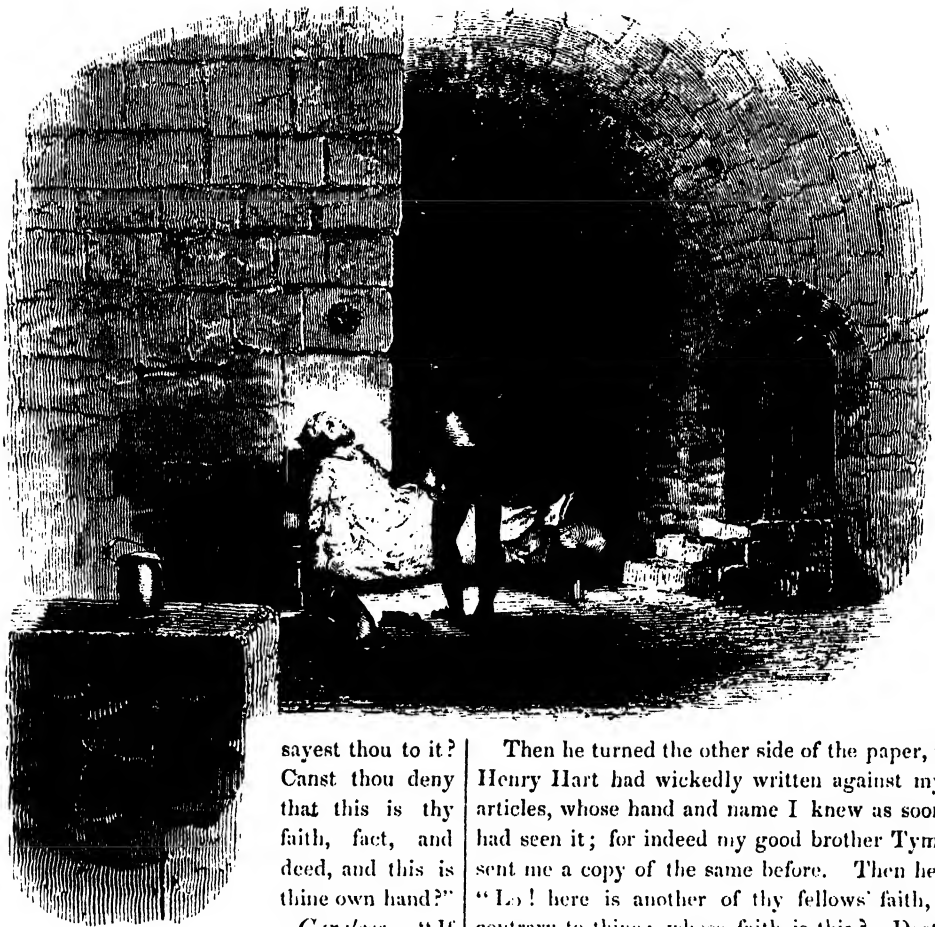
Dr. Martin.—"Careless! by my faith I think the same: and so I wene it will appear by thy conditions, by that time we have done with thee."

Careless.—"Though my name be Careless, yet perchance you shall not find me so careless in my conditions, as your Mastership doth pre-suppose."

Martin.—"No! that I shall prove anon. I pray thee of what church art thou, or of what faith? for I hear say that you have divers churches and faith in the King's Bench; and here I have two of your faiths which you sent to Newgate. Come hither; look upon them; and I pray thee tell me which is thy faith; for the one of them is thine, and thine own hand-writing."

With that I came near him, saying, "If your Mastership have any thing of my hand-writing, show it me, and I will not deny it."

Martin.—"Nay marry, thou canst not deny it. Lo! here is thy own name at it." And so he began to read it, but suddenly he stayed, saying, "How



sayest thou to it? Canst thou deny that this is thy faith, fact, and deed, and this is thine own hand?"

Careless.—"If it please your Mastership, it is

not of my hand-writing, but the tenor of it was of my first drawing indeed, howsoever you came by it; and it is the very truth in all points, as I am able to prove by the word of God. And if your Mastership, or any other, can reprove any thing in it by the same, I shall be glad to be reformed; for I will maintain nothing further than I have the word of God for my warrant."

Martin.—"Yea, so you will say all the sort of you, and yet ye be of divers faiths. But whose hand is this, if it be not thine? Here is thy name, but methinks it is blotted out."

Careless.—"I do not know in whose hand-writing it is, but well I wot the thing itself is my fact and deed, though my name be blotted forth, for what purpose I cannot tell."

Then he turned the other side of the paper, where Henry Hart had wickedly written against my true articles, whose hand and name I knew as soon as I had seen it; for indeed my good brother Tyms had sent me a copy of the same before. Then he said, "Lo! here is another of thy fellows' faith, clean contrary to thine; whose faith is this? Dost thou know this hand?"

Careless.—"No, forsooth, I do not know whose faith, nor yet whose hand it is, neither will I make me any thing to do with other men's faiths. I stand here to make answer to your Mastership for mine own; and if any man have wrote against the same, I would I might come to talk with him face to face, to see how he were able to prove his party good."

Martin.—"Prove! a wise proof that you would make. You will prove yourselves a sort of fools before you have all done." And many other mocks and taunts he gave me all the time of our talk, the which I will leave out for brevity's sake. Then he said, "Dost thou not know one Henry Hart, or hast thou not heard of him?"

Careless.—"No forsooth; I do not know any such, nor have I heard of him, that I wot of."

But yet I lied falsely; for I knew him indeed,

and his qualities too well. And I have heard so much of him, that I dare say it had been good for that man if he had never been born: for many a simple soul hath he shamefully seduced, beguiled, and deceived with his foul Pelagian opinion, both in the days of that good King Edward and since his departure, and with other things which I will forbear to name for divers considerations. But I would wish all men that be godly-wise, to beware of that man, whose opinions in many points are very noisome and wicked: God convert him, or confound him shortly, for his name's sake, Amen.

Martin.—"No have, forsooth; and it is even he that hath written against thy faith. Lo! here is his name at his faith." And then he read Hart's most blasphemous articles against those which I had written and sent to Newgate, whereunto all those twelve godly men that were last condemned had set to their hands, whom Hart, Kemp, and M. Gypson, would have persuaded from the same again: but, thanks be unto God, the serpent prevailed not.

Then Martin said, "Dost thou not know one Master Chamberlain?"

Careless.—"No forsooth; I know him not."

Martin.—"No dost! and he hath written a book against thy faith also."

Careless.—"Well, as for that I know not, neither pass I what they write. I stand here to make answer to that which I have written myself: and as for this writing of Hart's, I think your Mastership will not allow it for good yourself."

Martin.—"No indeed, he is a rank heretic as any can be, and so art thou; but yet I note this, to see how you are one against the other, and both against the catholic church." And upon this he dilated his tale to the marshal with great triumphing, the which grieved my poor heart not a little: therefore I said, "Alas, Master Doctor! why do you so triumph against me, which am of the true church, and have the truth on my side, as by these articles which you have of mine it doth plainly appear, and though the Arians, Anabaptists, or any other kind of heretic, as you confess those to be, do write against the truth which I hold, doth it therefore follow that I am a heretic as they be? No, I trow not; but it is rather a plain demonstration that I am a true Christian, in that these heretics do so contend against [me]; and, if I did intend to be singular, it is like that I would soon be of their sect."

Martin.—"Sect, quotha! In good faith you are heretics, sectaries, and schismatics, all the sort of you."

Careless.—"Sir, that shall you never prove; for I abhor all heretics, sectaries, and schismatics,

from the bottom of my heart. I am of the true catholic church of Christ, and a quiet member of the same, and I so intend to continue."

Martin.—"Yea, so you say, all the sort of you, and yet you be of divers faiths. But I pray thee, where canst thou point me out the church that thou art a member of; canst thou tell me where that church is?"

Careless.—"Yea, forsooth, that I can, I praise God for it; and it was here also in England in the days of good King Edward, though it be now so persecuted of such as think they do God good service thereby."

Martin.—"Yea, marry, as you say, that was your church, and therefore you have made it one of the articles of your faith of the second book, see you, Master Marshal; for they had two books of Common Prayer: but this man saith the second book was in all points agreeable to God's word, that was then used."

Careless.—"Yea, forsooth, I say so indeed."

Martin.—"But, I pray thee, how sayest thou now? Thy second book is also in divers points condemned of heresy at Frankfort, among the brethren there: which book will you allow you?"

Careless.—"I am sure that it is not there in any point condemned of heresy, unless it be of the Anabaptists, as it is here. And I do not think but there be some as well there as in England; and it is like enough that such do find fault with it."

Martin.—"Nay, even of Master Cox himself, and others that were preachers in King Edward's time; they have disproved your second book in divers points, and you have now made a third book. How say you, which of these three books will you allow now?"

Careless.—"Forsooth, I say still as I have written, that the second book is good and godly, and in all points agreeing to the word of God. And I am sure that neither Master Cox, nor any other of our godly preachers that be fled unto Frankfort, have condemned that book in any point as repugnant to the word of God, though perchance they have altered something therein, according to the usage of that country where they now are. And I have not denied in my article but the church of Christ hath authority to enlarge or diminish any thing in the same good book, so far forth as is agreeable to the Scriptures."

Martin.—"But what authority have you, or how durst you be so bold, to make an article of the faith concerning that book to be believed of all men under pain of damnation?"

Careless.—"Ah, Master Doctor, have I bound any man to believe that article under pain of damn-

ation, as you do charge me? I am sure there is no such word in all my articles. I have there written what I do hold and believe myself, as I am bound to do in conscience. And now I will add thus much more, that the same book, which is so consonant and agreeable to God's word, being set forth by common authority both of the king's Majesty that dead is and the whole parliament-house, ought not to be despised of me, or of any other private man, under pain of God's curse and high displeasure, and damnation, except they repent."

Martin.—"Well, let it pass. I pray thee tell me what is the cause of so much contention between you that lie in the King's Bench for religion?"

Careless.—"Forsooth there is no contention amongst us, that I know of."

Martin.—"What! wilt thou lie to me? Is there not great contention between thee and one Trew that was here with me erewhile? Yes, that there is; and I can tell thee by what token well enough. I hear say one of your matters is about predestination. How dost thou believe about predestination?"

Careless.—"According to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, and none otherwise."

Martin.—"How is that? Trew told me that thou dost affirm that God hath predestinated some to salvation that cannot be damned, live they never so wickedly, and some to damnation that cannot be saved, live they never so godly, well, and virtuously."

Careless.—"This is not the first lie that he hath made on me, (God forgive him!) but indeed I do not, nor ever did so affirm. For I am sure that such as God hath elected he doth guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, in such sort, that they do love his laws, and always seek to do his will; and full sorry are they when they do speak or think any thing contrary to the same."

Martin.—"Well then, none that be elected shall be damned, you say?"

Careless.—"Sir, I did not say so yet. But now I put your Mastership out of doubt that I say it, and verily believe it, because the Holy Scriptures do plainly affirm it."

Martin.—"What! that all shall be saved by election, and none be damned?"

Careless.—"No, sir, I speak of God's elect children only, according to your Mastership's former question."

Martin.—"Well then, the rest must needs be damned: there is no remedy."

Careless.—"I say with St. Paul, I have nothing to do with them that are without. I will leave them to God, whose judgments are just. My whole

desire is to feel the depth of God's mercy towards his elect; of which blessed number my sure belief is, that I am one, though of myself I am most unworthy so to be."

Martin.—"What other things do you contend for in the King's Bench? I pray thee, Careless, tell me the truth."

Careless.—"Surely we have no contention there, nor ever had but for this matter of predestination; and that is ended between us, many a day ago. This I spake to make the best of the matter; for I was sorry that the papists should hear of our variance."

Martin.—"What! will you lie indeed? I know there are a great many of other matters between you. Tell me the truth, I pray thee; for I promise thee I do ask thee for no hurt, but to do you good: for I think you will be burned all the sort of you. But yet I would send some man to you, to reform you of some of your errors."

Careless.—"If you send any man to me, he shall be welcome, but I trust he shall not find me a maintainer of any errors, neither can your Mastership prove any of these articles that I have written to be heresy; if you can, I pray you do here, before Master Marshal."

Martin.—"But what if I should examine you of the sacrament, and other things: should I not find thee a heretic? Yes, I trow I should; but I have no commission to examine you of any such things, but I am commanded by the council to know of thee what opinions are amongst you in the King's Bench, for the which you do strive amongst yourselves; therefore look that you tell me."

Careless.—"Surely, Master Doctor, I do know no man's conscience but my own; neither will I meddle with other men's matters. Your Mastership may send for them that be there, or send somebody to them, and so you may know every man's faith and opinions."

Martin.—"Yea, but I command thee to tell me; for thou canst do it well enough."

Careless.—"Your Mastership shall pardon me herein; for I will recite no man's faith or opinions but mine own; neither can I, if I would."

Martin.—"Lo! what a stubborn fellow is this. Dost thou pass so little upon the council's commandment? I promise thee that they shall know it, and be thou sure that thou shalt fare the worse for it."

Careless.—"Why, Master Doctor, would your Mastership have me to become any other man's accuser? That will I never do whilst I live, whatsoever come of it! I have more need to answer such accusations as shall be brought against myself.

Therefore I pray you do not will me to tangle myself with other men's matters."

Martin.—"Why, thou canst not deny but there is contention amongst you, and wilt not thou declare wherefore it is? What a fellow art thou!"

Careless.—"Indeed I do not deny but there hath been some earnest reasoning amongst us, but not a great while; for Master Marshal hath shut us asunder for the same as much as he can, so that we can neither come nor speak together."

Then Martin said to his clerk, Write that he saith, he doth not deny but that there is contention amongst them in the King's Bench; but he will not tell wherefore it is. But first write, that he doth confess the articles which were sent to Newgate, to be of his drawing forth first, but not of his hand-writing. "To whom didst thou send it in Newgate?"

Careless.—"Forsooth to my bed-fellow Tyms, that was burned yesterday."

Martin.—"Tyms! who is that? I know him not."

Scribe.—"It was one of the six that were burned yesterday."

Martin.—"Ah, very well. Was he thy bed-fellow? Where was he thy bed-fellow?"

Careless.—"Forsooth he was one of my fellow prisoners in the King's Bench."

Martin.—"Hast thou any more copies of these articles?"

Careless.—"No, forsooth."

Martin.—"Write that he saith he sent his articles to his bed-fellow Tyms, that was burned yesterday, and that he hath no more copies of them." So that was written.

Careless.—"Nay, you should have written him my couch-fellow, for we lay in no bed almost these three years, but upon a poor couch of straw." This I said for a good consideration; though indeed it was otherwise—God be praised for his providence!

Martin.—"Well, write him his couch-fellow; for I think they will couch together one day. I am sure thou dost intend to be burned as he was. How sayest thou? dost thou not?"

Careless.—"I hold nothing worthy of death, neither have I done any thing wherefore I should be burned. Therefore I trust neither your Mastership, nor the queen's Majesty's council, will be guilty of mine innocent blood. But if there be no remedy for the truth, but I must be fain to do as other good men have done before me, the Lord's will be fulfilled! And verily, to say the truth, it were better to be burned out of hand, than for to lie two years longer in a miserable prison, as we have done." And this I set forth with many words for the nonce.

Martin.—"Why, wouldst thou so fain be burned? hast thou no wife and children?"

Careless.—"Yes, forsooth, that I have; and such as I love full well, and would full fain live with them to see them brought up in the fear of God, so that I might keep a safe conscience; neither would I have your Mastership think that I am weary of my life, though I have lain long in prison, but would yet rather choose to lie two years more there, than be burned so cruelly as my brethren be. And though I have now spent up all that I had of mine own to find me, yet I dare say mine honest neighbours would gladly bear a pain with me, to keep me in prison, rather than I should perish. For I praise God I have the love of them, although they favour not my religion all of them."

Martin.—"Where dost thou dwell?"

Careless.—"Forsooth in Coventry."

Martin.—"At Coventry? what so far, man? How camest thou hither? Who sent thee to the King's Bench to prison?"

Careless.—"I was brought thither by a writ, I trow; what it was I cannot tell. I think Master Marshal can tell you."

Marshal.—"In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my Lord Chief Justice sent him from the bar."

Martin.—"Well Careless, I would thou shouldst play the wise man's part. Thou art a handsome man, and it is pity but thou shouldst do well, and save that which God hath bought."

Careless.—"I thank your good Mastership most heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am most sure and certain of my salvation by Jesus Christ, so that my soul is safe already, whatsoever pains my body suffer here for a little time."

Martin.—"Yea marry, you say truth; for thou art so predestinate to life, that thou canst not perish, in whatsoever opinion thou dost die."

Careless.—"That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Jesus Christ, I am most certain; and even so am I sure that his Holy Spirit (where-with I am sealed) will so preserve me from all heresies and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all."

Martin.—"Go to, let me hear your faith in predestination. For that shall be written also."

Careless.—"Your Mastership shall pardon me herein: for you said yourself erewhile, that you had no commission to examine my conscience. I will trouble myself with answering no more matters than I needs must, until I come before them that shall have more authority further to examine me."

Martin.—"I tell thee then I have commission,

yea, and commandment from the council, to examine thee, for they delivered me thy articles."

Careless.—"Yea, I think indeed that your Mastership is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confess them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predestination, whereof my articles speak nothing at all."

Martin.—"I tell thee yet again, that I must also examine thee of such things as be in controversy between thee and thy fellows in the King's Bench, whereof predestination is a part, as thy fellow Trew hath confessed, and thyself dost not deny it."

Careless.—"I do not deny it. But he that first told you that matter, might have found himself much better occupied."

Martin.—"Why? what if he had not told me? thinkest that I would not have known it? Yes, or else thou shouldst have withstood my commission. For I tell thee truth, I may now examine thee of the blessed sacrament, or any other thing that I list, but that I would show thee favour, and not be too hasty with thee at the first."

Marshal.—"Yea indeed, Careless, Master Doctor hath commission to examine you, or any other of your fellows."

Martin.—"Yea marry have I, I tell thee the truth of it."

Careless.—"Then let your scribe set his pen to the paper, and you shall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, did elect in Christ."

Martin.—"Tush, what need all that long circumstance? Write, I believe God elected, and make no more ado."

Careless.—"No, not so, Master Doctor. It is a high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all."

Martin.—"Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more business than needeth."

Careless.—"I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness (through Jesus Christ) did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish."

When this was written, Master Doctor took it in his hand, and read it, saying, "Why, who will deny this?"

Careless.—"If your Mastership do allow it, and

other learned men when they shall see it, I have my heart's desire."

Martin.—"And do you hold none otherwise than is there written?"

Careless.—"No verily, nor ever did."

Martin.—"Write what he saith: otherwise he holdeth not." So that was written. "It was told me also that thou dost affirm, that Christ did not die effectually for all men."

Careless.—"Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me: let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe that Christ did effectually die for all those that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other." So that was written also.

Martin.—"Now sir, what is Trew's faith of predestination? He believeth that all men be predestinate, and that none shall be damned. Doth he not?"

Careless.—"No forsooth, that he doth not."

Martin.—"How then?"

Careless.—"Truly I think he doth believe as your Mastership and the rest of the clergy do believe of predestination, that we be elected in respect of our good works, and so long elected as we do them, and no longer."

Martin.—"Write that he saith, that his fellow Trew believeth of predestination, as the papists do believe."

Careless.—"Ah, Master Doctor! did I so term you? Seeing that this my confession shall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I speak them."

Martin.—"Well, well, write that Trew is of the same faith as the catholics be."

Careless.—"I did not so call you neither; I wonder what you mean?"

Marshal.—"You said, the clergy, did you not, Careless?"

Careless.—"Yes, forsooth, did I." So then it was written of the clergy.

Martin.—"Now, sir, what say you more?"

Careless.—"Forsooth I have no further to say in this matter."

Martin.—"What, have you any other matter? How say you to the two brethren that are in the King's Bench which deny the Divinity of Christ? How say you to their opinion?"

Careless.—"O Lord! I perceive your Mastership knoweth that which of all other things I wish to have been kept from you: verily he was to blame that told you of that. Truly, sir, these be two simple poor men, for whom I am sorry at my very heart. They did indeed deny the Divinity of Jesus Christ;

but whether they do so still or no I cannot say; for I spake with neither of them this quarter of a year and more, as Master Marshal can tell, who keepeth me as a close prisoner from them and all the rest, except it be sometimes at a chink of the door. But as for their opinion, if they do hold it still, I do most heartily detest and abhor it."

Martin.—"Write that he saith, he doth detest the opinion of the two brethren against the Divinity of Christ."

Careless.—"As for the two brethren, I know not whether they hold it still or no: they may be converted since I saw them, and I trust they be. But that I do abhor that opinion it appeareth plainly in my first and second articles, as your Mastership may perceive."

Martin.—"It is truth: but how art thou able to prove it, if thou wert put to it? Truly, not by the Scripture, but by the general councils."

Careless.—"If I were not able to prove the same most evidently by the Holy Scriptures, I would not believe it though all the general councils in the world had determined it; and yet I bear as much reverence to the determinations of the general councils as any poor man can do in the world, so that the same be agreeable to the word of God, as I am sure the article of Christ's Divinity is, as I will prove before you by and by, if it please you to hear me."

Martin.—"Well, it shall not need now. I pray thee prove thyself a wise man, and do not cast away thy life wilfully."

Careless.—"Now the Lord he knoweth, good Master Doctor, I would full gladly live, so that I might do the same with a safe conscience. And your Mastership shall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I stand upon, I will have sure ground."

Martin.—"Now the Lord knoweth, good Careless, that I would gladly make some means to preserve thy life. But thou speakest so much of the Lord, the Lord—wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzwalter into Ireland? methinks thou art a goodly tall fellow to do the queen service there. How sayest thou?"

Careless.—"Verily Master Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place else, I am ready to do her Grace the best service that I can, with body goods, and life, so long as it doth last."

Martin.—"That is honestly said, I promise thee; every man will not say so. How say you, Master Marshal? This man is meet for all manner of service. Indeed thou art worthy, Careless, to have the more favour."

Careless.—"Indeed sir, I hope to be meet and

ready unto all things that pertain unto a true Christian subject to do. And if her Grace or her officers under her do require me to do any thing contrary to Christ's religion, I am ready also to do my service in Smithfield for not observing it, as my bedfellow and other brethren have done, praised be God for them."

Martin.—"By my troth thou art a pleasant fellow as ever I talked with of all the protestants, except it were Tomson. I am sorry that I must depart with thee so soon; but I have such business now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well, yet thou canst not deny, but you are at jar amongst yourselves in the King's Bench, and it is so throughout all your congregation: for you will not be a church."

Careless.—"No, Master Doctor, that is not so. There is a thousand times more variety in opinions among your doctors, which you call of the catholic church, yea, and that in the sacrament, for the which there is so much blood shed now-a-days—I mean of your latter doctors and new writers; as for the old, they agree wholly with us."

Martin.—"No, Careless, this is not so; there thou art deceived."

Careless.—"Verily it is so, Master Doctor; I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been and is evidently proved by such as God hath indued with great learning." Then he turned to the marshal, and whispered with him a while.

Turning unto me again, Martin said, "Farewell, Careless; for I can tarry no longer with thee now, my business is such."

Careless.—"God be with you, good Master Doctor; the Lord give your Mastership health of body and soul."

Martin.—"God have mercy, good Careless, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would wish myself."

Careless.—"I thank your good Mastership; I pray God I may do always that is acceptable in his sight." Whereunto they all said, "Amen." And so I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praise. Amen.

It appeareth by the examination of the foresaid John Careless, that he endured prisoner the space of two whole years, having wife and children: in the which his captivity, first being in Coventry jail, he was there in such credit with his keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play in the pageant about the city with his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his keeper, he returned again into prison at his hour appointed. And after that, being brought up to London, he was indued

with such patience and constant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earnestly than to come to that promotion to die in the fire for the profession of his faith : and yet it so pleased the Lord to prevent him with death that he came not to it, but died in the prison, and afterwards was buried in the fields, in a dunghill.



N the mean time, while he was in prison in the King's Bench, it chanced he was in great heaviness and perturbation of mind and conscience, whereupon he wrote to Master Philpot, being then in the coal-house. Upon the occasion hereof Master Philpot sent

an epistle consolatory unto him, specified before among Master Philpot's letters. Unto the which epistle John Careless maketh answer again as followeth.

"A faithful friend is a strong defence ; who so findeth such a one, findeth a treasure.

"A faithful friend hath no peer ; the weight of gold and silver is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith.

"A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him.

"The Father of mercy and God of all consolation comfort you with his eternal Spirit, my most dear and faithful-loving friend, good Master Philpot, as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the same ; the everlasting God be praised therefore for ever. Amen.

"Ah, my dear heart and most loving brother ! if I should do nothing else day and night so long as the days of heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees, and read psalms, I can never be able to render unto God condign thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindness, and most loving compassion extended unto me, most vile, sinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. O that the Lord would open my mouth and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the same might flow his continual praise. O that my sinful flesh (which is the cause of sorrow) were clean separated from me, that I might sing psalms of thanksgivings unto the Lord's name for ever ; that with good Samuel's mother I might continually record this noble verse following, the which by good experience I have found most true, praised be my good God therefor. 'The Lord,' saith that good woman, 'killeth and maketh alive ; he bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again.' Praised be the Lord for ever, yea, and praised be his name

for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the same. Blessed be the Lord God, whose mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deep deserts, nor destroyed me in his displeasure when I had justly deserved it. O what reward shall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my soul ! I will gladly receive the cup of salvation at his hand, and will worship his name with prayer and with praise.

"Ah, my dear heart ! yea, most dear unto me in the Lord, think not this sudden change in me to be some fickle phantasy of my foolish head, (as indeed some others would surely suspect it to be,) for doubtless it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, most merciful unto me, his unworthy creature. God for his great mercies' sake give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall forth of his favour again.

"And now, my dear brother and most blessed messenger of the Lord, whose beautiful feet have brought much glad tidings to my soul, what shall I do or say unto you, in the least part to recompense the fatherly affection and godly care that you continually keep for me ? O that God would give me the spirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way supply some little part of my duty toward you. Ah, my true loving friend ! how soon did you lay aside all other business, to make a sweet plaster for my wounded conscience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of stocks, which place must needs be uneasy to write in ! But God hath brought you into a strait place, that you might set my soul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful seat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious nard, the sweet savour whereof hath greatly refreshed my tried soul. The Lord likewise refresh you, both body and soul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit into your sweet heart.

"Ah, good Jeremy ! hath Pashur put thee into the stocks ? Why, now thou hast the right reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but shortly, instead of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, Jesus the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and will also make good against them and their antichristian synagogue, all the words that thou hast spoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee here, this day, a strong defended tower, an iron pillar, and a brazen wall against the whole rabble of antichrist ; and though they fight against thee never so fiercely, yet shall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himself is with thee, to help and deliver thee ; and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee

out of the hands of the tyrants. And in that you are not busy in casting pearls before swine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended, in my simple judgment. And sure I am, that your circumspect and modest behaviour hitherto hath been as much to God's glory, and to the shame and confusion of your enemies, as any men's doings that are gone before you. Wherefore mine advice and most earnest desire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you still keep that order with those bloodthirsty bite-sheeps (bishops, I should say) that you have begun. For though in conclusion they will surely have your blood, yet shall they come by it with shame enough, and to their perpetual infamy while the world doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in hugger-mugger, to darken God's glory, if it might be; but Satan's thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his subtlety is by you well foreseen. Therefore let them do whatsoever God shall suffer them to do: for I know all things shall turn to your best. Though you lie in the dark, storried with the bishops' black coal-dust, yet shall you be shortly restored unto the heavenly light, and made as white as snow in Salmon, and as the wings of a dove that is covered with silver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know the vessel, before it be made bright, is soiled with oil, and other things, that it may scour the better.

"O how happy be you that you be now in the scouring house: for shortly you shall be set upon the celestial shelf as bright as angels. Therefore, my dear heart, I will now, according to your loving request, cast away all care, and rejoice with you, and praise God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now with God's grace sing psalms of praise and thanksgiving with you. For now my soul is turned to her old rest again, and hath taken a sweet nap in Christ's lap. I have cast my care upon the Lord, which careth for me, and will be careless, according to my name, in that respect you would have me. I will leave out my unseemly addition as long as I live: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is resident. So soon as I had read your most godly and comfortable letter, my sorrows vanished away as smoke in the wind; my spirit revived, and comfort came again, whereby I am sure the Spirit of God was author of it.

"O my good Master Philpot, which art a principal pot indeed, filled with most precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the same—O pot most happy, of thy high Potter ordained to honour, which doth contain such heavenly treasure in thy earthen vessel; O pot thrice happy,

in whom Christ hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine, and that of the best, whereout the Master of the feast hath filled my cup so full, that I am become drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the same. When martyrdom shall break thee, O vessel of honour, I know the fragrant savour of thy precious nard will much rejoice the heavy hearts of Christ's true members, although the Judases will grudge and murmur at the same; yea, and burst out into words of slander, saying, 'It is but lost and waste.'

"Be not offended, dear heart, at my metaphorical speech; for I am disposed to be merry, and with David to dance before the ark of the Lord: and though you play upon a pair of organs not very comely or easy to the flesh, yet the sweet sound that came from the same, causeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in body, as present I am in spirit, that I might sing all care away in Christ: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you shortly, if all things happen right. For my old friends of Coventry have put the council in remembrance of me not six days ago, saying, that I am more worthy to be burned than any that was burned yet. God's blessing on their hearts for their good report! God make me worthy of that dignity, and hasten the time, that I might set forth his glory!

"Pray for me, dear heart, I beseech you, and will all your company to do the same; and I will pray God for you all, so long as I live. And now farewell in Christ, thou blessed of God's own mouth. I will for a time take my leave, but not my last farewell. Blessed be the time that ever I came into the King's Bench, to be joined in love and fellowship with such dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford shall not be dead whiles you be alive: for verily the spirit of him doth rest on you in most ample wise. Your letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water; the Lord give good increase! My dear brethren and fellow prisoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your misery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous consolation and comfort in Christ. We are all cheerful and merry under our cross, and do lack no necessities, praised be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen."

To his wife.

"As by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good-will and providence appointed, my dearly beloved wife, you and I were joined together in the holy and Christian state of godly matrimony, as well

to our great joy and comfort in Christ, as also to the increase of his blessed church and faithful congregation, by having lawful children by and in the same, with the which God of his mercy hath blessed us, praised be his name there-for: even so now, by his merciful will and divine ordinance, the time is come, (so far as I can perceive,) wherein he will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, dissolve the same, and separate us asunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, by this simple letter to provoke, stir, and admonish you, to behave yourself in all your doings, sayings, and thoughts, most thankfully unto our good God for the same. And therefore, my dear wife, as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodness in bringing us together in his holy ordinance: even so now I desire you, when this time of our separation shall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him most hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endless commodity) separated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himself, forth of this miserable world, into his celestial kingdom; believing and hoping also assuredly, that God of his goodness, for his Son Christ's sake, will shortly bring you and your dear children thither to me, that we may most joyfully together sing praises unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I desire you for the love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoice with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his most merciful will upon me.

"I hear say that you do oftentimes use to repeat this godly saying, 'The Lord's will be fulfilled.' Doubtless it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you; and, for the Lord's sake, use that godly prayer continually, and teach your children and family to say the same day and night: and not only say it with your tongues, but also with your heart and mind, and joyfully submit your will to God's will in very deed, knowing and believing assuredly, that nothing shall come to you or any of yours otherwise than it shall be his almighty and fatherly good-will and pleasure, and for your eternal comfort and commodity. Which thing to be most true and certain, Christ testifieth in his holy gospel, saying, Are not two little sparrows sold for a farthing, and yet not one of them shall perish without the will of our heavenly Father? and he concludeth saying, Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better than many sparrows. As though he should have said, If God have such respect and care for a poor sparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it shall not be taken in the lime-twigg, net, nor pitfall, until it be his good will and pleasure; you may be

well assured, that not one of you (whom he so dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) shall perish, or depart forth of this miserable life without his almighty good-will and pleasure.

"Therefore, dear wife, put your trust and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will; the which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well assured the Lord, your dear God and Father, will not see you nor yours lack, if you continue in his love and childly fear, and keep a clear conscience from all kind of idolatry, superstition, and wickedness, as my trust is that you will do, although it be with the loss and danger of this temporal life. And, good Margaret, fear not them that can but kill the body, (and yet can they not do that until God give them leave,) but fear to displease him that can kill both body and soul, and cast them into hell-fire. Let not the remembrance of your children keep you from God. The Lord himself will be a father and a mother, better than ever you or I could have been unto them. He himself will do all things necessary for them; yea, as much as rock the cradle, if need be. He hath given his holy angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear conscience, (for else I would not have you to live,) and see the bringing up of your children yourself, look that you nurture them in the fear of God, and keep them far from idolatry, superstition, and all other kind of wickedness. And for God's sake help them to some learning, if it be possible, that they may increase in virtue and godly knowledge, which shall be a better dowry to marry them withal, than any worldly substance. And when they be come to age, provide them such husbands as fear God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them with no papists; and if you live and marry again yourself, (which thing I would wish you to do, if need require, or else not,) good wife, take heed how you bestow yourself, that you and my poor children be not compelled to wickedness. But if you shall be able well to live God's true widow, I would counsel you so to live still, for the more quietness of yourself and your poor children. Take heed, Margaret, and play the wise woman's part. You have warning by others, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my sweet children unto God's most merciful defence. The blessing of God be with you, and God send us a merry meeting together in heaven. Farewell in Christ, farewell mine own dear hearts all. Pray, pray.

To my good brother, Master John Bradford.

"The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comfort of his sweet Spirit, which hath surely sealed you unto eternal salvation, be with you and strengthen you in your joyful journey towards the celestial Jerusalem, my dear friend and most faithful brother, Master Bradford, to the setting forth of God's glory, and to your eternal joy in Christ. Amen.

"Ever since that good Master Philpot showed me your last letter, my dear heart in the Lord, I have continued in great heaviness and perplexity: not for any hurt or discommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doubtless death is made life and great felicity, but for the great loss that God's church here in England shall sustain by the taking away of so godly, worthy, and necessary an instrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life and a thousand such wretched lives more might go for yours! O, why doth God suffer me and such other caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but consume the alms of the church; and take away you, so worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? But woe be to our sins and great unthankfulness, which is the greatest cause of the taking away of such worthy instruments of God, as should set forth his glory, and instruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good ministers of his word, we had not been so soon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and sins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Christ's sake. Take not away all thy true preachers forth of this realm, O Lord, but leave us a seed, lest England be made like unto Sodom and Gomorrah, when thy true Lots be gone.

"But what go I about to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your just joy with my deserved sorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I should surely rejoice with you most heartily, and praise God on your behalf from the very bottom of my heart; I should praise God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and should give him most humble thanks for your vocation by his gospel, and your true knowledge in the same; I should earnestly praise him for your sweet justification, whereof you are most certain by God's grace and Spirit, and should instantly pray unto him for your glorification, which shall shortly ensue; I should rejoice and be glad to see you so dignified by the crown of martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to testify his truth, and to seal it with your blood; I should highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies visible and invisible, and hath given you grace

and strength to finish the tower that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I should most heartily rejoice and be glad to see you delivered from this body of sin, and vile prison of the flesh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle where you shall be safely kept, and never offend him more.

"This and much more should I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child. But, alas! I am a hypocrite, and do seek nothing but mine own commodity. I would have God's everlasting providence give place to my peevish will and purpose, although it were to the hinderance of his glory and your sweet commodity. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, sins, and offences against him! and, good brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulness toward you; and henceforth, I promise you, I will put my will to God's will, and pray that the same may be fulfilled in you, as long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will most heartily praise the Lord for you, so long as I have my being in this world. Ah, my dear heart! now I must take my leave of you, and, as I think, my *ultimum vale* in this life; but in the life to come I am right well assured we shall merrily meet together, and that shortly I trust. And in taking of my leave of you, my dear heart in the Lord, I shall desire you faithfully to remember all the sweet messages that the Lord our good God and most dear loving Father hath sent you to me his most unworthy servant, which as they are most true, so shall they be most truly accomplished upon you eternally; and for the more assurance and certificate thereof to your godly conscience, he hath commanded me to repeat the same unto you again, in his own name and word.

"Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Harken, O ye heavens, and thou earth, give ear, and bear me witness at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lord's message unto his dear servant, his singularly beloved and elect child John Bradford. John Bradford, thou man so specially beloved of God, I pronounce and testify unto thee in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy sins, whatsoever they be, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, released, and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in whom thou dost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath cleansed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteousness, and hath made thee in the sight of God his Father, without spot or wrinkle; so that when the fire doth his appointed office, thou shalt be received (as a sweet burnt sacrifice) into heaven, where thou shalt joyfully remain in God's presence for ever, as the true inheritor of

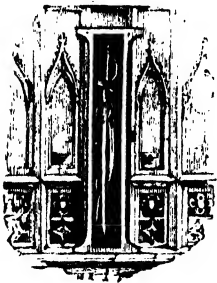
his everlasting kingdom, unto the which thou wast undoubtedly predestinate and ordained by the Lord's infallible purpose and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is most true that I have said, I call the whole Trinity, the almighty and eternal majesty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to my record at this present; whom I humbly beseech to confirm and stablish in thee the true and lively feeling of the same. Amen. Selah.

"Now with a merry heart and joyful spirit, something mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewell of you, mine own dear brother in the Lord; who send us shortly a merry meeting in his kingdom, that we may both sing praises together unto him with his holy angels and blessed spirits for ever and ever! Farewell, thou blessed in the Lord, farewell in Christ; depart unto thy rest in the Lord; and pray for me for God's sake.

"As I had made an end of this simple letter, I heard some comfort both of good Master Philpot's servant and yours: but, alas! I do scarcely believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will send me some comfort to-morrow, and if the Lord give you sparing to-morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for God's sake. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever. Amen.

"Yours for ever in the Lord Jesus,

JOHN CARELESS, living in hope against hope."



N reading this letter of John Careless to Master Bradford above prefixed, wherein he maketh so much mention of a certain letter of his sent to him, and of the great exceeding consolation he received of the same,

thou wilt wish peradventure, good loving reader, in thy mind, to have some sight also of the said letter of Master Bradford; wherein to satisfy thy desire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have hereunto annexed the same, to the intent thou mayest not only understand the contents thereof, but also receive fruit thereof to thy consolation likewise. The purport of the letter here followeth.

"Almighty God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, be merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever. Amen.

"Dear brother Careless, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my manifold sins and most grievous offences, which need none other demonstration unto you than this, namely, that I have behaved myself so negligently in answering your godly triple letters, which are three witnesses against me. God lay not them, nor any other thing, to my charge to condemnation, though to correction not my will, but his will be done. Concerning your request of absolution, my dearest brother, what shall I say, but even as truth is? that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatsoever they be, that ever hitherto thou hast committed against his majesty: and therefore he hath given to thee as to his child, dear brother John Careless, in token that thy sins are pardoned, he (I say) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which desireth to repent and believe; for such a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deed) for a penitent and believing heart indeed.

"Wherefore, my good brother, be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy sins; thou shalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy sins. The east is not so far from thee, as the Lord hath now put thy sins from thee. Look how the heavens be in comparison of the earth: so far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear child, John Careless, through Christ the Beloved. Say therefore with David, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy sins; as truly he hath. And hereof I desire to be a witness. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true message for myself. Mine own dearly beloved, you have great cause to thank God most heartily that he hath given you such repentance and faith: the Lord increase the same in you and me a most miserable wretch, whose heart is harder than the adamant-stone, or else I could not thus long have stayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpose and promise you to make amends. Pray for me, my most dear brother, I heartily beseech you, and forgive me my long silence. God our Father be with us for ever, Amen.

"Yours in the Lord,

J. BRADFORD."

To my most dear and faithful brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the testimony of God's everlasting truth.

"The everlasting peace of God, in Jesus Christ, the continual joy, strength, and comfort of his most

pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my most dear and faithful loving brother Tyms, and with all the rest of my dear hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow soldiers, and most constant companions in bonds, yea, of men condemned most cruelly for the sincere testimony of God's everlasting truth, to the full finishing of that good work, which he hath so graciously begun in you all, that the same may be to his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted church, and to your everlasting comfort in him, Amen.

"Ah, my most sweet and loving brethren, and dearest hearts in the Lord! what shall I say, or how shall I write unto you, in the least point or part to utter the great joy that my poor heart hath conceived in God, through the most godly example of your Christian constancy and sincere confession of Christ's verity? Truly my tongue cannot declare, nor my pen express, the abundance of spiritual mirth and gladness that my mind and inward man hath felt, ever since I heard of your hearty boldness and modest behaviour before that bloody butcher, in the time of all your crafty examinations, especially at your cruel condemnation, in their cursed consistory place. Blessed be God the Father of all mercy, and praised be his name, for that he hath so graciously performed upon you, his dear darlings, his most sweet and comfortable promises, in not only giving you the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit to the faithful confession of his Christ, for whose cause, O most happy men, ye are condemned to die; but also in giving you such a mouth and wisdom as all your wicked enemies were not able to resist, but were fain to cry, 'Peace, peace,' and not suffer you to speak. As truly as God liveth, my dear brethren, this is not only unto you a most evident probation that God is on our side, and a sure certainty of your everlasting salvation in him, but also to your cruel adversaries (or rather God's cursed enemies) a plain demonstration of their just eternal woe and damnation, which they shall be full sure shortly to feel, when ye shall full sweetly possess the place of felicity and pleasure prepared for you from the beginning.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, cease not, so long as ye be in this life, to praise the Lord with a lusty courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodness he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignity, to suffer for his sake not only the loss of goods, wife, and children, long imprisonment, cruel oppression, &c.; but also the very deprivation of this mortal life, with the dissolution of your bodies in the fire. The which is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale

of misery; yea, so great an honour as the highest angel in heaven is not permitted to have; and yet hath the Lord for his dear Son Christ's sake reputed you worthy of the same, yea, and that before me and many others, which have both long looked and longed for the same.

"Ah, my most dear brother Tyms! whose time resteth altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a full and happy time camest thou into this troublesome world, but in a much more blessed hour shalt thou depart out of the same; so that the sweet saying of Solomon, or rather of the Holy Ghost, shall be full well verified upon thee, yea, and all thy faithful fellows, Better is the day of death, saith he, than the day of birth. This saying cannot be verified upon every man, but upon thee, my dear brother, and such as thou art, whose death is most precious before God; and full dear shall your blood be in his sight. Blessed be God for thee, my dear brother Tyms, and blessed be God again that ever I knew thee, for in a most happy time I came first into thy company. Pray for me, dear brother, pray for me, that God will once vouch me worthy of that great dignity whereunto he hath brought you.

"Ah, my loving brother Drake! whose soul now draweth nigh unto God, of whom ye have received the same, full glad may you be that ever God gave you a life to leave for his sake: full well will he restore it to you again in a thousand-fold more glorious wise. Praise God, good brother, as you have a great cause; and pray for me, I beseech you, which am so much unworthy (so great are my sins) of that great dignity whereunto the Lord hath called you, and the rest of your godly brethren, whom I beseech you to comfort in the Lord as you can full well; praised be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the setting forth of his glory, and the commodity of his poor afflicted church: which thing shall surely redound to your everlasting joy and comfort, as you shall most effectually feel ere ever it be long, though the wicked of the world judge far otherwise.

"Ah, mine own hearts, and most dearly beloved brethren, Cavel, Ambrose, and both the Spurges, blessed be the Lord on your behalf, and praised be his name, which hath given you such a glorious victory: full valiant have you showed yourselves in the Lord's fight, and full faithful in your painful service. Faint not, but go on forward as ye have most godly begun, for great shall your reward be at the end of this your travail. Ah, my good faithful brethren all! what shall I say, or what shall I write unto you? but even the same that good Elizabeth did say to her godly kinswoman Mary, the blessed mother of Christ, Happy art thou, quoth that

good woman, which hast believed: for all things which the Lord hath spoken to thee, shall be fulfilled. So I say to you, my dear hearts in the Lord, happy are ye all, yea, twice happy shall you be for evermore, because ye have stedfastly believed the most sweet promises which God the Father hath made unto you with his own mouth, in that he hath promised you, (which are the faithful seed of the believing Abraham,) that ye shall be blessed ever, world without end. The promises of God your sweet Father, as ye do believe, so do ye bear record that God is true. The testimony whereof ye have full worthily borne to the world, and, shortly, will full surely seal the same with your blood, yea, even to-morrow, I do understand. O constant Christians! O valiant soldiers of the high Captain Jesus Christ! who for your sake hath conquered the devil, death, sin, and hell, and hath given your full victory over them for evermore. O worthy witnesses, and most glorious martyrs! whose invincible faith hath overcome that proud, sturdy, bragging prince of the world, and all his wicked army, over whom ye shall shortly triumph for evermore. Ah, my sweet hearts! the everlasting treasures are full surely laid up for you in heaven. The immaccessible and most glorious crown of victory is already made and prepared for you, to be shortly clapt upon all your happy heads. The holy angels of your heavenly Father are already appointed to conduct your sweet souls into Abraham's bosom. All the heavenly host rejoiceth already, for that they shall shortly receive you with joy and felicity, into their blessed fellowship. Selah.

"Rejoice with double joy, and be glad, my dear brethren, for doubtless ye have more cause than can be expressed. But, alas! I that for my sins am left behind, may lie and lament with the holy prophet, saying, Woe is me that the days of my joyful rest are prolonged. Ah, cursed Satan! which hath caused me so sore to offend my most dear loving Father, whereby mine exile and banishment is so much prolonged. O Christ, my dear Advocate! pacify thy Father's wrath, which I have justly deserved, that he may take me home to him in his sweet mercy. O that I might now come home unto thee, with my blessed brethren. Well, thy will, O Lord! be effectuously fulfilled; for it is only good, and turneth all things to the best, for such as thou in thy mercy hast chosen.

"And now farewell, my dear hearts, most happy in the Lord. I trust in my good God, yet shortly to see you in the celestial city, whereof undoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free citizens. Though you be yet with us for a little time, your very home is in heaven, where your treasure doth

remain with your sweet Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, whose calling you have heard with the ears of your hearts, and therefore ye shall never come into judgment, but pass from death to life. Your sins shall never be remembered, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great: for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the sea; he hath removed them from you, as far as the east is from the west, and his mercy hath much more prevailed over you, than is distance between heaven and earth: and he hath given you for an everlasting possession of the same, all his holiness, righteousness, and justification, yea, and the Holy Ghost into your hearts, wherewith ye are surely sealed unto the day of redemption, to certify you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted sons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, Abba, dear Father, for evermore: so that now no creature in heaven, earth, nor hell, shall be able to accuse you before the throne of the heavenly King. Satan is now cast out from you; he himself is judged, and hath no part in you. He will once more bite you by the heel, and then he hath done; for at that time you shall squeeze his head through your own good Christ, and so have you final victory for evermore. In joyful triumph whereof, ye shall sweetly ascend into the place of eternal rest, whither your eldest brother Christ is gone before you to take possession for you, and to prepare your place under the holy altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hooper, Saunders, Ferrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, with many others, who will be full glad of your coming, to see six more of their appointed number, that their blood may so much the sooner be revenged upon them that dwell on the earth.

"Thus I make an end, committing you all to God's most merciful defence, whose quarrel ye have defended, whose cause ye have promoted, whose glory ye have set forth, and whose name ye have constantly confessed. Farewell for a while, my dear hearts in the Lord; I will make as much haste after you as I may. All our dear brethren salute you. They pray for you, and praise God for you continually. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, saith the Holy Ghost, and their works follow them.

"Your own JOHN CARELESS,

a most unprofitable servant of the Lord.

Pray, pray, pray."

Ye heard before the letter of Thomas Whittle, written to John Careless, wherein he yieldeth great thanks unto him for the singular joy and consolation received by his letters. The copy of which

letters sent unto him, if any be disposed to peruse, hereunder followeth to satisfy his desire.

To Master Green, Master Whittle, and certain other prisoners in Newgate, condemned, and ready to be burnt for the testimony of our Lord Jesus.

“The everlasting peace in Jesus Christ, the continual comfort of his most pure and Holy Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful brethren and sisters of Newgate, the Lord’s appointed sheep unto the slaughter, to the good performance of the great and notable work of the Lord, which he hath so graciously begun in you all; that the same may redound to the setting forth of his glory, and to the commodity of his church, and to your own everlasting comfort in him. So be it.

“Ah, my dear hearts, and most faithful brethren and sisters in the Lord! what high lauds and praise, yea, what humble and continual thanks, am I bound to give to God our Father for you and on your most happy behalf, who so mightily hath magnified himself in you thus far forth, in giving you his holy and mighty Spirit, to the constant confessing of Christ’s verity, even to the cruel condemnation; and I doubt not but he will do the same to the death. O happy and blessed are you that ever you were born, that the Lord will vouch you worthy of this great dignity, to die for his sake. Doubtless it is the greatest honour that God can give you in this life. Yea, if they be so blessed of God that die in the Lord, (as the Holy Ghost saith they be,) how much more blessed and happy then are you that die not only in the Lord, but also for the Lord. O that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you. Ah that my sins made me not unworthy of such an excellent dignity!

“Be thankful, dear hearts, be thankful and rejoice in the Lord; for mighty is his mercy towards you, and great is your reward in heaven, the which you, like faithful persons, have plucked to you with a godly violence of an invincible faith. O worthy warriors of the most high Captain! O constant confessors of the everlasting verity! how glorious a crown of victory shall you shortly receive, which is prepared for all such as do continue to the end! O you sweet saints of the Lord, how precious shall your death be in his sight! O how dear are your souls to your Redeemer, in whose hand they shall most joyfully rest, and the pains of death shall never touch you! O how blessed shall you be, when Christ shall appear, at the which time you shall receive your bodies again full of immortality! O how joyful shall you be, when Christ, according to his promise, shall knowledge you before his Father

and his holy angels, as you have most constantly confessed him to be your Lord and only Saviour before men!

“O blessed Green, thou meek and loving lamb of the Lord, how happy art thou to be appointed to die for his sake! a full dainty dish art thou for the Lord’s own tooth. Fresh and green shalt thou be in the house of the Lord, and thy fruits shall never wither nor decay. Although thou go here forth sowing thy good fruit with tears, the time shall come that thou shalt reap with joy and gladness the fruits of everlasting life, and that without ceasing. Be merry therefore and fear not, for it is thy Father’s will to give thee a kingdom, whereunto he hath chosen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

“O happy minister, thou man of God, how glad mayest thou be of God’s most precious favour, which hath prevented thee in the day of thy trial! O happy Peter, whose part thou hast well played; therefore thy reward and portion shall be like unto his. Now hast thou good experience of man’s infirmity, but much more proof and taste, yea, sense and feeling, of God’s abundant bottomless mercy. Although Satan desired to sift thee, yet Christ thy good Captain prayed that thy faith should not fail. God’s strength is made perfect by thy weakness, and his grace is sufficient for thee his dear child. Thine example did so encourage and strengthen thy poor brethren, that God is every way glorified by thee; and shortly will he glorify thee with himself, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect darling before the world was made. Therefore rejoice and be glad, for thou hast good occasion, in finding such favour in his sight.

“This is most true, O my other brethren, whom I do not know, neither have I heard much of you, happy are you that ever you were born, and blessed be our God which hath given you such victory over the bloody beast: shortly shall you be clothed in large white garments, and fine robes of righteousness; and so shall you follow the Lamb on Mount Sion with new songs of mirth and melody, for your delivery forth of Satan’s power and tyranny. God for evermore be blessed for you, and strengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will: for he never failed them that put their trust in him.

“O my dear and faithful sister, Joan Warne, what shall I say to thee? Thy trial hath been great; thy victory in Christ hath been notable. Thou hast overcome many a sharp shower and storm. Shortly shalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet rest, and receive a reward due to a constant martyr. Thou shalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and possess for ever the inheritance which Christ hath purchased

for thee, where thy earthly parents be, still looking for thee, which have triumphed over antichrist most victoriously. O blessed parents of happy children, which have showed such an example as the like hath been seldom seen ! I salute thee, dear sister of like constant mind, whose constant example is worthy of continual memory. Praised be God for you, mine own sweet sisters ; which hath made you play such wise virgins' parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamps of your faith, so that the light thereof shall never be extinct. You shall enter with your Bridegroom into everlasting joy, whereunto you were chosen in him from the beginning.

"O my dear brethren and sisters, you blessed saints of the Lord, how much and how deeply am I bound to praise God for you, both day and night. Pray, pray for me, my dear hearts, for the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to follow your trace. O that I had run the race of my life as far as you have done yours, and were as nigh my journey's end as you be unto yours. But, alas, I lie like the lame man at the pool's side by Solomon's porch, and every man goeth into the place of health before me. But God will appoint me one, one day to put me in. I trust my Lord of London's coal-house is empty, and all his officers idle. Therefore they must shortly fetch more sheep to the shambles ; for he is the common slaughter-slave of all England. But happy are you that are passed through the pikes, and delivered out of his hands, and from all the angels of the darkness of this world, which long tempted you in the wilderness of the same : but now shall the angels of God come and minister unto you ; for they are your servants to hold you up in their hands, that you shall not hurt your foot, no, nor one hair of your head shall perish. They shall carry you up to heaven in a fiery chariot, though you leave your mantle behind you for a time, until God restore the same again in a more ample and glorious sort.

"Thus in haste, as it doth appear, I am constrained to make an end, committing you all to God's most merciful defence, who ever have you in his blessed keeping ; desiring you all to remember me in your godly and faithful prayers, as I will not forget you in mine, by God's grace. The blessing of God be with you all, my dear brethren and sisters. All our brethren and fellow prisoners here have them most heartily commended unto you, and pray for you without ceasing. God send us a merry meeting in his kingdom. Amen.

"By your brother and unfeigned lover, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner, abiding his most merciful will and pleasure. Pray, pray, pray."

To my dear and faithful brother William Tymes, prisoner in Newgate.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, with the continual joy, comfort, and strength of his sweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increased in your good heart, my most faithful and dear brother Tymes, to the full quieting of your conscience, and beating back of all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may shortly receive the glorious crown of victory, and in the same triumph over all your enemies for evermore. Amen.

"I cannot express the exceeding great joy and consolation of my poor heart, considering the marvellous works of God most graciously wrought upon you, not only in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge crosses both inwardly and outwardly, but also in giving you so great consolation and constancy in the midst of the same. Faithful is God, and true of his promises, who hath said, that he will never suffer his chosen children to be tempted above their strength, but in the midst of their temptation will make an out-scape for them, by such means as may make to his glory and their everlasting consolation. My dear heart, great cause have you to be of good comfort ; for I see in you as lively a token of God's everlasting love and favour in Jesus Christ, as ever I perceived in any man. In respect whereof, I do even with my heart love, honour, and reverence you, beseeching God for his glorious name's sake, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to finish his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promises ; yea, I am well assured thereof, forasmuch as you have so effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart, as a pledge and a sure seal of your eternal redemption, and a testimony of your adoption in Christ Jesus. For which cause Satan so sore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce ordinance against you, thinking thereby utterly to destroy the invincible fort of your faith, founded most firmly upon the unmovable Rock Christ, against the which neither the devil, sin, nor yet hell-gates, shall ever prevail. Selah.

"Therefore, mine own bowels in the Lord, be not comforted for this your conflict, which doubtless shall greatly increase your crown of glory, triumph, and victory ; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himself and his subtle members. It is the very divine ordinance of God, that all his regenerate people shall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we see by the example of our Saviour Christ ; who as soon as he was baptized, was straightways led of the Holy Ghost into the wilderness, there to be tempted of the devil. But there got

he such a glorious victory of Satan, that he could never since finally prevail against any of his poor members, but in every assault that he maketh, either inwardly or outwardly, he getteth a foil, and taketh shame; so that now he rageth with all the spite possible, specially because he knoweth his time is but short. St. James testifieth that he is but a very coward, that will soon flee, if he be faithfully resisted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifest unto us, so that he cannot deceive us though he assault us; for, as St. Paul saith, his very thoughts are not unknown to us, as it doth in you largely appear, praised be the Lord's name there-for.

"You see, dear brother, that now to molest you and such as you are, that be even passing from this vale of misery, he hath but two ways, or two pieces of ordnance to shoot at you, with the which he cannot hurt you, because you have two bulwarks to defend you. The first of these terrible guns that Satan hath shot at you, is the very same that he continually shooteth at me, that is to say, fear and infidelity; for the uglisomeness of sin, and horror of my sins, which be so many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is easily put away with the sure shield of faith, in the most precious death and blood-shedding of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be ours for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as Paul saith; so that though we be never so great sinners, yet Christ is made unto us holiness, righteousness, and justification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and most sweet sufferings, and hath taken unto him all our misery, wretchedness, sin, and infirmity: so that if any should now be condemned for the same, it must needs be Jesus Christ, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made satisfaction for them to the uttermost jot; so that for his sake they shall never be imputed to us, if they were a thousand times so many more as they be. This do you most effectuously feel and know, dear brother, a great deal better than I can tell you, blessed be God there-for.

"And now Satan, seeing that he cannot prevail with his boisterous battery against this bulwark of faith, which doth so quench all his fiery darts that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good service to cast you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his only grace and power, and so you may render him all the glory by Jesus Christ, (which thing the enemy can in no wise abide,) therefore he shooteth off his other piece most pestilent, to provoke you to put some part of your trust and confidence in yourself, and in your

own holiness and righteousness, that you might that way rob God of his glory, and Christ of the honour and dignity of his death. But blessed be the Lord God, you have also a full strong bulwark to beat back this pestiferous pellet also, even the pure law of God, which proveth the best of us all damnable sinners in the sight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the severity of the same, and that even our best works are polluted and defiled in such sort as the prophet describeth them. With which manner of speaking our free-will Pharisees are much offended; for it felleth all man's righteousness to the ground, (I had like to have said to the bottom of hell,) and extollet only the righteousness of Jesus Christ, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all those that firmly believe, as blessed be God you do.

"Ah, my good brother Tymes, Satan hath put his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you, either to vain-glory or mistrust: for you are an old beaten soldier, and have had good experience of this manner of temptations, both by yourself and others, whom you know well were beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore, dear heart; be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice; he hath done all that he can, and hath shot off all his last pieces, wherewith he hath thought to have done most mischief. But now he seeth he cannot prevail, (the strong Tower of your faith being so invincible,) he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to some other place to practise the like assaults, and then will the angels of God come and minister unto you the most sweet and heavenly consolations of the Holy Ghost. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that ever we can desire or think, I do most heartily commit you, with all the rest of your godly prison-fellows, who comfort, strengthen, and defend you with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done; that you, having a most glorious victory over the subtle serpent and all his wicked seed, may also receive the crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and so surely kept for you in the hands of him whose promise is infallible, that the devil, sin, death, or hell, shall never be able to deprive you of the same. The blessing of God be with you now and for evermore: Amen. Pray, pray, pray for me.

"Your own for ever,

JOHN CARELESS."

To my good sister, Mrs. Cotton.

"The peace of God in Jesus Christ, and the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit, be with you,

my dear and faithful sister, to the full accomplishment of that good work which he hath most graciously begun in you, that the same may be effectual to the setting forth of his glory, and to your everlasting consolation in him. Amen.

"My loving and faithful sister in the Lord, I thank you for all your loving-kindness showed unto me, but specially for your godly remembrance of me in your fervent and faithful prayers, and for your most godly and comfortable letter, whereby you do not only much increase my joy and comfort, but also put me in remembrance of my duty towards you.

"Blessed be the Lord God, which of his great mercy hath so beautified his church in these our days, that even unto many godly women he hath given most excellent gifts of knowledge and understanding of his truth, so that they are not only well able to inform their own consciences in all things necessary to salvation, but also most sweetly comfort their sorrowful brethren and sisters that sustain any trouble for the testimony of God's truth, yea, and that which is more, even in the midst of their great conflicts of conscience: of which most happy number of godly and virtuous women, my dear heart, you are one, and that of the chiefest, being plentifully indued with the gifts of God's most gracious Spirit, as it doth full well appear in your daily doings: God only have the praise there-for!

"Forasmuch then as God hath given you the gift to write, I shall most heartily desire you to let me hear from you sometimes, be it never so little, for truly I take great comfort and courage thereby; specially in my poor conscience, which is sore assaulted of subtle Satan, and in a manner oppressed of my sins. Pray, dear sister, that God may give me true, hearty, and earnest repentance, and increase my faith; for they are both the good gifts of God only, and far pass the reach of my power to take at my pleasure.

"Therefore, dear sister, if you help me to beg the same of our dear-loving Father, I am sure that he both can and will give them me in his good time. As for the fear of death, or terror of the fire, I most heartily thank my good God, I feel it not; only it is mine own sins and unthankfulness which hold hard battle, and wage strong war against me, which only go about to separate me from my good Captain, Christ, that I should not enjoy his glorious victory; but God being on my side, (as I am sure he is,) that cannot continually prevail against me. Though God for a time permit Satan to take his pleasure on me, as he did upon Job, yet I doubt not but in the end all shall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose

most merciful defence I commit you, dear sister, with all the rest of the Lord's elect. Farewell in Christ.

"Yours unfeignedly, JOHN CARELESS.

"Pray, pray, pray, pray."

To my dear brother, T. V.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual comforts of his most pure and Holy Spirit, be with you, my most dear friend and faithful brother V., to the increase of your faith, and comfort of your sorrowful spirit, which is to the Father a sweet sacrifice through Christ, for whose sake he will never despise your humble and contrite heart, but doth favourably accept the same, and will in most ample wise perform the desire thereof, to his glory and your eternal comfort in him.

"In the midst of my manifold crosses and troubles, wherein I am constrained to flee unto God for refuge and succour by earnest and faithful prayer, I cannot forget you, my dear heart in the Lord, but esteeming your state for mine own, I do pour forth my complaint for you, as I do for myself, and rather more, as I think present need doth require, desiring most heartily to hear the good success of the same in you. The Lord God, for his great mercies' sake, accomplish my desire, as I doubt not but he will, when he seeth it good and most to his glory, and to your comfort and commodity. O that I might once see you so merry in Christ as you have just cause to be, that you might say with David, Awake my glory, awake lute and harp. Bring forth the psalter with the merry song, that I might sing a new song of praise and thanksgiving unto the Lord, for the light of his favourable countenance, his help and deliverance. Oh! that would refresh me as a most precious oil, and gladden my poor heart, which is assaulted with sorrow more ways than one. I doubt not but the same shall by your means receive much comfort, though for a time it doth mourn with you, that we may be made both glad together, yea, and that with such gladness, as shall continue for ever. But in the mean space (I say) most happy are you, that so heartily mourn for the absence of the Bridegroom. If you were not a wedding child, you could never do it. Only Christ's true disciples do mourn for his absence: therefore shall they doubtless rejoice at his presence, which will be so much more joyful, by how much the absence is more sorrowful.

"Therefore, my good brother, take a good heart unto you, and be of good cheer. Say with the prophet David, O my soul, why art thou so heavy, and why art thou so disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks for the

help of his loving countenance, and because he is my God. Read Psalms xli. and xlii. for your comfort, and consider that the holy king and prophet, at the making and first saying of them, was even in the same case that you are now in; but he still comforted himself with the sweet promises of God. And so do you, my dear heart, for to you they do as well pertain as they did to him, and as surely shall they be performed upon you, as they were upon him: for he is one God and dear Father unto you both, and for his mercy, truth, and promise sake, he must needs make good unto you all that he hath said. If his love towards you stood in the respect of your own merit and worthiness, you might well mourn, lament, and complain; yea, you had good cause to doubt, fear, and mistrust. But, seeing he loveth you only for and in Jesus Christ, who is your whole holiness, righteousness, and redemption; lay away all mourning, lamenting, and complaining; banish from you all fear, mistrust, and infidelity, and know that as long as Christ doth continue God's Son, so long must the love of the Father continue towards you immutable, and his good-will unchangeable, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is most true, that as long as the cause of any thing doth last, so long must the effect remain. But Christ is the whole cause why the Father loveth you, and he also continueth for ever: then must I needs conclude, that the love of the Father continueth towards you for ever, and (as the psalmist most joyfully so often singeth) his mercy endureth for ever and ever.

"This is most true, mine own dear heart, although the Lord for a time hide it from your senses, that you might be the more earnest in prayer to him for the feeling of it, and also the more thankful for it when he doth give the lively taste of it, as doubtless he will do, ere ever it be long; and then shall you be well able to comfort others in the same state that you are now in, with the same comfort wherewith you are, and further shall be, comforted of God.

"Therefore lift up your hands that are now a little fallen down, and stretch forth the weak knees of your troubled mind, which now mourneth with a godly mourning, and therefore shall it be full well comforted with that sweet peace of God which passeth all understanding: and you are sure already to enjoy the blessing that Christ gave unto the godly mourners of Sion upon the mount, at the first sermon that he made. O happy V., in whose mourning company I had rather be, than in the house of mirth and banqueting of such as see not what cause they have to mourn and be sorry. But yet, my good brother, use a measure in this your godly

mourning, and make not your faithful friends too much sorry for you. Let the persuasions of such godly lovers as you do daily company withal, or rather the persuasions of the Holy Ghost by them, move you to some godly mirth and rejoicing. Consider that you are commanded of God by the mouth of St. Paul thereto: Rejoice in the Lord, saith he, and I say again, Rejoice. Mark how he doubleth the sentence, that we may perceive it is a most earnest and necessary thing he requireth. Obey the commandment of God in this behalf; wherein, as you cannot but highly please him, so I assure you, you shall very much rejoice my poor heart, and the hearts of others which pray for you with mourning tears, and make that cruel enemy Satan and all your adversaries sorry, which will rejoice and laugh to see you mourn. O my good brother, let it manifestly appear, that the Lord of his great mercy hath heard our faithful and hearty requests for you. O how would that rejoice me in the midst of my troubles!

"Therefore now to conclude, because the darkness constraineth me to make an end for this time, I say, my dear and faithful brother V., in respect of the great cause you have of your own part through Christ, and for the glory and honour of Almighty God, the comfort, joy, and rejoicing of your dear brethren and sisters in Christ, also your own duty by the commandment of God; and last of all, to vex, molest, and grieve Satan withal, rejoice in the Lord, and be most heartily glad in him, who is wholly yours, and you are his, and shall be for evermore. Selah.

"Farewell, mine own bowels in the Lord! and praise God with joyful lips and a merry heart, and pray for me his most unprofitable servant, which have more cause concerning myself to lament, than any one man living. But my good Bridegroom is present, and biddeth me cast away my mourning garments, and therefore I must needs be merry with him: and so he biddeth you to be, by my mouth; for he is present with you, although for sorrow you cannot know him, as Magdalene could not in the garden, until he spake unto her. The Lord God speak these words of comfort in your heart, and open the eyes of your mind, that you may perfectly perceive and feel his blessed presence, and so rejoice in the same for evermore. Amen. Comfort your heart in Christ, and cast your care upon him, for he careth for you.

"Your brother in the Lord, abiding his good pleasure,

JOHN CARELESS."

To my dear and faithful brother, Augustine Bernher.



THE peace of God in Jesus Christ, the help, comfort, and assistance of his eternal Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful brother Augustine, and with all the rest of my

good brethren and sisters of the houses of Baxterley and Mancetter, (which mourn for the misery of God's people,) to your everlasting consolation in him. Amen.

"Right glad I am to hear, my dear and faithful brother Augustine, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath yet so graciously delivered and preserved you out of your enemies' hands, beseeching Almighty God also, from the bottom of my heart, to be your continual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath most graciously been, that you may live and die both to God's glory, the commodity of his church, and to the increase of your own everlasting joy and comfort in him.

"Know you, dear brother, that I have received your letter, for the which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think it very short, although it seemeth something sharply to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my promise in not writing to you of this long time. Well, brother, I am content to bear it with patience, considering that you are troubled otherwise (the Lord comfort you and all heavy hearts): neither will I spend ink and paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be so mindless of my promise, as it appeareth in your sight I am. Your request I will truly perform to the uttermost of my power, as gladly as any poor wretch shall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no less of long time. And as my poor prayer shall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way soever you ride or go; so I beseech you that my simple counsel may take some place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you pass in no small peril. God keep and preserve you for his name's sake!

"I do not disallow, but much praise and commend, your hearty boldness in putting yourself in press, when any one of God's people needeth your help in any point. But yet I would not have you thrust yourself in danger, when you can do them no good, or at leastwise when they may well enough

spare that good you would do them: for if you should then chance to be taken, you shall not only be no comfort unto them, but also a great discomfort, adding sorrow unto their sorrow.

"I do not persuade you to absent yourself from any place where your presence of necessity is required; for in all such places, I know, God will preserve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praised be his name there-for: or if it shall please him to permit you in any such place to be taken, I know he will most sweetly comfort your conscience with this consideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you should there and then be taken up for a witness of his truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented, that you should rashly or negligently thrust yourself into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea, and lay wait for you, when no necessity of yourself, nor of any other of God's people, doth require your company. If they need any of your godly counsel, you may write unto them that thing that you think good; which, I dare say, will be sufficient unto them. For (continual thanks and praises be given unto the everlasting God!) there is none of those that be cruelly condemned for God's truth, that now be weaklings; for they have manfully passed through the pikes, and they have boldly abiden the brunt of the battle; and therefore I reckon the worst is passed with them already. So that now and then a godly letter from you to them shall do as much good as your company shall do, and perchance more too; for writing sticketh longer in the memory than words do, yea, though your letters were as short to them, as your last was to me, so that the same be something sweeter, and not all-thing so sharp.

"This, dear brother, is the simple counsel which I would gladly have you observe, partly for that I heartily pray for your preservation to the commodity of Christ's church, and partly for that I unfeignedly wish the peace, comfort, and tranquillity of your own conscience, which I know will be quickly ready to accuse you, if you do any thing wherein you have not the word of God for your warrant. For as in a glass that is clear, a small mote will soon appear; even so the good conscience of God's chosen children, being more clear than crystal, will quickly accuse them at the least fault they do commit: whereas the wicked worldlings have their conscience so clogged and corrupted through the custom of sin, that they cannot once see or perceive their shameful deeds and wicked works, until God set the same before them for their utter destruction; and then despair they immediately. But, seeing that God hath given you a clear conscience, and a pure, sharp, quick, and lively sight in your soul, I would wish

you to beware that you do nothing unadvisedly, but upon a good ground: for an accusing conscience is a sore thing when death doth approach; and then Satan will not stick to tell you that you have too much tempted God, when peradventure you have done nothing so at all. For this cause (I say) partly, I have thought it good to admonish you, as I have done often, to be circumspect, according to the counsel of Christ, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certify you of all things at large, better than I can declare it by writing.

"I beseech you, good Augustine, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I trust I have but a small time to tarry in this troublesome world. Dr. Story told our marshal that we should be all despatched so soon as he came from Oxford, whither he and other bloody butchers be gone to make slaughter of Christ's sheep that lie there appointed to be slain. God for Christ's sake put them and such-like beside their cruel purpose, if it be his good will and pleasure! Amen, good Lord. I pray you do my most hearty commendations to my dear sister and faithful friend, good Mistress Mary Glover. I beseech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to hear that she doth so joyfully and so patiently bear this great cross that God hath laid upon her. I pray God strengthen her, and all other his dear saints unto the end, Amen. Commend me unto my dear and faithful sister Elizabeth B. I thank her most heartily for my napkin, and so I do your dear brother, for my shirt. Truly that day that we were appointed to come to our answer before the commissioners, (which had sent word the same morning that they would come to the King's Bench by eight of the clock, and the house and all things were trimmed and made ready for them,) I got that shirt on my back, and that napkin in my hand, and methought they did help to harness me, and weapon me well to go fight against that bloody beast of Babylon. And trust me, truly, if they had come, I would have stricken three strokes the more for your two sakes, as well as God would have abled me to have set them on, as by God's grace I will not fail to do at the next skirmish that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be strong and hardy to lay on good load. O that I might so strike him down, that he should never be able to rise again! But that stroke belongeth only unto the Lord, to strike at his coming, the which I trust will be shortly. O hasten it, good Lord, and shorten these sorrowful and sinful days, for thy great mercies' sake!

"Farewell, my dear and faithful loving brother!

The Lord defend, keep, and preserve you from the power of your enemies visible and invisible, and send us a most joyful and merry meeting here or elsewhere, as it shall please his goodness to appoint us!

"In the mean space I shall most earnestly desire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life; and doubtless you shall never want my poor prayer, if it shall please God to accept the prayer of so sinful a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my sins to me, for Jesus Christ's sake; unto whose most merciful defence I do most heartily commit you. The blessing of God be with you now and ever, Amen. I pray you do my most hearty commendations unto Master John Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I trust he doth remember me.

"Your poor brother, always mindful of you in my prayer, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner abiding God's pleasure.

To my dear brother, Harry Adlington, prisoner in the Lollards' Tower.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, joy, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his mercies, be most effectuously wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving brother Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly prison-fellows, to the full finishing of that good work, which the Lord hath most graciously began in you; that the same may be to the advancing and setting forth of his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal joy and comfort in him, Amen.

"My most dear and faithful loving brother in the Lord, I, with all the rest of my loving brethren here with me, do most humbly and heartily commend us unto you, with all faithful remembrance of you in our daily prayers, giving God earnest thanks on your most happy behalf, for that he hath given you such hearty boldness and Christian constancy in the faithful confession of his everlasting verity. Blessed be God for thee, my dearly beloved brother, which hath vouched thee worthy of so great dignity as to suffer for his sake, and setting forth of his glory. Oh! glad in heart mayest thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Christ most lively, but also to suffer for his sake, as one of his silly sheep appointed to the slaughter. Be of good comfort therefore, my good brother; for your calling unto the cross of Christ was after a marvellous sort. Surely, it was only the Lord's appointment, and therefore he will well perform his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your brethren, whose

hearts are mightily refreshed to hear how heartily you have behaved yourself hitherto.

“This present day I received a letter from you, at the reading whereof my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to see your conscience so quieted in Christ and your continuance so stedfast in him; which things be the special gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his dear darling, elect and chosen in Christ, and such as you be. And whereas you do require to know my simple mind concerning your answer unto Dr. Story and the chancellor, truly I say you did answer them very well: for there are but two sacraments indeed, that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, as you have full well answered them, praised be God for his good gifts, who chooseth the weak to confound the strong, and the foolish to confound the worldly wise. If, when you come before them again, they do ask you what a sacrament is, say you that a sacrament, being ministered according to Christ's institution, is a visible sign of an invisible grace, and hath the promise of God's mercy annexed unto it, available to all such as do worthily receive it, and not unworthily worship it, as they would have us to do, contrary to God's commandment. And these properties belonging to Christ's true sacraments, cannot be applied unto any of those five sacraments which they have invented of their own brain, since antichrist began to reign, to blind the people withal.

“I perceive, dear heart, that upon Friday they do intend to condemn you, and give you your judgment. Therefore I think they will have no great reasoning with you, but bid you answer them directly, either yea or nay, to all such things as they have to charge you withal, which they have gathered of you since you came into their cruel hands. But if they will needs make many words with you, because you are but a simple man, and therefore perchance they will be the busier with you to trouble you with many questions, to cumber your knowledge, and then seem to triumph over you and that truth that you do hold—if, I say, they do this, (as perhaps for some evil purpose they will,) then be you so plain and as short as you can, saying roundly unto them these or such-like words, as nigh as you can:

“Be it known unto you, that I in all points do believe as it becometh a true Christian, and as I have been truly taught in the days of that good King Edward, of such godly preachers and prophets sent of God, as have sealed their doctrine with their blood, from whom I will dissent in no point: for I am a poor man without learning, but am commanded of God to follow the counsel of his con-

stant preachers; and so do I intend to do, God giving me grace and assistance thereto!

“As for you, I know you to be none of Christ's shepherds, but ravening wolves, which come to kill and scatter the flock of Christ, as the Lord said you should; and doth will us to beware of you and your poisoned doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may see and know what ye be, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good shepherds have given their lives for the defence of Christ's flock; and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly example, and to confess with them one truth, even to the fire, if God shall see it good. And this as a true Christian I have hitherto done, and henceforth by God's grace intend to do. And if, for the same, God shall suffer you to take away my life, as you have done theirs, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that only is good. But of this be you sure, the Lord will shortly call you to account for all the innocent blood that is shed within this realm; which you have brought into a most woeful case, and made many a heavy heart in the same; and more I perceive you will make, so long as the Lord for our sins will suffer you to prosper, and until the time that your iniquities shall be full ripe. But then, be you sure, the Lord will sit in judgment upon you, as well as you do now upon his saints, and will reward you according to your deservings; to whom with my whole heart I commit my cause: and he will make answer for me, when the full time of my refreshing cometh.

“In the mean space, I will keep silence with this that I have said, trusting that I have sufficiently discharged my conscience in confessing my faith and religion to you, declaring of what church I am, even of the catholic church of Jesus Christ, which was well known to be here in England in our late good King Edward's days, by two special tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet suffer me to be deceived; that is to say, the pure preaching of his holy word, and the due administration of his holy sacraments, which is not to be seen in your Romish church, and therefore it cannot justly be called the church and spouse of Christ. I believe in the holy Trinity, and all the other articles of the Christian faith contained in the three creeds; and finally, all the canonical Scripture to be true in every sentence. And I detest all sects both of the Arians and Anabaptists, or any others that divide themselves from the true church of Christ, which is his mystical body, the ground and pillar of truth, and the very house of the living God. And if for these things you take away my life, and make yourselves guilty of my blood, you may; for I am in your hands,

as the sheep brought to the shambles, abiding the grace of the butcher. And be you sure your judgment sleepeth not, but when you cry, Peace, peace, and, All is safe, then shall your plagues begin like the sorrow of a woman travailling with child, according to Christ's infallible promise.'

"This kind of answer, my dear heart, it shall be best for you to make : and by God's grace I do intend to take the same order myself in time to come, when the Lord shall vouch me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they shall laugh you to scorn, as I know they will, saying, 'Thou art a fool, and an unlearned ass-head, and art able to make answer to nothing,' &c., care you not for it, but still commit your cause unto God, who will make answer for you ; and tell them that they have been answered again and again of divers godly and learned men : 'but all will not help ; for you have one solution of all manner of questions, even a fair fire and faggots ; this will be the end of your disputations. Therefore I pray you to trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God shall permit the time. I am no better than Christ, his apostles, and other of my good brethren that are gone before me.'

"This kind of answer will cut their combs most, and edify the people that stand by, so that the same be done coldly, with sobriety, meekness, and patience ; as I heard say our sweet brethren Thomas Harland and John Oswald did at Lewes in Sussex, to the great rejoicing of the children of God that were in those parts. And I hear say, that they were dissolved from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes, on Saturday last, and were condemned but the Wednesday before ; so that we may perceive the papists have quick work in hand, that they make such haste to have us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make ourselves ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leaving these sorry mantles and old cloaks behind us for a little time, which God shall restore to us again in a more glorious wise.

"My good brother Harry, you shall understand that bragging John T. hath beguiled his keepers, (who trusted him too well,) and is run away from them, and hath brought the poor men into great danger by the same. The one of them is cast by the council's commandment into the Gate-house at Westminster, the other is fled forth of the country for fear. Thus you may see the fruits of our free-will men, that made so much boast of their own strength. But that house which is not builded surely upon the unmovable Rock, will not long stand against the boisterous winds and storms, that blow so strongly in these days of trouble.

"But, my dearly beloved brother, blessed be

God for you, and such as you be, which have played the parts of wise builders. You have digged down past the sand of your own natural strength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wisdom, and are now come to the hard stone and unmovable Rock Christ, who is your only keeper ; and upon him alone have you builded your faith most firmly, without doubting, mistrust, or wavering. Therefore neither the storms nor tempests, winds nor weathers, that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring against you, with the very gates of hell to help them, shall ever be able once to move your house, much less to overthrow it ; for the Lord God himself, and no man, is the builder thereof, and hath promised to preserve and keep the same for ever. Unto his most merciful defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good company, desiring him for his sweet Son Jesus Christ's sake to confirm and strengthen you all, that you may be constant unto the very end ; that after the final victory is once gotten, you may receive the immarcescible crown of glory, of God's free gift, through his great mercy in Jesus Christ our only Saviour. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and evermore, Amen.—The blessing of God be with you all.

"JOHN CARELESS."

To my most dear and faithful brother T. V.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual joy and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his mercy, be with you, my dear heart in the Lord, and faithful loving brother T. V., to the full accomplishing of that good work which he hath so graciously begun in you, that the same by all means may be to the setting forth of his glory, to the commodity of his poor afflicted congregation, and to the sweet comfort and quietness of your conscience in him now and evermore, Amen.

"With such due honour, love, and reverence, as it becometh me to bear unto the sweet saints and dearly beloved children of God, I have me most heartily commended unto you, my dear brother V. ; with all earnest and faithful remembrance of you in my daily prayers, thanking God right heartily that you do likewise remember me in yours ; assuring you that my poor heart doth daily feel great consolation thereby, God only have the praise for the same and all other his benefits. Ah, my dear heart in the Lord ! well is me that ever I was born, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath used me, most miserable wretch, at any time, as his instrument to minister any thing unto you either by

word or writing, that might be an occasion of your joy and comfort in the Lord, and a provoking of you to praise and thanksgiving unto God for the same, as your most loving and godly letter seemeth to import. Oh! happy am I that the Lord hath appointed me unto so good a ground to sow his seed upon; but much more happy are you, whose heart the Lord hath prepared and made so meet to receive the same so effectuously, giving thereto the sweet showers and heavenly dews of his grace and Holy Spirit, that it may bring forth fruit in due season accordingly; the increase whereof we shall shortly reap together with perfect joy and gladness, and that continually.

“Therefore, my dear brother, I say unto you as good Elizabeth did to her dear cousin Mary, Happy are you, and happy shall you be for evermore, because you have believed. The most sweet and faithful promises of your Redeemer, Jesus Christ, you have surely laid up in the treasury of your heart; his comfortable callings you have faithfully heard; his loving admonitions you have humbly obeyed: and therefore you shall never come into judgment. Your sins shall never be remembered; for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the sea. He hath removed them from you as far as the east is from the west, and hath given you for an everlasting possession, his justification and holiness; so that now no creature, neither in heaven nor in earth, shall be able to accuse you before the throne of the heavenly King.

“Satan is now judged; he is now cast out from you; he hath no part in you; you are wholly given unto Christ, which will not lose you. Your steadfast faith in him hath overcome the sturdy and bragging prince of the world; Christ hath given you the final victory over him and all his army, that they shall never hurt you.

“What would you have more? Oh, my dear heart, how great treasures are laid up in store for you, and how glorious a crown is already made and prepared for you!

“And albeit the Holy Ghost doth bear witness of all these things in your heart, and maketh you more sure and certain thereof, than if you had all the outward oracles in the world; yet I, being certainly persuaded and fully assured by the testimony of God's Spirit in my conscience, of your eternal and sure salvation in our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, have thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, not only at this time to write unto you, and to show you my joyful heart in that behalf, but also, by the word and commandment of Christ, to pronounce and affirm in the name and word of the heavenly King Jehovah, and in the behalf of his sweet Son

Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom all knees shall bow, whom all creatures shall worship, and also by the impulsion of the Holy Ghost, by whose power and strength all the faithful be regenerate—I do (I say) pronounce to thee, my dear brother T. V., that thou art already a citizen of heaven.

“The Lord thy God, in whom thou dost put all thy trust, for his dear Son's sake, in whom thou dost also undoubtedly believe, hath freely forgiven thee all thy sins, clearly released all thine iniquities, and fully pardoned all thy offences, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great, and will never remember them any more to condemnation. As truly as he liveth, he will not have thee die the death, but hath verily determined, purposed, and eternally decreed, that thou shalt live with him for ever. Thy sore shall be healed and thy wounds bound up even of himself, for his own name's sake. He doth not nor will he look upon thy sins in thee; but he respecteth and beholdeth thee in Christ, into whom thou art lively grafted by faith in his blood, and in whom thou art most assuredly elected and chosen to be a sweet vessel of his mercy and salvation, and wast thereto predestinated in him before the foundation of the world was laid: in testimony and earnest whereof he hath given thee his good and Holy Spirit, which worketh in thee faith, love, and unfeigned repentance, with other godly virtues contrary to the corruption of thy nature. Also he hath commanded me this day (although a most unworthy wretch) to be a witness thereof by the ministry of his holy word, grounded upon the truth of his most faithful promises; the which thou believing shalt live for ever. Believest thou this, my dear heart? I know well thou dost believe. The Lord increase thy faith, and give thee a lively feeling of all his mercies, whereof thou art warranted and assured by the testimony of the Holy Ghost, who confirm in thy conscience (to the utter overthrowing of Satan, and those his most hurtful dubitations, whereby he is accustomed to molest and vex the true children of God) all that I have said: and by God's grace I will, as a witness thereof, confirm and seal the same with my blood, for a most certain truth.

“Wherefore, my good brother, praise the Lord with a joyful heart, and give him thanks for this his exceeding great mercy, casting away all dubitation and wavering, yea, all sorrow of heart, and pensiveness of mind: for this, the Lord your God, and most dear and loving Father, commandeth you to do by me, nay, rather by his own mouth and word pronounced by me. But now, my dear brother, after that I have done my message, or rather the Lord's message, indeed I could find in my heart to write two or three sheets of paper, declaring the

joy I bear in my heart for you, mine own bowels in the Lord: yet the time being so short, (as you do well know,) I am here constrained to make an end, desiring you to pardon my slackness, and to forgive my great negligence towards you; promising you still, that so long as my poor life doth last, my prayer shall supply that my pen doth want, as knoweth the Almighty God, to whose most merciful defence I do heartily commit you and all other his dear children, as well as though I had rehearsed them by name, desiring them most heartily to remember me in their hearty and daily prayers, as I know right well they do; for I feel the daily comfort and commodity thereof, and therefore I neither will nor can forget them, nor you, nor any such-like. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

“Yours, for ever unfeignedly,

JOHN CARELESS.”

A letter of thanks to a faithful friend of his, by whom he had received much comfort in his inward troubles.

“Blessed be God, the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and Christian consolation which he hath so mercifully ministered unto my poor afflicted heart by your means, my most dear and faithful brother. Truly methinketh your words, or rather God’s words by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading of them. Rejoice therefore, my dear brother, and be thankful unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the strengthening of them that stand in his truth, and also to the raising up of such as are fallen from the same. God make me thankful for you, and on your behalf; for verily great is the goodness of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithful love and amity with you; God’s name be praised for ever there-for, and he perform all his merciful promises upon you, as I doubt not but he will, for his sake in whom you trust.

“I thank my God most heartily, and also you, my good brother, for that you are careful for me in your faithful prayers, remembering my just deserved sorrows, as though they were your own, and labouring so much to solace the same. Ah, my gracious good God! what am I, for whom thou and thy dear children should be so careful? O sweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and sin, and grant that I never abuse thy great benefits! O let the love of thine elect, which love me for thy sake, be a sure sign and token, yea, a most firm testimony and seal to my sinful conscience, of thine everlasting love and mercy towards me in Christ; as verily

it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not let it. O circumcise therefore the foreskin of my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great love towards me in all thine elect; that I may always be thankful for the same, and love thee and them again most heartily and unfeignedly.

“Ah, my dear heart! how sweetly and how truly, yea, how godly and how comfortably, have you rehearsed the sweet saying of Solomon concerning prosperity with true and godly friends! I will join with it the sentence which goeth a little before, for doubtless it may be well verified on you. A sure friend, saith the wise man in Ecclesiasticus vi., will be unto thee even as thine own soul, and deal faithfully with thy household-folk. If thou suffer trouble and adversity, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a strong defence: whoso findeth such an one, findeth a treasure. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him, &c. Lo, my dear heart in the Lord, here is a lively image or description of you; for verily such an one have I always found you unto me, not only sorrowing for my great sorrow, but also oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with such joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the World brag of his feigned friendship; but I will boast of this true friendship in God, and esteem it a more treasure than all transitory things. And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath made you to turn it unto mirth; for God hath put you instead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I trust henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loss, and to praise God for gaining unto himself so great glory by his chosen children. God make me a true mourner of Sion, both for mine own sin and wickedness, and also to see his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable message that your beautiful feet shall bring me. God bless thee, my dear heart, and faithful loving brother, and increase his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath most happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the certainty of God’s grace wherein you stand, and firmly testify the same to the conversion or confounding of all gainsayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all God’s dear children, Amen. Farewell, mine own sweet brother, farewell as mine own heart!

“Your own in Christ,

JOHN CARELESS.”

*Another letter to a certain godly faithful sister,
by the name of E. K.*

“The grace and free mercy of God in Jesus Christ, the sweet consolations of the Holy Ghost, the guide of all God’s dear children, be with you, strengthen and comfort you, my dearly beloved sweet sister, E. K., now and ever. Amen.

“Albeit, my dearly beloved sister in Christ, as yet we did never see one another personally to any knowledge, yet by the virtuous report that I have heard of you, and also by the large loving token that I have received from you, methinks that I do even presently see you, and behold your person faithfully walking in the fear and love of God, joying and rejoicing with you in the Spirit, as though we were sweetly talking together of Christ’s verity. The Lord God do I humbly beseech, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that he will strengthen us both with his holy and mighty Spirit, that we may constantly continue in the confession of his truth unto the end; that like as we now see one another presently in spirit, we may also see one another personally in the glorious presence of God and his holy angels, where undoubtedly we shall know one another’s personage, to our great joy, felicity, and endless comfort.

“And now therefore, dear sister K., be strong in the Lord our God, for doubtless the time of trial is at hand; a great persecution, with cruel murdering of God’s dear saints, is like to be very shortly in this woeful wicked realm of England. Therefore, dear sister, for the love of God prepare you to the cross with all diligence, and make yourself ready to die with Christ, that you may also live with him for ever. There is no remedy: if you will be Christ’s disciple, you must needs take up your cross and follow him; for the disciple must not look to be above his Master, nor the servant to be better entreated than his Lord. If we were of the world, good sister, no doubt the world would love us. But forasmuch as Christ hath chosen us out of the world to serve God in spirit and verity, let us be well assured the world will hate us and persecute us, as it hath done our Lord and Master Christ. But yet let us be of good cheer, for Christ hath overcome the world. The pain is but short that we can feel here, but the pleasure is perpetual that we shall feel elsewhere.

“Let us set before us the example of Christ, which abode the cross, and despised the shame, in respect of the joy that was set before him: even so let us consider for whose sake we suffer, whose cause we defend, and what glorious reward we shall have at the day of our victory; and then doubtless the

consolation of these things will make sweet all our sufferings, and soon swallow up all the sorrows that we are soused in for God’s sake. I could recite divers texts of the Scriptures to confirm this point; but I need not, for I am well assured that you do know them most perfectly already. The Lord give you strength, and assist you with his Holy Spirit, that you may continually walk in all points according to your godly knowledge: and then shall you not do as the most part of our gospellers do now-a-days, the more is the pity.

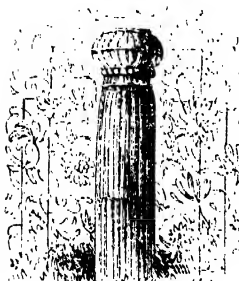
“There are a great many in England that do perfectly know that the idolatrous mass is abominable, devilish, and detestable in the sight of God. And yet, alas, they be not afraid to pollute and defile their bodies, which ought to be the temples of the Holy Ghost, with being present at it; so sinning against God and their own conscience.

“But, dear sister K., do you fly from it both in body and soul, as you would fly from the very devil himself. Drink not of the whore of Babylon’s cup by any means; for it will infect the body, and poison the soul. Be not partakers of her sins, saith the angel, lest ye be partakers of the plagues that shall shortly be poured upon her. O what an array is this, that so many that know God’s truth, will now turn again and defile themselves in the filthy puddle of antichrist’s stinking religion! They go about to save their lives with their double dissimulation; but, doubtless, they shall lose everlasting life by it, if they do not repent in time, and turn unto the Lord. But, dear sister, my trust is, that you do utterly abhor the coming to any such thing. I hope that you will not by any means turn back into Egypt now, but that you will boldly venture through the wilderness of trouble and persecution, that you may come into the land that floweth with all kind of heavenly pleasures and joyful delectations, and possess the same for ever.

“Let us consider, how that every one of us doth owe unto God a death by nature; and, how soon the Lord will require it of us, we know not. O how happy are we then, if God of his goodness appoint us to pay nature’s debt with suffering for his truth and gospel’s sake; and so making us his faithful witnesses with the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and confessors, yea, with his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, to whom he doth here begin to fashion us like in suffering, that we might be like him also in glory. Thus, my dearly beloved sister, I have been bold to trouble you a little with my rude and simple letter, being made in haste, as it doth appear: yet I desire you to take it in good worth, as a token of my poor zeal unto you, and to accept my good will; and if it please God to spare

me life and liberty, I trust hereafter to write unto you more largely. Fare ye well, dear sister E. K.; the Lord bless you and all yours, and pour upon you the heavenly dew of his grace. The Lord endue you with plentiful knowledge of his verity, and fill you with his holy and mighty Spirit, that you may continually rejoice in the comforts of the same now and ever. Amen.—Pray, pray, pray, with stedfast faith.

“Your daily orator, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner of the Lord.”



In the letters of William Tyms, ye heard before much mention made of Agnes Glascock. This Agnes Glascock, through infirmity, and her husband's persuasions, was allured to go to mass. For which cause she, falling into great sorrow and re-

pentance, was raised up again by the comfortable letters of William Tyms and John Careless, as before you may read; and, after that, was constant in the sincere profession of the verity, and in danger for the same of persecution; unto whom John Careless writeth therefore his letter, as followeth.

“The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comforts of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful sister Glascock, to the good performance of that good work which God hath so graciously begun in you, to his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal comfort in him. Amen.

“In our Lord I have my most humble and hearty commendations unto you, my dear sister and most faithful mother Glascock, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God most hearty laud, praise, and thanks for you, and on your behalf, in that he of his great mercy hath hitherto so mightily strengthened you, constantly to cleave unto your Captain Christ, notwithstanding the great assaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtless, dear heart, it cannot be expressed what joy and comfort it is unto my very soul, to see how mightily the Lord hath magnified himself in you, and other his dear elect darlings, whom he will shortly glorify with himself, as he hath done other of his sweet saints that are gone before you. Rejoice therefore, and be glad; for verily you have good cause, if you diligently consider the great dignity that God hath called you

unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witnesses unto the world: and I think you shall, with me and other your brethren in bonds, seal the Lord's verity with the testimony of your blood. Surely, sweet sister, this is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto, in this life; and an honour that the highest angel in heaven is not permitted to have.

“Therefore happy are you, O faithful daughter of Abraham! that the Lord will now prefer you before many others, yea, or any other of your age, that I do know in England. O faithful and virtuous matron, which wilt not be moved from the sure Rock Christ, upon whom you have so firmly built your house, that neither storms nor tempests, neither yet hell-gates, or any other temptations, shall ever be able once to prevail against it. Full well doth it appear by your constant continuance, that you have played the part of a wise builder, in counting the cost aforehand, belonging to the finishing of your tower. And I doubt not but (through God's gift) you have sufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part shall have no just cause to triumph against you, or to mock you, saying, Lo, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore go on boldly and fear not; for God is faithful, (as St. Paul saith,) which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength, but either he will give you grace and strength to stand unto the death, (which is the gate and entrance into life,) or else he will make such an outscap for you, as shall be to the setting forth of his glory; the which, above all other things, we that are his chosen children ought to seek, yea, even with the loss of our own lives, being yet well assured that the same shall not be shortened one minute of an hour before the time that God hath appointed.

“Cast therefore, dear sister, all your care upon the Lord, which (as St. Peter saith) careth for you. Great is his providence for you, and mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his Holy Spirit he will evermore guide you, wherewith he hath surely sealed you unto the day of redemption: he hath also given you the same in earnest for the recovery of the purchased possession, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be strong therefore, and take a good heart, as I hear say you be. God for ever be blessed for you, which hath grafted his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to separate you from the same, but will rather choose to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a little season. O happy woman, that canst find

in thy heart to esteem the rebukes of Christ to be greater riches than all the treasures of the world, as good Moses did. Doubtless great is your reward in heaven; which you shall shortly receive of his free gift, and not of any deserving.

"Thus, dear mother Glascock, I have been bold to trouble you with my rude and simple letters, desiring you to take them in good worth, being done in great haste, as it doth appear, but yet proceeding from a poor heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayers for you can testify; which I trust shall supply that part of my duty towards you, that my pen now wanteth. I thank you, dear heart, for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindness you have hitherto showed unto my poor brother Tyms and his wife and children, with all other of God's people, to whom you daily do good: the Lord recompense the same sevenfold into your bosom, as I doubt not but he will, according to his infallible promises! I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your husband. I beseech the Lord strengthen him in the confession of his truth, (as my trust is that he will,) that we may all joyfully rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God; unto the which he bring us, that with his most precious blood hath bought us! The blessing of God be with you now and ever. Amen.

"Your daily orator and unfeigned lover, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray."

A brief admonition written to Mistress Agnes Glascock, in a book of hers, when she came to the prison to visit him.

"There is nothing that the Holy Scripture throughout doth so much commend unto us, as true faith and stedfast trust in the promises of God's eternal mercies towards us in Jesus Christ. For from the same, as forth of the chief fountain and well-spring of life, do flow all kind of virtues and godly fruits, specially true love towards God, in the which we ought purely to serve him all the days of our life; and also Christian charity towards our neighbours, as well to help them at all needs, as also not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earnestly for the increase of faith and lively feeling of God's mercy; for all things are possible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. Faith is that thing which assureth us of God's mercy, and whereby we vanquish all the fiery darts of the devil; our victory that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the flesh: and finally that which setteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our consciences always before him, and maketh us merry and joyful under the cross, with

many more things than I can now express. Pray therefore for faith, in faith: and, for the Lord's sake, beware of popery and popish idolatry, the idol of the wicked mass, and other idolatrous service. Make not your body, which is a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Remember that we shall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorify God in your body, which is dearly bought. Betray not the truth, lest the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot serve two masters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keep you from all evil.

"My sister dear, God give you grace,
With stedfast faith in Christ his name,
His gospel still for to embrace,
And live according to the same.
To die there-for think it no shame,
But hope in God with faithful trust;
And he will give you praise with fame,
When you shall rise out of the dust.
For which most sweet and joyful day,
To God with faith your prayer make;
And think on me, I do you pray,
The which did write this for your sake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your Castle and strong Rock;
He keep you, whether you sleep or wake;
Farewell, dear Mistress A. Glascock!"

Another letter to Mistress Agnes Glascock, to comfort her in her repentance, after she had been at mass; fruitful for all them to read, which have fallen, and are to be raised up again.

"The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit, be with you, and strengthen and comfort you, my dear and faithful sister. Amen.

"Although the perilous days be come, whereof Christ prophesied that if it were possible the very elect should be deceived; yet let the true faithful Christians rejoice and be glad, knowing that the Lord himself is their Keeper, who will not suffer one hair of their heads to perish without his almighty good will and pleasure, neither will suffer them to be further tempted than he will give them strength to bear; but will in the midst of their temptation make a way for them to escape out: so good and gracious a God is he to all his chosen children. And though sometimes he do let his elect stumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raise them up again, to the further increase of their comfort, and to the setting forth of his glory and praise. Which thing, my dear and faithful loving sister, I trust shall be well verified on you: for I do hear say, that by the manifold allurements, enticements,

procurements, yea, and enforcements, that you, dear heart, have had, your foot hath chanced to slip forth of the way, to the great discomfort of your soul, and the heaviness of your heart. But, my good sister, be of good cheer, for the Lord will not so leave you, but he will raise you up again, and make you stronger than ever you were; so that your fall shall turn to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your own strength, or rather your own weakness, you would have stood too much in your own conceit, or perchance have gloried in yourself, and have despised and condemned other weak persons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may see what the best of us all can do, if God leave us to ourselves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earnestly upon God for his grace and the strength of his Holy Spirit, (without the which we are not able to stand one hour,) and to be most thankful for the same when you have it; and then to be more circumspect in time to come.

"Therefore, dear sister, seeing that you have done otherwise than the word of God and your own conscience would allow; yet, dear heart, do you not think that God therefore will cast you clean away, but know that he hath mercy enough in store for all them that truly repent and believe in him, although the sins of them were as many in number as the sands in the sea, and as great as the sins of the whole world. It is a greater sin to mistrust the mercy and promises of God, than to commit the greatest offence in the world. Therefore, good sister, beware in any wise, that you do not once mistrust the promises of God's mercy towards you; but know for a very surety, that all your sins be utterly forgiven you for Christ's sake, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great.

"But now, dear heart, take heed and beware that you do not cloak that sin, and increase the same daily, in communicating with the wicked in their idolatry, and devilish doings at their den of thieves. Do not, I say, dear sister, come at any of their antichristian service, lest by little and little you utterly lose a good conscience, and at length esteem it for no offence; as, alas! a great number do at this day, to the great peril of their souls. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them grace to repent in time and turn to the Lord, and then they shall be sure to find mercy at the Lord's hand, as doubtless you have done, praised be his name there-for.

"Ah, my dear sister! you may now see the words of Christ verified upon yourself, that a man's greatest foes shall be they of his own household; for your husband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrants in the world could never have made you

to do. Doubtless he may be sorry for it. God give him grace to repent, or else, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not, by his will, hear it for all the goods in the world. Well, I think my brother Tyms will write him a letter shortly that shall touch his conscience, if he have any conscience at all.

"But now again to you, dear sister. The thing that is done cannot be undone, and you are not the first that hath offended, neither are you so good and so holy, as hath at a time slipped forth of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be so much discomforted as I hear say you be, as though God were not as able to forgive you your offence, as he was to forgive his dear saints that offended him in times past; or as though God were not as merciful now as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, there is with the Lord, as the prophet saith, mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy far surmounteth all his works; and he never faileth any that put their whole trust and confidence in him, how great an offender or how wicked a trespasser soever he be. No, he maketh their falls and backslidings many times to turn to their profit and commodity, and to the setting forth of his glory; as doubtless, dear sister, yours shall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and trust, only in his infinite and eternal sweet mercies.

"O what a subtle, crafty, lying serpent is that Satan our old enemy! that when he seeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedness to do him service, would then bring us into a doubting and mistrusting of the mercy of God, which is the greatest offence that can be; yea, infidelity is the root and original of all other sins. Therefore, my sweet sister, give no place to that cruel adversary of mankind, who hath been a liar and a murderer from the beginning; but stedfastly believe the Lord, who hath sent you word by me his most unworthy servant, that all your sins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean released for Jesus Christ's sake our only Lord and Saviour. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and for ever, Amen. Farewell, my dear sister; be of good cheer. Believe in the Lord, and you shall live for ever. The Lord increase your faith, Amen, Amen.

"Your poor brother, and daily faithful orator,
JOHN CARELESS, prisoner of the Lord.
Pray for me."

Another letter of John Careless to A. B., a faithful minister of the Lord; containing certain fruitful precepts of matrimony.

"I beseech the same everlasting Lord, my dear

and faithful brother, (that blessed young Tobias with his wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear,) preserve and bless you both, and your seed after you, that they may increase the number of the faithful by thousands and thousands. And as the Lord, of his great mercy and fatherly providence, hath been always careful for you, and now hath for your comfort accomplished his good work in coupling you with a faithful mate; so see that you be thankful for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increase of love and godliness, yea, of Christian joy and gladness in these sorrowful days,—but yet so, that you mourn with the true mourners of Sion, and be sorry (yet in measure) for the hurt of the same. Pray also in faith for her prosperity, that the Lord may build up the walls of Jerusalem again.

“O that the Lord would turn Sion’s captivity as the rivers into the south: then should our hearts be made glad, and our mouths filled with laughter. Then would the heathen hypocrites say, the Lord hath done much for them. Oh, the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof let us heartily rejoice and praise his name there-for. For though we now sow with tears, yet shall we be sure to reap with gladness; and as we now go forth weeping, bearing forth good seed, so shall we come again with joy, and bring our sheaves full of corn. Yea, the death of the martyrs (which is most precious in his sight) shall be the life of the gospel, spite of the papists’ hearts.

“Pray for me, dear heart, that I may be counted worthy to sow some seed amongst the sweet saints of the Lord, that I may reap the same again, without ceasing, at the harvest. It is now sowing time of the year, men say in the country, and I think that I shall make an end of sowing before all March be past; for I hear say that I shall prove how my plough will enter into the stony ground of the hard-hearted papists, within these four days. I hope to hold fast, and not to look back, neither for fear nor flattery, until I have made an end of sowing; and then will I set me down and rest me, and ask them all no leave, and look for the lively fruit and increase thereof with joy and gladness.

“My dear brother, the time approacheth near (I praise God there-for) that I must put off this sinful tabernacle, and go home to my heavenly Father, where divers of my dear brethren are already looking and wishing for me. I beseech you therefore, that you will help me forward with your faithful prayers, as I know you do, for I do feel the comfort and commodity thereof.

“That you have observed my simple counsel I am right glad; and I trust in the Lord God, you

shall find comfort in the same. And that you may so do indeed, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, because I shall see you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. First, and above all things, you must be very circumspect to keep the band of love, and beware that there never spring up the root of bitterness between you. If at any time there happen to rise any cause of unkindness between you, (as it is impossible always to be free from it,) see that you weed up the same with all lenity, gentleness, and patience; and never suffer yourself, nor your wife, to sleep in displeasure.

“If you have cause to speak sharply, and sometimes to reprove, beware that you do not the same in the presence of others, but keep your words until a convenient time, (which is the point of a wise man, saith Solomon,) and then utter them in the spirit of meekness, and the groaning spirit of perfect love; which you must also let sometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatsoever loss and mischance shall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily; and though the same should come partly through your wife’s negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, than a cause of sorrow for that which is past and cannot be holpen. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life subject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to displeasure, and ready to think unkindness for every little trifle, and specially with our best friends, yea, soonest with our loving wives, which be most loth to displease us.

“But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and consider that we ought most of all in love to bear with them, according to Christ’s example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himself to cleanse it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am interrupted and otherwise letted. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better than I can declare it unto you; and as you know it, so will do it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write also to your wife very shortly, and so take my last farewell of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haste I am now constrained to make an end. The blessing of God be always with you.

“Your own for ever, JOHN CARELESS.

Pray, pray, pray with faith.”

Another letter of John Careless, to Elizabeth, wife of the said A. B., containing certain godly precepts of matrimony pertaining to her duty.

“The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ,

the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his most holy and mighty Spirit, with increase of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of God's eternal mercy, be with you, my dear and faithful loving sister E. B., and with your godly loving husband, my dear and faithful brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath so graciously begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and blessed in him, and your seed after you, now and ever, Amen.

"As I have been long desirous to write unto you, my dear heart in the Lord, not only being thereto bound of duty, but also often provoked of him, to whom I owe myself and all that I am able to do, (I mean even that blessed of the Lord's own mouth, whom God hath joined with you in that holy and Christian state of matrimony,) even so at the last I have obtained time and occasion, in some part, to perform that which I have long purposed. And forasmuch as the Lord, of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear child, hath now graciously accomplished that good work, amongst many others, which I (as a friend of the Bridegroom) have full heartily wished and often prayed for; I think it good, yea, and my bounden duty, to treat of such things as may be profitable to preserve mutual love and faithful amity between you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminish, (if he cannot altogether destroy the same,) lest by many joyful occasions you should be provoked continually to praise God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all means sought to hinder from you.

"As for all other things, I know you are sufficiently instructed, and also have a most learned companion, who is well able further to teach you, if need do require. But in this thing I know my experience is more than his. Therefore, my good sister, first and before all things see that you do diligently consider, that as every good and perfect gift, pertaining to soul and body, is given from above, and cometh from the Father of light, even so to whomsoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for the same. For else he will either take away his good gifts again, or turn the same to their great discommodity, and in the end to the increase of their damnation: so detestable in his sight is the sin of ingratitude. But to such as be thankful for his benefits, he doth not only to the old ever add new, but also maketh the commodity of his former gifts ever more and more to increase, until by them they are fully persuaded and thoroughly certified of his everlasting love in Christ Jesus, which is eternal life itself: so much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankful heart.

"Therefore I do yet once again earnestly require you, that above all things you be thankful to God for his benefits; not only for your election, creation, redemption, and preservation; but also for his other temporal gifts, wherewith he hath indued you: amongst the which the chief and most excellent is (as testifieth the Holy Ghost) your good, godly, and faithful loving husband. For, as the wise man saith, goods and possessions may come to a man by the death of his friends; but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to such as fear him.

"And the like is of a good husband, as the Lord hath now given you, praised be his name therefore. He hath not given you an ignorant, froward, churlish, brawling, wasteful, rioting, drunken husband, wherewith he hath plagued many others (as he might also have done you); but he hath given you a most godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and sober husband, by whom he will nourish, cherish, keep, and defend you, instruct and teach you, yea, care and provide for you and your children (the which he will also by him give you) such things as be necessary for you. He hath not dealt so with every body, and yet he hath done this and much more for you, my dear sister; and will thereto increase joy and love between you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of man and wife together; so is it he only that maketh them and all the whole household to be of one mind: unto the which his gracious work he requireth your diligence, and will use you as his instrument and mean, the more effectuously to accomplish the same. And therefore I now require you to observe this my simple counsel, the which I have here written as a testimonial of my good-will towards you, because I think in this life I shall never more see you.

"Now as I have showed you how you should be thankful unto God for his good gifts, so I exhort you, and (as much as in me lieth) charge you, to be evermore thankful unto your dear loving husband, who hath given himself unto you; which is a more precious jewel in the church of God, than perchance you are yet aware of. Think yourself unworthy to be matched with such an instrument of God; and also reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and seek with true obedience and love to serve him, in recompence of his true and painful heart towards you. Be loth in any wise to offend him, yea, rather be careful and diligent to please him, that his soul may bless you. If at any time you shall chance to anger him, or to do or speak any thing that shall grieve him, see that you never rest until you have pacified him, and made him merry again.

"If at any time he shall chance to blame you without a cause, or for that you cannot do therewith, (which thing happeneth sometimes to the best man living,) see that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind word for it; but evermore look upon him with a loving and cheerful countenance; and rather take the fault upon you, than seem to be displeased.

"Be always merry and cheerful in his company, but not with too much lightness. Beware in any wise of swelling, pouting, or louting; for that is a token of a cruel and unloving heart—except it be in respect of sin, or in the time of sickness.

"Be not sorrowful for any adversity that God sendeth; but beware that nothing be spilt or go to waste through your negligence. In any wise see that you be quick and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the same according to his diet in due season. Go cleanly and well-favouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wise.

"Finally, in word and deed show yourself wise, humble, merry, and loving towards him, and also towards such as he doth love, and then shall you lead a blessed life. I could speak of many things, the which I have learned and proved true by experience; but I know that you will do in all things much better than I can teach you, because you have that anointing that teacheth you all things, which hath also given you a heart to obey and serve him. Yet I trust you will not be offended for this which I have written, but rather accept my good-will towards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my daughter Judith.

"Thus as mine own soul I commend you both to God, desiring him to bless you with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, and also with the dew of heaven, and fatness of the earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour. The Lord increase and bless the fruit of your bodies, that your children may stand round about your table, thick, fresh, and lusty, like the olive branches. God give you both a long life, that you may see and bless your children's children unto the third and fourth generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for the which they shall be accepted in his sight.

God let you see the prosperity of Sion, for whose lying in the dust let your hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and always increase the same, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both most heartily farewell; and I think I shall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beseech you both to aid me with your continual

prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine,) that I may have a joyful victory through Jesus Christ: to whose most merciful defence I do most heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblamable until his coming. The which I beseech him to hasten for his mercy's sake.

"Your own unfeignedly, JOHN CARELESS,
prisoner of the Lord."

Another letter of John Careless to Mistress Cotton.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith in his sweet mercies, be with you, my dear sister, good Mistress Cotton, to the full increase of your joy in Christ, now and ever. Amen.

"As, from the very bottom of my poor heart, I wish unto you health both of body and of soul, my dear loving sister in the Lord, so will I never cease praying unto God for the same, according unto my most bounden duty. Howbeit of your body upon condition, but of your soul without any condition, being well assured that the Lord, for his dear Son's sake, will perfectly grant me the same, so far forth as shall be most for your profit; so that, if the health of your body will stand with the wealth of your soul, I am sure I shall have my petition granted for the health of the same. But if the sickness of your body be for the health of your soul, as I am sure it is, then have I also my desire granted, because I ask the same no further than it may stand with the other: but for the everlasting health of your soul do I heartily pray without the addition of any condition; for it is the Lord's good will I should so do. Therefore I am sure my request is already granted therein, for his sake who hath redeemed the same with his most precious blood, yea, in whom you were elected before the foundation of the world was laid. This is most true, and therefore let nothing persuade you to the contrary. Rest upon this rock, and you are sure the gates of hell shall not prevail against you. I know, dear heart, that you have done much good to the poor for Jesus Christ's sake; yet beware you do not put any trust or confidence in your good deeds, merits, or deservings, but only in Jesus Christ, who hath given himself wholly to be yours, with all his holiness, righteousness, justification, and redemption, and all that ever he may.

"On the other side, he hath taken upon himself all your sins, miseries, and infirmity, and hath made a full satisfaction for them, with the sacrifice of his own body and blood offered once for all; this I do know, my good sister, you do constantly confess

and believe, as the godly fruits of your Christian faith do daily testify. I trust to be a witness with you, at the great day, that your faith is unfeigned and full of godly charity: the Lord increase the same. I am constrained to make an end, full sore against my will. My poor prayers shall supply that which my pen doth lack. The blessing of God be with you now and ever, Amen.

"Your daily orator,

JOHN CARELESS."

A prayer to be said of every true Christian.

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.

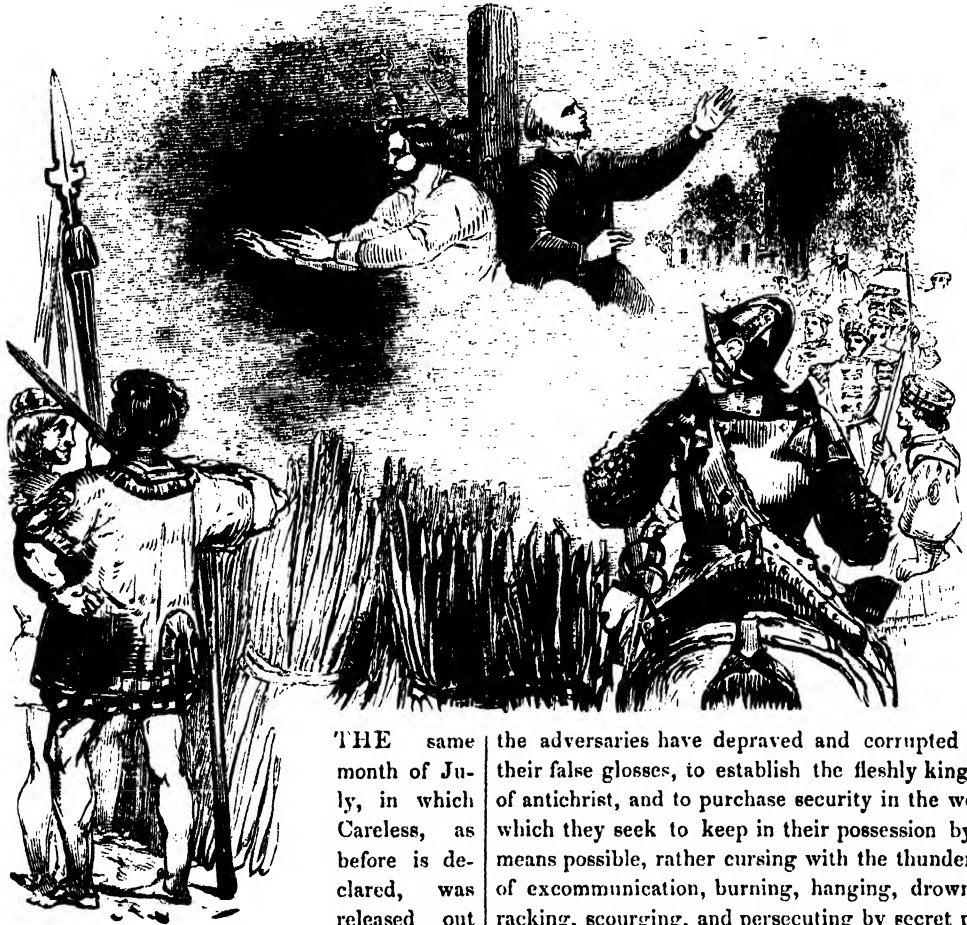
"O almighty, everlasting God, and most gracious dear loving Father! I beseech thee for Jesus Christ's sake, thy most dear and only Son, to have mercy, pity, and compassion upon me, a most vile, wretched, and miserable sinner; whose innumerable offences, both old and new, be most horrible, grievous, and great, where-through I have justly deserved thy grievous wrath and everlasting damnation.

"But now, good Lord, here I do appeal to thy great mercy only, which far surmounteth all thy works, as thou hast promised the same in thy holy and infallible word, where thou hast said, yea, and sworn as truly as thou livest, that thou wouldest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live. Ah! dear Lord, I confess that I am a great and a puissant sinner, and yet now, by the grace and good working of thy Holy Spirit, something turned unto thee. O let me live, and not die the everlasting death of the soul, which I have so deeply deserved; but make me a vessel of thy great mercy, that I may live and praise thy name among thy chosen children for ever. O let not my horrible sins separate me from the sweet sight of thy Majesty, but let thy great power and

mercy be magnified in me, as it is in David, in Peter, in Magdalene, and in the notable thief, who was crucified with Christ thy dear Son; in whose most precious death and bloodshedding only, O Lord, I put my whole trust and confidence, for he only hath taken away the sins of the world. He came not to condemn the world, but to save it, that none that truly believe in him should perish, but have life everlasting. He saith, he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Oh! gracious God, give me true, hearty, earnest, and unfeigned repentance, that I may, from the very bottom of my heart, continually lament my manifold sins and wickedness, my great ingratitude and unthankfulness towards thee, for all thy merciful benefits so abundantly poured upon me through Jesus Christ, who wouldest vouchsafe (he being thine own only dear darling, in whom was and is all thy whole pleasure and delight) to give him for me to the very death of the cross, (yea, and that when I was thine utter enemy,) of mercy inestimable and love incomprehensible.

"Who ever saw such a thing? God became man and was crucified for me, that, by his death, I might live. Alas! that ever I should become so wicked a wretch and so unkind a creature, to displease so loving, kind, and merciful a God and Father. Oh, forgive me! Forgive me for thy great mercy's sake, for thy truth and promise's sake, and I will never trespass again against thy divine Majesty any more, but will gladly serve thee in true holiness and righteousness all the days of my life, by the grace and assistance of thy true and Holy Spirit: the which I beseech thee to give me also, that he may govern me, and guide my heart in thy true faith, fear, and love; that in all my works, words, and thoughts, I may glorify thy holy name, who livest and reignest one God and three persons, to whom be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen."

The history and martyrdom of a learned and virtuous young man, called Julius Palmer, sometime fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford, with two other martyrs, to wit, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin; burned together in Newbury, at a place there called the Sand-pits.



THE same month of July, in which Careless, as before is declared, was released out of prison by death, in short time after, about the sixteenth day of the same month of July, suffered these three godly and constant martyrs above mentioned, at Newbury, in which number was Julius Palmer, sometime student and fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford, and afterwards schoolmaster in the town of Reading. Concerning whose story and martyrdom here followeth, although not so much as he deserveth to have said, yet so much as sufficiently may set forth the great working of God in this young man.

As all God's works are wondrous, in calling of all sorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witness unto his assured and infallible word, which

the adversaries have depraved and corrupted with their false glosses, to establish the fleshly kingdom of antichrist, and to purchase security in the world, which they seek to keep in their possession by all means possible, rather cursing with the thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, scourging, and persecuting by secret practice and open violence, the simple sheep of our Saviour Christ, than that their false forged packing should be detected, their estimation impaired, their kitchen cooled, their rents, revenues, goods, lands, and possessions abated: I say, as God's works be wonderful, which chooseth some of all sorts to confess his gospel; so there is no one example in the whole godly fellowship of martyrs, more to be marked, yea, more to be wondered at, than this; that one which, in all King Edward's days, was a papist within the university of Oxford, and so obstinate, as that he did utterly abhor all godly prayer and sincere preaching, and almost of all them with whom he lived was therefore likewise abhorred, and

(as I may say) pointed at with the finger, did yet after, in Queen Mary's time, suffer most cruel death at the papists' hands at Newbury in Berkshire, for the most ready and zealous profession of the blessed truth.

His name was Julius Palmer, born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His father had sometime been mayor of the city, and occupied merchandise, albeit he was an upholsterer by his mystery. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his first entering, we know not, but, as we have learned, he was sometime scholar to Master Harley, which taught the free scholars of Magdalene College in Oxford; by whose diligence, and the goodness of his own capacity, he became a toward young scholar in prose and verse: for he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit sharp and pregnant. He spake Latin with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; insomuch that divers times he supplied the room of the Greek reader in his house. He was a subtle disputer, both in the public schools, and also at home. He used to say, that he was never so pleasantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in philosophy; so that he hath oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the discussing and searching out the truth of deep and diffuse questions. And this used he to do sundry times, with divers of his equals.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exercise of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed; yet with modesty, and without all ostentation: for he greatly abhorred all overthwart cavilling, all frivolous talk, and unsavoury brabbling. He was not captious, but would reason so soberly, and with such probability, that even his adversaries would no less marvel at the dexterity of his invention, than at his comely and decent behaviour in prosecuting the same. And although he applied divinity very lately, it appeareth that he recompensed the small time of his study with the greatness of his diligence bestowed in the same, and his late coming to the truth, with his earnest and zealous proceeding therein. For by the secret inspiration of God's Holy Spirit, inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent signification in his young years, that if God had spared his life to age, he would have grown to such maturity and ripeness of judgment, as whereby he should have been an ornament to Christ's church, and an honour to his country.

And somewhat to speak of his civil behaviour, he was of manners courteous without curiosity, of countenance cheerful without high looks, of speech

pleasant without affectation; he was affable and lowly as any child, and yet quick-spirited, and vehement in reasoning. He practised no deceit toward any man; for he was of such simplicity, that he was apter to be deceived than to deceive; and he was so great a contemner of all reproaches and injuries, that he would say, None were to be counted valiant, but such as could despise injury.

In private study he was so indefatigable, that he arose ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went not lightly to bed before ten at night. Insomuch that as he grew in years and understanding, so he came to be a bachelor of arts; and at length, for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowship in Magdalene College, where also he was admitted to the office of a reader in logic, anno 1550. Now, if he had, at the first, favoured sincere religion so much as he followed his book, then had we had the less matter to note in him. But indeed he was so much (as is aforesaid) addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation in the same house were altogether with such as were utter enemies to the gospel of Christ. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulsion; for otherwise he came not. Sermons would he hear none himself, nor yet suffer his scholars to resort unto them by his good will; for he was fully persuaded that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themselves he did both disdain and despise, and all such as were setters-forth of sound doctrine beside: for the which contumacy and stubbornness, he was so oft called before the officers of the college, and punished sometimes by the purse, sometimes by the lack of his commons, and otherwhile by certain tasks and exercises of learning, enjoined unto him, that divers supposed him to have endeavoured, of set purpose, continually to seek occasion whereby he might be counted a sufferer for that fantasied religion of the Romish church.

In the end, not long before the death of King Edward, that godly prince, certain slanderous libels and railing verses were privily fixed to the walls and doors in sundry places of the college, against the president, which was then Dr. Haddon, whereby was ministered further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he, and some of his companions, had a very little while before spoken contumelious words against the president; it could not be now avoided, but that thereby arose a vehement surmise and suspicion, that he, conspiring with others, had contrived, made, and scattered abroad, the said slanderous writings. Great inquisition was made in the college, to search out the author of so malicious and despicable a deed;

but nothing could be found and proved against Palmer, or any of his companions. Now Palmer, being hereupon examined by the officers, did not only with stout courage deny the fact to have been his, but also spake further many reproachful words touching the said officers, and sent the same to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy member of that society. And so for this, and other popish pranks, (continuing obstinate still,) he was expelled the house.

After he was thus despatched of his room, he was fain, for his own maintenance, to apply himself to be a teacher of children in the house of Sir Francis Knolles, in the which trade he continued until the coming-in of Queen Mary. And when her visitors were sent to Magdalene College, under a title of reformation, (whereas all things were better afore,) I mean, to displace divers of the fellows that were learned, and to put right catholics (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting, as a dog for his bone, to be restored to his living again, of which he had been deprived before; thinking by good right to be restored of them, whose faith and religion (as he said) he did to the uttermost of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the same. Then after he was restored again to his house in Queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obstinate papist, an earnest and zealous gospeller.

Concerning whose conversion to the truth, for the more credit to be given to the same, we have here put down a letter written by one Master Bullingham, fellow in some part of King Edward's time with the said Palmer, then also of the same faction of religion with him, and toward the latter end of the said king's reign, a voluntary exile in France for papistry: in Queen Mary's days, likewise, a chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and after the coming in of Queen Elizabeth, such a one as for his obstinacy was quite and clean despatched from all his livings by her Majesty's commissioners, and yet now (God be praised therefore!) a most constant professor, and earnest teacher of the word of God. This man, at the request of a certain friend of his in London, being desirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius. The copy of which letter we thought good here to insert, for that the parties, being alive, can testify the same to be true and certain, if any man shall doubt thereof.

The letter of Master Bullingham.

"Master Bullingham, I wish you and all yours continual health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not

written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that constant witness of God's truth, for that his doings and sayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance: and to write an untruth, it were rather to deface and blemish, than to adorn and beautify him. After his conversion to the most holy gospel, I never saw his face: wherefore the less have I to certify you of. But so much as seemeth to me to serve most unto the purpose, here I commend unto you; and in witness that my sayings are true I subscribe my name, willing, praying, and beseeching you to publish the same to the whole world, &c.

"At what time I, Bullingham, intended to forsake England, and to fly into France for the wicked pope's sake, (which came to pass indeed, for in Rouen I was for a time,) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck brought me outwards in my journey till we came to London; where on a day Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James's, the queen's palace; and as we leaned at the great gate of that place, Palmer spake thus unto me: 'Bullingham, you know in what misery and calamities we are fallen for the pope and his religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us consider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a strange country, both friendless and moneyless, where I fear me you shall taste of sourer sauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wits' end. The face of hell itself is as amiable unto me as the sight of Magdalene College; for there I am hated as a venomous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth! And as touching our religion, even our consciences bear witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the profession thereof, as we understand the gospellers to taste in their religion: yea, to say the truth, we maintain we wot not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? Rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my bread.' So Palmer bequeathed himself to the wide world, and I passed over into Normandy. At my return into England again my chance was to meet Palmer in Paul's, where a rood was set up. This our meeting was in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and our miserable departing not long before the end of King Edward's days. Then after our greeting, thus said Palmer, 'Bullingham, is this our god, for whom we have smarted?' 'No, Palmer,' quoth I, 'it is an image of him.' 'An image!' quoth he. 'I tell thee plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin (whose Institutions I have perused since our departure) telleth me plainly, by God's word, that it is an idol; and that the pope is antichrist, and his clergy the filthy sink-hole of hell. And now I believe it; for I feel it sensibly.

O that God had revealed these matters unto me in times past ! I would have bequeathed this Romish religion (or rather irreligion) to the devil of hell, from whence it came. Believe them not, Bullingham. I will rather have these knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder jackanapes [meaning the rood]. God help me, I am born to trouble and adversity in this world ? ' Well, Palmer,' said I, ' is the wind in that corner with you ? I warrant you it will blow you to Little Ease at the end. I will never have to do with you again.' So I left Palmer walking in Paul's, who, through the element of fire, is exalted above the elements, where eternal rest is prepared for persecuted martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I, Bullingham, affirm it to be true. More I have not to say. In these words and deeds it appeareth that God had elected him.

"From Bridgewater, April 26, anno 1562.

"By me, JOHN BULLINGHAM."

When he was by the visitors restored to his college, although he began something to savour and taste of God's truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulsion, especially at the house of Sir Francis Knolles ; yet was he not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Neither could he choose but utter himself in private reasoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully resolved, and also of what points he doubted. For such was his nature alway, both in papistry and in the gospel, utterly to detest all dissimulation, insomuch that by the means of his plainness, and for that he could not flatter, he suffered much woe, both in King Edward's, and also in Queen Mary's time. Whereas he might at the first have lived in great quietness, if he could have dissembled, and both done and spoken against his conscience, as many stirring papists then did. And likewise he might have escaped burning in Queen Mary's time, if he would either have spoken, or kept silence, against his conscience, as many weak gospellers did. But Palmer could in nowise dissemble.

Now within short space, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive and careful to hear and understand, how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were used, and after what sort they took their death. Insomuch that he spared not at his own charges to send over one of his scholars, in the company of a bachelor of that house, to Gloucester, to see and understand the whole order of Bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him true report thereof: which thing some think he the rather did, because he was

wont in King Edward's time to say, that none of them all would stand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme, and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end ; whereof he himself also did see more experience afterward, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and martyrs which were burned at Oxford before his eyes ; insomuch that the first hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of Bishop Ridley and Bishop Latimer, at what time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he brast out into these words and such like : " O raging cruelty ! O tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous ! "

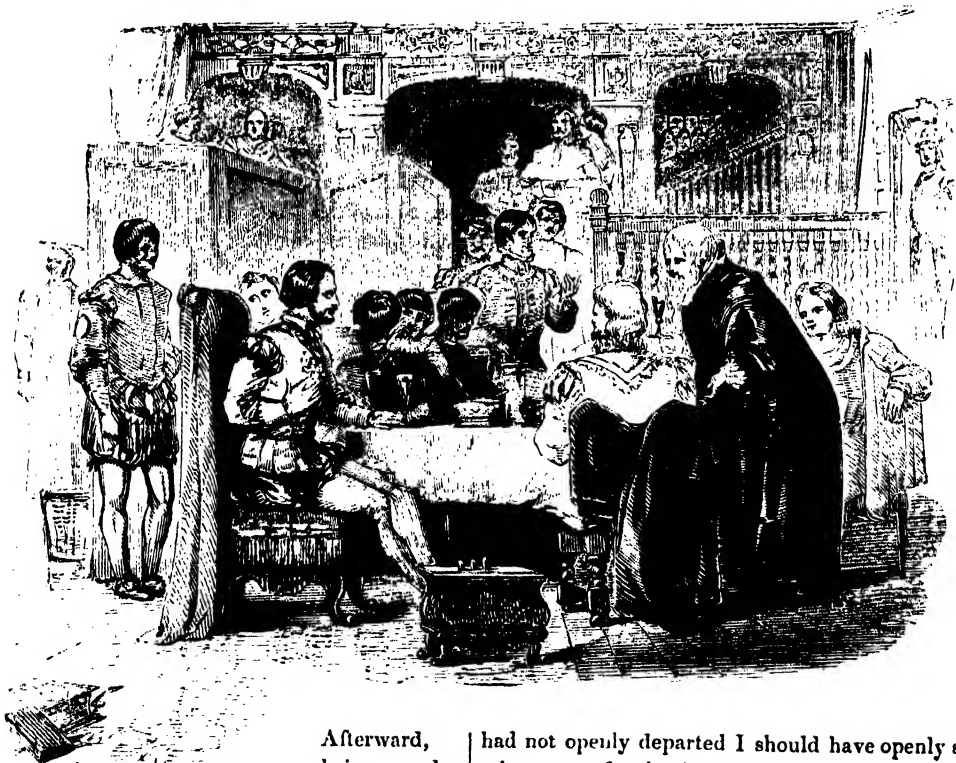
From that day forward he studiously sought to understand the truth, and therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyr's Commentaries upon the First to the Corinthians, of one of Magdalene, yet alive, and other good books of other men. And so, through hearty prayer and diligent search and conference of the Scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy ; and so profited in the same, that daily more and more he declared it both in word and deed, in such sort as he never hated the truth more stubbornly before, than afterward he willingly embraced the same, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he should come to church, in those days of popery, there to be occupied among the rest, in singing of responds, reading of legends, and such-like stuff allotted unto him, he had as much pleasure, he said, to be at them, as a bear to be baited and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid displeasure and danger, than for any good-will and ready affection.

At length, through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare certain sparks thereof in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at *Confiteor*, (as the custom there was,) in turning himself to and fro, sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, and afterward knock his breast at the elevation time ; against these idolatrous adorations his heart did so vehemently rise, that sometimes he would absent himself from them, and sometimes, being there, he would even at the sacring time (as they termed it) get him out of the church to avoid those ungodly gestures, and idolatrous adoration. To be short, perceiving, after a while, that he was greatly suspected and abhorred of the president then being, which was Master Cole, and of divers others which before were his friends, and therewithal feeling great

conflict and torment of conscience daily to grow with his conversation with idolaters; seeing also that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he addressed himself to depart the house. For he thought it not best to abide the danger of expulsion, as he did at the first; seeing the weather was now waxed warmer. And being demanded at that time of a special friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live, he made this answer, "*Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus*," that is, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. "Let the Lord work; I will commit myself to God and the wide world."

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful surges that he suffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulfs and deep sea of this wretched wide world, first, to rehearse one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at such times as he had

recourse to the college, after his last departure, whereby the reader may yet better understand of his simplicity and plainness, and how far wide he was from all cloaked dissimulation in God's cause, which certain godless persons have sought maliciously to charge him withal. Being at Oxford on a certain time in Magdalene College, and having knowledge, that the Spanish friar John (who succeeded Dr. Peter Martyr, in the office of divinity lecture) would preach there that present Sunday, he would not, at the first, grant to be present at it. At length a friend of his, a fellow of that house, persuaded so much with him, that he was content to accompany his said friend to the church. But suddenly, as the friar vehemently inveighed against God's truth, in defending certain popish heresies, Palmer, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongst the midst of the auditory, and was found in his friend's chamber weeping bitterly.



Afterward, being demanded why he slipt away upon such a sudden, 'Oh,' said he, 'if I

had not openly departed I should have openly stopt mine ears: for the friar's blasphemous talk, in disproving, or rather depraving the verity, made mine ears not to glow, but my heart worse to smart, than if mine ears had been cut from my head.'

It chanced another time, that the same friend of his, called Master Shipper, being then bursar of

the house, bade him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer, not knowing what guests were also thither invited and bidden, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the foresaid friar, with whom were present Dr. Smith, Dr. Tresham, and divers other papists, whose company Palmer could not well bear; and therefore, whispering a friend in the ear, he said he would be gone, for that was no place for him: "I will," saith he, "to the bursar's table in the great hall." The bursar understanding his mind, desired him of all friendship not so to depart, alleging that it were the next way to bewray himself, and as it were of purpose to cast himself into the briers; with many other persuasions, as the shortness of time would permit. In the end he condescended to his request and tarried. Now as he came to the fire-side, the friar saluted him cheerfully in Latin, for he could not speak English. Palmer with an amiable countenance resaluted him gently: but when the friar offered him his hand, he, casting his eye aside, as though he had not seen it, found matter of talk to another standing by, and so avoided it; which thing was well marked of some, not without great grudge of stomach.

After they were set and had well eaten, the friar, with a pleasant look, offering the cup, said, "I drink to you, learned young man." Palmer, at that word blushing as red as scarlet, answered, "I knowlege no such name, O sir." And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he set it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after, but in the end it was also well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being sharply rebuked of the said bursar his friend, for his so unwise, uncivil, and unseemly behaviour, (as he termed it,) he made answer for himself, and said, "The oil of these men doth not supple, but breaketh my head."

Another time, which was also the last time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick, an old acquaintance of his, being sometime clerk of Magdalene's, and then fellow of Trinity College, a rank papist, began to reason with him in his friend's chamber aforesaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earnest in defence of the verity, he said unto him in the hearing of Master Thomas Parry, and others there present: "Well, Palmer! well, now thou art stout, and hardy in thy opinion; but if thou wert once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, it is a shrewd matter to burn!" "Truly," said Palmer, "I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto (I thank God) I have escaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the last: welcome be it, by the grace of

God! Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more mastery to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread."

Thus much, by the way, concerning his plainness, without dissimulation, and how he feared not openly to show himself more grieved in heart to hear the word of God blasphemed, than to suffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our story, and faithfully declare both the occasion and manner of his death.

Within short space after he had yielded up his fellowship in Oxford, he was, through God's providence, (who never faileth them that first seek his glory,) placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading, where he was well accepted of all those that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, as also for his earnest zeal, and profession of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him there long to be quiet. Wherefore he stirred up against him certain double-faced hypocrites, which by dissimulation and crafty insinuation had crept in, to understand his secrets, under the pretence of a zeal to the gospel; which men he (suspecting no deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy of all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine; so had he an incredible desire by all means possible to allure and encourage others to the profession of the same.

These faithful and trusty brethren, so soon as they had found good opportunity, spared not in his absence to rifle his study of certain godly books and writings; amongst the which was his replication to Morewine's verses, touching Winchester's epitaph, and other arguments both in Latin and English, written by him against the popish proceedings, and specially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny, executed toward the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not ashamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the same to the council, unless he would without delay depart out of their coasts, and give over the school to a friend of theirs. The truth of this story appeareth in part by a letter written, with his own hand, out of prison, eight days before he was burned; which because it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Thus then was this silly young man, for the safeguard of his life, forced to depart upon the sudden

from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his stuff, and one quarter's stipend; and so he took his journey toward Ensham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's last will, which he should have received certain years before; and taking his journey by Oxford, he requested certain of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother, understanding his state and errand by Master Shipper and his brother, (whom he had sent before to entreat for him,) as soon as she beheld him on his knees, asking her blessing as he had been accustomed to do: "Thou shalt," said she, "have Christ's curse and mine, wheresoever thou go." He pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting, at length said, "O mother! your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me." "Nay," saith she, "thou wentest from God's blessing into the warm sun, when thou wast banished for a heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford; and now, for the like knavery, art driven out of Reading too." "Alas, mother!" saith he, "you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of mine accord. And heretic I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure, they use not to expel nor banish, but to burn heretics (as they term them)." "Well," quoth she, "I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done; but as we were taught by the new law in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy." "Indeed, I confess," said he, "that I believe that doctrine which was taught in King Edward's time, which is not heresy but truth: neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles." "If thou be at that point," saith she, "I require thee to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods, I have none of thine, thy father bequeathed nought for heretics: faggots I have to burn thee: more thou gettest not at my hands." "Mother," saith he, "whereas you have cursed me, I again pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long;" and with like soft talk, sweet words, and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he so mollified her hard heart, that she hurled an old angel after him, and said, "Take that, to keep thee a true man."

Thus poor Palmer, being destitute of worldly friendship, and cruelly repelled of her whom he took to have been his surest friend, wist not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had be-

thought himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalene College, upon the assured trust and affiance, that he had a privy friend or two in that house. At what time, by the suit of one Allan Cope, then fellow of the house, he obtained letters commendatory, from Master Cole, president there, for his preferment to a school in Gloucestershire. So he getteth him away, committed by his friends to God's divine protection, of whom some accompanied him as far as Ensham Ferry, and some to Burtford.

Afterward as he went alone, musing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an epistle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return closely to Reading, trusting there, by the help of friends, to receive his quarter's stipend, and convey his stuff to the custody of some trusty body. To Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodging at the Cardinal's Hat, desiring his hostess instantly to assign him a close chamber, where he might be alone from all resort of company. He came not so closely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof: wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him, to bring their old cankered malice to pass. And soon it was concluded, that one Master Hampton, (which then bare two faces in one hood, and under the colour of a brother played the part of a dissembling hypocrite,) should resort to him under the pretence of friendship, to feel and fish out the cause of his repair to Reading.

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and without all wrinkles of cloaked collusion, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might ensue if this were attempted. Against his counsel Palmer replied very much, and as they waxed hot in talk Hampton flung away in a fury, and said, as he had fished, so should he fowl, for him. Palmer not yet suspecting such pretended and devised mischief as by this crooked and pestiferous generation was now in brewing against him, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed: but quietly he could not long rest there. For within short space after, the officers and their retinue came rushing in with lanterns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make ready himself, and quietly to depart with them. So this silly young man, perceiving that he was thus Judasly betrayed without opening his lips, was led away as a lamb to the slaughter, and was committed to ward; whom the keeper, as a ravening wolf greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and blind dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers. And there he left him

for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks, so high, that well near no part of his body touched the ground.

In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

Here by the way, gentle reader, I have by a little digression to give thee to understand, concerning one Thomas Thackham; for that the said Thomas Thackham, in the story of this Julius Palmer, was noted and named in our former book, to be a doer and a worker against the said blessed martyr: he therefore, being not a little grieved, made his reply again in writing, for purgation and defence of himself against the false information of his slanderer. Albeit his confutation in writing I pass not much upon, either what he hath written, or can write. Only the thing that moveth me most is this; for that the said Thomas Thackham not long since, coming to me himself, hath so attested and deposed against the information, with much swearing and deep adjuration, taking the name of the Lord God to witness, and appealing to His judgment to the utter perdition of his soul, if it were not false which by information was reported of him, and he faultless in the matter: which being so, I could not otherwise refuse, but to give credit to his oath, and upon the same to alter and correct so much as appertaineth to the defamation (as he calleth it) of his name, referring the truth of the matter to his own conscience, and the judgment of the Lord God; to whom either he standeth if it be true, or falleth if it be false.

And now to our story again, concerning the process and accusation of Julius Palmer, omitting by the way the names of Thomas Thackham, and Downer.

The first examination and accusation of Julius Palmer, at Reading.

After this he was brought before the mayor, and there by the procurement of certain false brethren, (the Lord knoweth what they were,) who had been conversant with Palmer, and robbed his study, divers grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery.

To whom Palmer answered, that if such horrible and heinous crimes might be proved against him, he would patiently submit himself to all kind of torments that could be devised. "But, O ye cruel blood-suckers," saith he, "ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the viperous and wolfish generation of Pharisees and papists; but be ye well assured, that God always seeth your subtle devices and crafty packing, and will not suffer the outrage-

ous fury of your venomous tongues and fiery hearts to escape unpunished." All this while no mention was made of heresy, or heretical writings.

Their greatest proofs against him were these:—

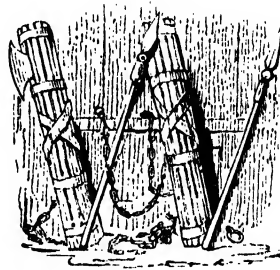
"First, That Palmer said, the queen's sword was not put in her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.

"Item, That her sword was too blunt toward the papists, but toward the true Christians it was too sharp.

"Item, That certain servants of Sir Francis Knolles and others, resorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themselves, and were like to have committed murder; and therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.

"Item, That his hostess had written a letter unto him, (which they had intercepted,) wherein she required him to return to Reading, and sent him her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam; whereby they gathered that she had conspired with him to murder her husband!

"Item, That they found him alone with his hostess by the fire-side in the hall, the door being shut to them forsooth."



THEN the evidence was given up, the mayor dismissed them and went to dinner, commanding Palmer to the cage, to make him an open spectacle of ignominy to

the eyes of the world. And Thackham, the better to cover his own shame, caused it to be bruited, that he was so punished, for his evil life and wickedness already proved against him.

In the afternoon Palmer came to his answer, and did so mightily and clearly deface their evidence, and defend his own innocence, proving also that the said letters were by themselves forged, that the mayor himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit unto them, and so much borne with them, so that he sought means how they might convey him out of the country privily.

But here among other things this is not with silence to be passed over, that one John Galant, a zealous professor of the gospel, a little after this came to the prison and found him somewhat better entreated than before. When he beheld him, "O Palmer," saith he, "thou hast deceived divers men's expectation: for we hear that you suffer

not for righteousness' sake, but for your own demerits."

"O brother Galant," saith he, "these be the old practices of that Satanical brood. But be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself, and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith." And there, having pen and ink, he did write somewhat whereby part of his story here rehearsed is well confirmed. But now to these bloody adversaries.

After this, when they saw the matter frame so ill-favouredly, fearing that if he should escape secretly, their doing would tend no less to their shame and danger, than to the mayor's dishonesty; they devised a new policy to bring to pass their long hidden and festered malice against him, which was by this extreme refuge. For, whereas before they were partly ashamed to accuse him of heresy, seeing they had been counted earnest brethren themselves; and partly afraid because they had broken up his study, and committed theft; yet now, lest their iniquity should have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and shame aside, and began to refrigate and rip up the old sore, the scar whereof had been but superficially cured, as you have heard; and so, to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writings that they had stolen out of his study.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor, and Bird the official, and two other justices, to render an account of his faith before them; to answer to such articles and informations, as were laid against him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth sufficient matter to entrap him, they devised a certificate, or bill of instructions against him, to be directed to Dr. Jeffrey, who had determined to hold his visitation the next Tuesday at Newbury, which was the sixteenth of July. And thus were the false witnesses and bloody accusers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer should be sent over to Newbury, the said letters testimonial were conveyed over together with him, the contents whereof shall partly appear hereafter. In the mean time I think it good here to rehearse one example among others, both of charitable affection toward him, and of his modesty correspondent to the same.

Master Rider of Reading, a faithful witness of God's truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had been dealt withal in prison, and pined away for lack of necessities, and how evidently he had proved himself innocent before the officers, of such crimes as were objected against him, he sent to him his servant

secretly the night before his departure to Newbury, with a bowed groat in token of his good heart toward him, requiring him to let him understand if he lacked necessities, and he would provide for him. Palmer answered, "The Lord reward your master for his benevolence toward me, a miserable abject in this world, and tell him that (God be praised) I lack nothing."

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Askin, alias Roberts, being fellow prisoner with him in Christ's cause, sitting at breakfast, and beholding Palmer very sad, leaning to a window in the corner of the house, asked why he came not to breakfast. "Because I lack money," saith Palmer, "to discharge the shot." "Come on, man," quoth he, "God be praised for it, I have enough for us both." Which thing when Master Rider heard of, it cannot be expressed, how much it grieved him that Palmer had deceived him with so modest an answer.

Thus to Newbury they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hostry of the blind-house, where they found John Gwin, their faithful brother in the Lord. Now how they came before the consistory of Dr. Jeffrey, and how Palmer was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which, although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth that it was spoken, nor perchance altogether in such form of words, yet is as exactly as we are able to compact and dispose it; being gathered out of several notes of Richard Shipper, John Hunt, John Kirry of Newbury, Richard White of Marlborough, which were *oculati testes*, and present at the hearing thereof.

The second examination and accusation of Julius Palmer, at Newbury, in the hearing of more than three hundred persons.

In the year 1556, the sixteenth of July, four or five seats were prepared in the choir of the parish church of Newbury for the visitors, whose names here ensue: Dr. Jeffrey, for the bishop of Sarum; Sir Richard Abridges, knight, and then high sheriff of the shire; Sir William Rainsford, knight; Master John Winchcomb, esquire; and the parson of Englefield.

After the prisoners were presented, the commission read, and other things done in order accordingly, Dr. Jeffrey called to Palmer and said:—

Jeffrey.—"Art thou that jolly writer of three halfpenny books, that we hear of?"

Palmer.—"I know not what you mean."

Jeffrey.—"Have you taught Latin so long that now you understand not English?"

To this he answered nothing.

Then Dr. Jeffrey standing up said, "We have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices; whereby we understand, that being convented afore them, you were convict of certain heresies. First, that you deny the pope's Holiness's supremacy. Next, that there are but two sacraments. Thirdly, that the priest sheweth up an idol at mass; and therefore you went to no mass, since your first coming to Reading. Fourthly, that there is no purgatory. Last of all, that you be a sower of sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the queen's subjects."

The sheriff.—"You were best see first what he will say to his own handy-work."

Jeffrey.—"Ye say truth. Tell me, Palmer, art thou he that wrote this fair volume? Look upon it."

Palmer.—"I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture."

Jeffrey.—"Is this doggish rhyme yours also? Look?"

Palmer.—"I wrote this, I deny not."

Jeffrey.—"And what say you to these Latin verses, intituled Epicedion, &c. Are they yours too?"

Palmer.—"Yea, sir."

Jeffrey.—"Art thou not ashamed to affirm it? It came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a learned and catholic man yet alive."

Palmer.—"If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself: for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas being dead."

Jeffrey.—"Sayest thou so? I will make thee recant it, and wring *peccavi* out of your lying lips, ere I have done with thee."

Palmer.—"But I know, that although of myself I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies, both bodily and ghostly, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass; neither shall ye prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly."

Jeffrey.—"Ah, are you full of the Spirit? are you inspired with the Holy Ghost?"

Palmer.—"Sir, no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true Christian. He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his."

Jeffrey.—"I perceive you lack no words."

Palmer.—"Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them, such force of matter, as the gates of hell shall not be able to confound, or prevail against it."

Jeffrey.—"Christ made such a promise to his apostles: I trow you will not compare with them."

Palmer.—"With the holy apostles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit or learning, which I know is but small: yet this promise I am certain pertaineth to all such as are appointed to defend God's truth against his enemies in the time of their persecution for the same."

Jeffrey.—"Then it pertaineth not to thee."

Palmer.—"Yes, I am right well assured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this present to me, as it shall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to dispute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I have there written."

Jeffrey.—"Thou art but a beardless boy, started up yesterday out of the schools; and darest thou presume to offer disputation, or to encounter with a doctor?"

Palmer.—"Remember, Master Doctor, The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him, &c. Out of the mouth of infants, &c. And, Thou hast hidden these things from the wise, &c. God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, nor person: and although your wit and learning be greater than mine, yet your belief in the truth, and zeal to defend the same, is no greater than mine."

Registrar.—"Sir, if you suffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done."

Jeffrey.—"Well, ye shall understand that I have it not in commission at this present to dispute with you, neither were it meet that we should call again into question such articles as are already discussed, and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the creed telleth us. But the cause why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be examined upon such articles as are ministered against you, and such matter as is here contained in your hand-writing, that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or nay. How say you to this?"

Palmer.—"By your holy church you mean the synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a particular church of shavelings. The catholic church I believe; yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy, that is to say, a church that grounded her belief upon the word of her spouse Christ."

Jeffrey.—"Leave railing, and answer me directly to my question. Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?"

Palmer.—"If you prove any sentence therein

comprised, not to stand with God's word, I will presently recant it."

Jeffrey.—"Thou impudent fellow! have I not told thee that I came not to dispute with thee, but to examine thee?"

Here the parson of Englefield, pointing to the pix, said, "What seest thou yonder?"

Palmer.—"A canopy of silk, brodered with gold."

Parson.—"Yea, but what is within it?"

Palmer.—"A piece of bread in a clout, I trow."

Parson.—"Thou art as froward a heretic as ever I talked withal." Here was much spoken of *Confiteor*, and other parts of the mass.

Parson.—"Do you not believe that they which receive the holy sacrament of the altar, do truly eat Christ's natural body?"

Palmer.—"If the sacrament of the Lord's supper be ministered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's very natural body and blood."

Parson.—"The faithful receivers; ye cannot blear our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in form of bread?"

Palmer.—"No, sir."

Parson.—"How prove you that?"

Palmer.—"By this place, He that eateth me, shall live for me."

Parson.—"See that fond fellow, whilst he taketh himself to be a doctor of the law, you shall see me prove him a stark foolish daw. Do you not read likewise, Whosoever invocateth the name of the Lord, shall be saved? Ergo, Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you must mark how St. Paul answereth you. He saith, that the wicked do eat the true body to their condemnation."

As Palmer was bent to answer him at the full, the parson interrupted him, crying still, "What sayest thou to St. Paul?"

Palmer.—"I say, that St. Paul hath no such words?"

Parson.—"See, the impudent fellow denieth the plain text, He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment!"

Palmer.—"I beseech you lend me your book."

Parson.—"Not so."

The sheriff.—"I pray you lend him your book." So the book was given over to him.

Palmer.—"Your own book hath, He that eateth this bread."

Parson.—"But St. Jerome's translation hath *corpus*."

Palmer.—"Not so, Master Parson; and God

be praised that I have, in the mean season, shut up your lips with your own book."

Jeffrey.—"It skilleth no matter whether ye write bread or body, for we be able to prove that he meant the body. And whereas you say, they ate it spiritually, that is but a blind shift of descent."

Palmer.—"What should I say else?"

Jeffrey.—"As holy church saith: really, carnally, substantially."

Palmer.—"And with as good scripture I may say, grossly or monstrously."

Jeffrey.—"Thou speakest wickedly. But tell me, Is Christ present in the sacrament or no?"

Palmer.—"He is present."

Jeffrey.—"How is he present?"

Palmer.—"The doctors say, *modo ineffabili*: therefore why do ye ask me? Would God ye had a mind ready to believe it, or [I] a tongue able to express it unto you."

Jeffrey.—"What say you to the baptism of infants?"

Palmer.—"I say, that it standeth with God's word, and therefore it ought of necessity to be retained in the church."

Jeffrey.—"Ye have forgotten yourself, I wis; for ye write that children may be saved without it."

Palmer.—"So I write, and so I say."

Jeffrey.—"Then it is not necessary to be frequented and continued in the church."

Palmer.—"Your argument is not good, Master Doctor."

Jeffrey.—"Will you stand to it?"

Palmer.—"Yea, Master Doctor, God willing."

Jeffrey.—"Note it, registrar."

More of his examination in that time and place is not yet come to our hands: whensoever God sendeth it, I will impart and communicate the same to the reader. In the mean season we are credibly informed of this, that Sir Richard Abridges, the same day after dinner, sent for him to his lodging; and there, in the presence of divers persons yet alive in Newbury and elsewhere, friendly exhorted him to revoke his opinion, to spare his young years, wit, and learning. "If thou wilt be conformable, and show thyself corrigible and repentant, in good faith," said he, "I promise thee before this company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pound yearly, so long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to stuff and fit thy farm for thee. How sayest thou?"

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and made him further answer concerning his religion somewhat at large, but very modestly and reverently, concluding in the end, that as he had already in two

places renounced his living for Christ's sake, so he would with God's grace be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God should send time.

When Sir Richard perceived that he would by no means relent: "Well, Palmer," saith he, "then I perceive one of us twain shall be damned: for we be of two faiths, and certain I am there is but one faith that leadeth to life and salvation."

Palmer.—"O sir, I hope that we both shall be saved."

Sir Richard.—"How may that be?"

Palmer.—"Right well, sir. For as it hath pleased our merciful Saviour, according to the gospel's parable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of four-and-twenty years, even so I trust he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion."

Sir Richard.—"Sayest thou so? Well, Palmer, well, I would I might have thee but one month in my house: I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou shouldst convert me."

Then said Master Winchcomb, "Take pity on thy golden years, and pleasant flowers of lusty youth, before it be too late."

Palmer.—"Sir, I long for those springing flowers, that shall never fade away."

Winchcomb.—"If thou be at that point, I have done with thee."

Then was Palmer commanded again to the blind-house; but the other two silly men were led again the same afternoon to the consistory, and there were condemned, and delivered to the secular power of the sheriff there present, by name Sir Richard Abridges.

It is reported also, that Dr. Jeffrey offered Palmer a good living, if he would outwardly show himself conformable, keeping his conscience secret to himself, or at least declare that he doubted which was the truest doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a surety.

The next morning, the sixteenth of July, Palmer was required to subscribe to certain articles which they had drawn out, touching the cause of his condemnation; in the front whereof, were heaped together many heinous terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish, and execrable doctrine. To these words Palmer refused to subscribe, affirming that the doctrine which he professed, was not such, but good and sound doctrine.

Jeffrey.—"Ye may see, good people, what shifts these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice ministered unto them. But I tell thee, this style is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it."

Palmer.—"Then I cannot subscribe to it."

Jeffrey.—"Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou like not justice, and revoke thy heresy?"

Palmer.—"I forsake the pope, and his popelings, with all popish heresy."

Jeffrey.—"Then subscribe to the articles."

Palmer.—"Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe."

Jeffrey.—"Subscribe, and qualify the matter with thine own pen."

So he subscribed. Whereupon Dr. Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation, and so was he delivered to the charge of the secular power, and was burnt the same day in the afternoon, about five of the clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people, comforted his fellows with these words.

"Brethren," saith he, "be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the soul. God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be able to bear it. We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea, for coals, we shall receive pearls: for God's Holy Spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven, for his sake which suffered first for us."

With these and such-like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his silly brethren that were with him appointed as sheep to be slain, but also wrested out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were singing a psalm, came the sheriff Sir Richard Abridges and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of harness-ed and weaponed men, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place where they should suffer, they fell all three to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voice pronounced the 31st Psalm; but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to arise, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him yet to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered and said, "Away, away, tempt me no longer! Away, I say, from me, all ye that work iniquity: for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears." And so forth-with they put off their raiment, and went to the stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for

Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, that the blood gushed out in divers places: for the which fact the sheriff reviled him, calling him cruel tormentor, and with his walking-staff brake his head, that the blood likewise ran about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and

quietly and cheerily, as though they had felt no smart, they cried, "Lord Jesus, strengthen us, Lord Jesus, assist us, Lord Jesus, receive our souls!" And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

Among other things this is also to be noted, that after their three heads, by force of the raging and devouring flames of fire, were fallen together in a



lump or cluster, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the ghost, suddenly Palmer, as a man waked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word, "Jesus!" So, being resolved into ashes, he yielded to God as joyful a soul, (confirmed with the sweet promises of Christ,) as any one that ever was called beside to suffer for his blessed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in defence and confession of Christ's holy gospel, to the end. Amen.

De Martyrio Palmero, hexasticon.

Palmerus flammis Christi pro dogmate passus,
Impositum pondus, ceu bona palma, tulit.
Non retrocessit, sed, contra, audientior ivit,

Illasam retinens fortis in igne fidem.
Propterea in cælum nunc P'almifer iste receptus,
Justitiæ Palmam non pereuntis habet.

"Justus ut palma florebit."

A memorable story of one Agnes Wardall in the town of Ipswich, pursued for the true faith of Christ's gospel.

About the said month of July, in this present year, 1556, there was one Richard Argentine, doctor of physic, otherwise called Richard Sexten, with certain others dwelling in the town of Ipswich, not many in number, but in heart and purpose mightily bent to impugn and impeach the growing of Christ's gospel and favourers of the same; in the number of whom were Philip Ulmes, Edmund Leach, John

Steward ; and Matthew Butler, apothecary, a curious singing man, a fine player of the organs, a perfect papist, and a diligent promoter of good men. This Butler being then constable in the town of Ipswich, as he was in the watch by night upon Corn Hill, cometh to him Dr. Argentine in great haste, giving him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, being then lately come home to her house in Ipswich. Whereupon immediately such a way was contrived between them, that the said Agnes Wardall forthwith should be apprehended : but God, in whose providence the direction of all things consisteth, by whose disposition they have their operation, so graciously provided for his servant, and so prevented their malignant devices, that they came to no great effect in working, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here consequently you shall further understand.

This Agnes Wardall was a woman that lived in God's fear, and was at defiance with their Romish trash, desiring rather with hard fare and evil lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her house, and among the tents of the ungodly : her husband also, being a man living in the fear of God, and for the testimony of his conscience being also hunted, by force of the law was constrained to avoid his house, and got into a crayer with an honest man, serving as a sailor, a faculty not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, because God had given him an impediment by reason of a stumped foot, unfit to climb to top and yard ; yet so it pleased God to enable him with his strength, that he was strong and lusty to do good service, as they can well witness that were of his company.

The said Agnes Wardall chanced on a day to come home to see her poor house and children, which was under the guiding of a young maid ; and being espied, news was borne to Dr. Argentine, who having knowledge thereof, as is aforesaid, went speedily unto the apothecary, the constable aforesaid, and informed him what a notable cure was to be wrought on Wardall's wife, in the apprehending of her ; which was more like to speed than miss, had not the mighty providence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

This being known to the constable, the watch was charged speedily, and each company sent to his place. And Argentine and Butler took unto them a good number, and forth they go unto the house of this poor woman, to lay hands upon her, and beset the house on the foreside and backside, lying open in the fields ; and other some were sent to the house of his mother, which was not far from his house. This done, one knocked at the street door, where Argentine and Butler were, with one of their weapons,

and no answer was made ; the second time somewhat harder, but had no answer. In the mean time they, fearing that some conveyance was made, knocked a third time more hard than before.

There was not far from the door where they knocked, a certain day-window, where one might look out and speak ; and so at the third knocking a woman who at that time was tenant to R. Wardall's mother, and had but two nights before lien in the house, speaking out hard by their ears, asked who was there ?

"Ah, sirrah !" quoth Argentine, "are you so nigh and will not speak ? How fortun'd it that ye spake not at the first, being so nigh ?" "How fortun'd it ?" quoth the woman. "Marry I shall tell you : I am but a stranger here, and I have heard say that there be spirits walking here about, which if a man do answer at the first call or second, he stands in great danger, and I was never so afraid of my life." At this her answer they laughed, and commanded her to open the door in the queen's name, for they were the queen's watch.

Agnes Wardall, being at that time in bed in an inner chamber, having her maid with her, and her two children, she being at that time very heavy asleep, heard not the knocking. Her maid, hearing at the second knock, called and shogged her dame, and with much ado awaked her, and said, "The watch is at the door." "What ? thou liest," said she. "Yes, truly," said the maid, "and hath knocked twice." With that she arose with all speed, and put on her clothes very slightly, and took with her a buckram apron, which afterward she cast on her head, when she was fain to creep in a ditch with nettles ; and so passed down into a parlour, wherein stood a cupboard with a fair press, into the which the maid did lock her. And immediately the maid went up to a chamber which was hard by the street, where she might see and speak to the watch, and said, "Who is there ?" Then they bade her open the door ; and she said, "We have no candle." And they said, "Open the door, or we will lay it on the floor." With that she came down and opened the door. Then asked they the maid, "Who is within ?" And she said, "None but a woman that dwelleth with us, and two children." Then said they, "Where is thy dame ?" "Truly," said she, "I cannot tell ; she is not within." "She was here in the evening," said they. "Yea," said the maid, "but she went forth I know not whither !" Notwithstanding they charged her that she knew where she was, which she denied. Then got they a candle light at one of the neighbour's houses, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had answered them at the win-

dow, and said, she was afraid of spirits. Argentine, looking upon her, clapped her on the back, and said, "Thou art not the woman whom we seek for."

So entered they the house, and searched a parlour next the street, where the woman lay which was his mother's tenant, and a young child that sucked on her breast, and not only in the bed, turning it down past all honest humanity, but also under the bed, behind the painted clothes, and in the chimney, and up into the chimney; and finding the bed hot, said, "Who lay here in the bed?" The woman said, "I and the child." "And none else?" quoth they. "No," said the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpose, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in the which stood the cupboard wherein she was, and searched the parlour, which was but a little one. And one of the company, laying his hand on the cupboard, said, "This is a fair cupboard, she may be here, for any thing that is done." "That is true," saith another of them. Notwithstanding, they looked no further, but went from that into the chamber aloft, wherein the said Agnes had lien with her maid and children, with all other rooms and chambers.

At length they came down into the yard, where they found a horse tied at a pale, eating of shorn grass. Then asked they the maid, "Whose horse is this?" She answered, "It is her horse indeed, and she came in before night, and went abroad again, but I know not whither." Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and bestirred them with speed, and went into an out-chamber that was in the yard, in which was a boy in bed, of twelve or fourteen years old. And being in his dead sleep, they suddenly awaked him and examined him for his dame; who answered he knew not where she was; and unto that stood firmly, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poor silly boy, but also to the good, simple, plain maid. Then caused they him to arise and dress him, and sent both maid and boy up to the cage, where they put the maid, but kept the boy among their trusty soldiers, so that one of them should not speak with another.

Now while some were on the Corn Hill, and other some were searching the neighbours' houses and back-sides, the wife of Wardall being in the press fast locked up, and almost smothered for want of breath, desired the woman, her mother's tenant, when she heard her in the parlour, to let her out. She asked her where the keys were; who answered they were in a hamper; which she found, and essayed to unlock the press, and of a long time could not. Then desired she her to break it open; "for," said she, "I had rather fall into their hands,

than to kill myself." Then went she to her mother's tenant, and sought for her husband's hammer and chisel, to break it open, but could not find it, nor any thing else to break it open withal, and came again, and told her she could find nothing to break it open with.

Then said she, "Essay again to open it, for I trust God will give you power to open it." And being within in much extremity, she heartily prayed unto God, who heard her prayer and helped her; for, at the first essay and turn of the key, it opened easily. When she came out, she looked as pale and as bleak as one that were laid out dead by the wall, and as she herself looked afterward when she was dead, as the same woman reported, which then let her out, and was also at her death long after in the queen's Majesty's reign that now is; and all on a vehement sweat was she, like drops of rain.

Then went she out into the back-side, where was a pale towards the fields for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or two loose pales, by the which both she and her husband had divers times used to come and go in and out; so went she out into the fields. And passing one little field, and over a stile, shrouded herself in a low ditch with nettles, and covered her head with the buckram apron aforementioned; and so crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long search, when they could not find her in the town, certain of the watch returned again to the field's side; among whom was one George Manning, with John Bate, the crier of the same town, coming together. This Manning was a simple, honest, plain man, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in Queen Mary's time would have been a priest, as it was reported, but that he was married.

Manning, espying where she lay, gave a hem, and made a noise with his bill, he being before Bate; at the which she lay still, and at the last they departed to the street side to the constable. All this time the maid was in the cage, and the boy with the others of the watch, until perfect daylight. Then went they up, and let out the maid, and sent her home, and the boy also; but they made the maid believe they had found her dame, who answered, "If ye have her, keep her fast."

On the morrow, Manning sent her word to beware that she should hide herself no more so near.

Thus by the might and power of God was his faithful servant delivered from their cruelty, and they known to be his adversaries, not only at that time, but divers times after and before. Notwithstanding, the said Argentine, at his first coming to Ipswich, came in a serving-man's coat. And then, being in the days of King Henry the Eighth, he would accustomedly use the reading of lectures himself; in the which he was well commended at

that time: after, obtained the office of usher of the free grammar school, and the master being dead, got to be master himself; and being married to a very honest woman, remained there the days of King Edward. And when God took him from us for our just-deserved plague, and Queen Mary came to her reign, none more hot in all papistry and superstition than he, painting the posts of the town with *Vivat Regina Maria*, and in every corner.

Furthermore, after the death of his wife, (which was an honest woman,) he was made a priest, taking upon him divers times to preach (but never without his white minever-hood) such doctrine as was shameful to hear, saying mass, and carrying about the pix in high processions. Furthermore, leading the boy St. Nicholas with his minever-hood about the streets, for apples and belly-cheer. And whoso

would not receive him, he made them heretics, and such also as would not give his faggot to the bonfire for Queen Mary's child. And thus continued he at Ipswich the most part of Queen Mary's days, molesting their good men, some for not going to the church, some for not being confessed, some for not receiving, &c., till at length, toward the end of Queen Mary, he came to London, and in this queen's time began to show himself again a perfect protestant. And thus much of Argentine.

The trouble of Peter Moon and his wife, and of other godly protestants, at Bishop Hopton's visitation in Ipswich.

In the year of our Lord God 1556, the scene or visitation being kept before Whitsuntide in the town of Ipswich in Suffolk, by Dr. Hopton, being



then bishop of Norwich, and Miles Dunning, being then his chancellor, divers and sundry godly protest-

ants, through the accusation of evil men, were sore troubled and presented before him: among whom were accused one Peter Moon, a tailor, and Anne his wife, for their disobedience to the law, in not showing their readiness to come to the church, and to be partakers of such Romish observances as at that time were used. And first the said Peter Moon was commanded to come before the bishop,

where he was examined of three sundry articles, to wit, First, whether the pope were supreme head ; secondly, whether King Philip and Queen Mary were right inheritors to the crown ; and thirdly, whether in the sacrament of the altar was the very body of Christ substantially and really there present.

Unto the which the said Peter, being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man than the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in manner granted unto, their demands. Whereupon the bishop being in good hope, that although he had not come to the church, nor received the sacrament of the altar, nor been ready to do his duty as the law had commanded ; yet there showing his mind, said, that he liked well the man : " for such as have been," said he, " earnest in evil things, will also be earnest in that that is good and godly, if once they be won."

Thus as this spiritual father was commending his carnal child, and rather preferring him to hell-fire, than unto the sincere word and commandments of God, it chanced amongst many others in the chamber, was one of the portmen of the same town, named Smart, an earnest member of their Romish law, doing of a very good conscience that he did, who, after the death of Queen Mary, lived not many years, but rendered his life in godly repentance, protesting that if God should suffer him to live, he would never be the man he had been before, what laws soever should come again : so that before the time of his sickness he, frequenting earnestly the sermons in the same town, made by divers godly learned men, would weep as it had been a child, being notwithstanding of courage as stout a man as any was in Ipswich. Such is the marvellous mercy of God in calling to his kingdom whom, and when, he pleaseth.

" This portman aforesaid, perceiving the bishop thus, as it were, at an end with the said Moon, and so he like to be discharged, said unto the bishop, " My Lord, indeed I have good hope in the man, and that he will be conformable ; but, my Lord, he hath a perilous woman to his wife. For I will tell you, my Lord, she never came to church yet, since the queen's reign, except it were at evensong, or when she was churched. And not then until mass were done. Wherefore your good Lordship might do a good deed to cause her to come before you, and to see if you could do any good. And therefore I beseech your good Lordship to command him to pray her to come before your Lordship."

At the which words Moon was somewhat stirred, in that he said, " Command him to pray her to come before your Lordship:" and he said unto him, " Under my Lord's correction I speak, I am as able to command her to come before my Lord, as ye are

to command the worst boy in your house." " Yea, my Lord," said the other, " I cry your Lordship mercy : I have informed your Lordship with an untruth, if this be so. But if he be so able as he saith, he might have commanded her to have come to church in all this time, if it had pleased him." " Well," said the bishop, " look you come before me at afternoon, and bring your wife with you ; I will talk with her."

As my Lord's dinner at that time was serving up, Moon departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having such a hard breakfast given him before to digest. At afternoon Moon delayed and waited his time, bethinking when he might most conveniently come, especially when his accuser and his wife's should not have been there. And according to the commandment came with his wife ; which was not so secretly done, but his accuser had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition, in such post speed that in manner he was windless, entering into the bishop's chamber.

The bishop, hearing that Moon and his wife were come, called for them, and said to Moon, " Is this your wife, Moon ? " " Yea, my Lord," said he. " O good Lord ! " said the bishop, " how a man may be deceived in a woman ! I promise you a man would take her for as honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be." " Why, my Lord," said Moon's wife, " I trust there is none that can charge me with any dishonesty, as concerning my body : I defy all the world in that respect."

" Nay," quoth the bishop, " I mean not as concerning the dishonesty of thy body : but thou hadst been better to have given the use of thy body unto twenty sundry men, than to do as thou hast done. For thou hast done as much as in thee lieth, to pluck the king and the queen's Majesties out of their royal seats through thy disobedience, in showing thyself an open enemy unto God's laws, and their proceedings."

Then began the bishop to examine the said Moon again, with the aforesaid articles, and his wife also. And she, hearing her husband relent, did also affirm the same, which turned unto either of them to no small trouble of mind afterward ; but yet neither were they like thus to escape, but that in the mean time Dunning, the bishop's chancellor, came up in great haste, and brought news to the bishop, that there were such a number of heretics come, of which some came from Boxford, some from Lavenham, and about from the cloth country, that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them : " and there are among them both heretics and Anabaptists," said he. And thus Dr. Dunning, with his blustering words interrupting Moon's examination, went down again as the devil had driven him, to keep his stir among them, and to take or'er what should be done with them.

The bishop beginning to bewail the state of the country, in that it was so infected with such a number of heretics, and rehearsing partly their opinions to those that were at that time in the chamber, Moon's wife had a young child, which she herself nursed, and the child being brought into the yard under the bishop's chamber, cried, so that she heard it, and then said, "My Lord, I trust ye have done with me: my child crieth beneath; I must go give my child suck;" with such-like words. And the bishop being (as it were) out of mind to talk with them any more, said, "Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look ye be here again in the morning." With this they both departed.

And beneath in the stone-hall of the same house, the chancellor Dunning being very busy about his bloody business, espied Moon and his wife coming, and must needs pass by the place where he stood, and said, "Nay, soft: I must talk with you both, for ye are as evil as any that are here to-day." To whom Moon's wife answered, "My Lord hath had us in examination, and therefore ye shall have nought to do with us." "Nay," quoth he, "ye shall not so escape, I must talk with you also." Unto whom Moon answered, "In the presence of the more, the less hath no power: my Lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his Lordship hath appointed, and must repair before him again to-morrow." At the which he let them go, although he was earnestly procured by the party above specified to have showed his quality, which was nothing else but tyranny.

So departed Moon and his wife without hurt of body: but afterward, when they, with Peter the apostle, beheld the face of Christ, they were sore wounded in their consciences, ashamed of their doings, and also at the door of desperation: insomuch, that when the said Moon came home to his house, and entering into a parlour alone by himself, considering his estate, and seeing where a sword of his did hang against a wall, he was earnestly allured by the enemy Satan to have taken it down, and therewith to have slain himself. But God, who casteth not away the penitent sinner repenting his fall with heart, defended his unworthy servant from that temptation, and hath (I trust) left him to the amendment of life by the assistance of his Holy Spirit, and to make him one among the elect that shall be saved.

The morrow they both remained and kept house with no small grief of conscience, waiting and looking with fear, when to be sent for to the bishop, rather than offering their diligence to keep the bishop's appointment. But God so wrought, that

when the time drew near that they feared calling forth, the bells rung for the bishop's departure out of the town; for the which they were not only glad, but also many a good heart in Ipswich rejoiced and gave thanks to God. God for his mercy grant, that our sin never deserve to provoke God's ire, that the like days come again! And if it so do, God make them, with all other weaklings, strong and worthy soldiers to encounter with the ghostly enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil; and boldly to stand to the confession of Christ, and of his gospel, saying with the apostles, Whether it be right in the sight of God, that we should obey you more than God, judge ye.

A tragical, lamentable, and pitiful history, full of most cruel and tyrannical murder, done by the pretended catholics upon three women and an infant: to wit, the mother, her two daughters, and the child, in the isle of Guernsey, for Christ's true religion, July the 18th, the year of our Lord 1556.

Amongst all and singular histories touched in this book before, as there be many pitiful, divers lamentable, some horrible and tragical; so is there none almost either in cruelty to be compared, or so far off from all compassion and sense of humanity, as this merciless fact of the papists, done in the isle of Guernsey, upon three women and an infant, whose names be these as follow:—Katharine Cawches, the mother; Guillemine Gilbert, the daughter; Perotine Massey, the other daughter; an infant, the son of Perotine.

But before I come to the purpose of this story, it shall be necessary for the better explaining of the matter, to begin first with the circumstances whereupon the first original and occasion did rise of this tragical cruelty: the case was this:—

The seventeenth day of May, anno 1556, in the isle of Guernsey, which is a member of England, in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Gosset, who, being evil disposed, went, the day aforesaid, to the house of one Nicholas le Conronney, dwelling in the town of the said St. Peter's Port, about ten of the clock at night; and there, taking the key of the house, (lying under the door,) entered into a chamber toward the street; where she, espying a cup of silver within a cupboard, took it away, and so conveyed herself out of the house again: who, immediately after this fact done, (whether by counsel or by what occasion else I have not to say,) brought the said cup to one Perotine Massey, an honest woman, dwelling in the said town, desiring her to lend her sixpence upon the same.

Perotine, seeing the cup or goblet, and suspecting (as truth was) the same to be stolen, answered, that she would not take it: yet nevertheless, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to restore it again to whom it did appertain; and to the end she should not carry it to another, gave her then presently sixpence. Where moreover is to be noted, that Thomas Effart saith and testifieth, that knowledge was given by the said Perotine to Conronney touching the stealing of this piece, who afterwards, upon the misliking thereof, attached the said Vincent Gosset of the trespass; who, being apprehended and examined upon the same, immediately confessed the fact, desiring to have one sent with her (which was Collas de Loutre) with sixpence to fetch again the goblet, where it was; and so she did.

The next day following, the king's officers being informed of the premises by one Nicholas Cary, of the said town, constable, assembled the justices there to inquire and examine further, as well upon that fact of Vincent Gosset, as upon other griefs and things there amiss. So that after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justices, for that the said constable did report to have found a certain vessel of pewter in the house of the foresaid Perotine Massey, (who then dwelt with her mother Katharine Cawches, and her sister Guillemine Gilbert,) the which vessel did bear no mark; and especially for that there was a pewter dish, whereof the name was scraped out; their bodies upon the same were attached, and put in prison, and their movable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after these things thus done and past, these three silly women, abiding thus in durance in the castle, made their supplication to the justices to have justice ministered unto them, viz., If they had offended the law, then to let them have the law; if not, beseeching to grant them the benefit of subjects. Which supplication put up, thereupon they were appointed to come to their answer the fifth day of June, in the year aforesaid: upon which day, after strait examining of the matter, and the honest answering of the cause by the said good women, at the last they submitted themselves to the report of their neighbours, that they were no thieves, nor evil-disposed persons, but lived truly and honestly, as became Christian women to do, the false and untrue report of their accusers notwithstanding.

So the cause being thus debated, after the inquiry made by the king's officers, they were found by the said neighbours not guilty of that they were charged with, but had lived always as honest women among them; saving only that to the commandments of holy church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was in

fine adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Gosset, being attainted of felony and condemned for the same, should be whipped, and after, her ear being nailed to the pillory, should so be banished out of the isle without further punishment. And as touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to the church they were returned prisoners again into the castle the first of July.

And thus far concerning the true discourse of this matter, with all the circumstances and appurtenances of the same in every point as the case stood, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue: wherein you see what false surmised matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved; and how by the attestation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the fact, and should by the temporal court have been dismissed, had not the spiritual clergymen, picking matter of religion against them, exercised such extremity in persecuting these miserable prisoners, that in no case they should escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you shall hear) to their final end. For after the time of this declaration above mentioned made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to the church, the bailiff, the lieutenant, and the jurats, thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the clergy, forthwith wrote their letters or mandate under their signets to the dean, whose name was Jaques Amy, and to the curates of the said isle: the contents whereof here follow.

"Master Dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amiable recommendations, pleaseth you to know that we are informed by the depositions of certain honest men, passed before us in manner of an inquiry; in the which inquiry Katharine Cawches and her two daughters have submitted themselves in a certain matter criminal: wherein we be informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in contemning and forsaking the mass and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and the queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, forasmuch as the matter is spiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretions, and as briefly as you possibly can, and also for that it pertained to your office; recommending you to God, the which give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and justice.—Written the first day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After these letters and information thus addressed to Jaques Amy, dean, and to others of the clergy, the said women were again convented before the justice aforesaid with his assistants: in the presence of whom they, being examined of their faith concerning the ordinances of the Romish church, made their answer that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done the contrary in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in showing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before. After which answer taken, they were returned again to prison, until the others had an answer of their letter from the dean and his complices. During which time, the dean and curates gave their information touching the said women, and delivered the same to the bailiff and jurats, condemning and reputed them for heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, neither yet being ever examined at any time before of their faith and religion. Whereupon, when the said bailiff and jurats understood that the said dean and curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not sit in judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be examined of their faith. And so the officers, at the commandment of the justices, did fetch and present them before the said dean and curates. The which being accomplished and done, they were examined apart severally one from another: after which examination, they incontinently were returned again into prison.

Then the fourteenth day of the said month of July, in the year aforesaid, after the examination above specified before Helier Gosselin, bailiff, in the presence of Richard Devicke, Pierre Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Lisle, John le Marchant, John le Fevre, Pierre Bonamy, Nicholas Martin, John de la March, jurats; Sir Jaques Amy, dean, and the curates, did deliver before the justice, under the seal of the dean and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum whereof was, that Katharine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to justice, to do execution according to the sentence.

When this was done, commandment was given to the king's officers to go to the castle to fetch the said women, to hear the sentence against them in the presence aforesaid. And they, appearing before them, said in the ears of all the auditory, that they would see their accusers, and know them that have deposed against them, because they

might make answers to their sayings and personages, and to have their libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the Majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church, but entirely would obey, serve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the king and queen's laws that they had done, they required justice. All which their reasons and allegations notwithstanding, the said poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt, until they were consumed unto ashes, according to a sentence given by Helier Gosselin, bailiff: of the which sentence the tenor hereafter followeth.

"The seventeenth, or some others think the twenty-seventh, day of the month of July, 1556, Helier Gosselin, bailiff, in the presence of Richard Devicke, Pierre Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Lisle, John le Marchant, John le Fevre, Pierre Bonamy, Nicholas Martin, and John de la March, jurats: Katharine Cawches, Perotine Massey, Guillemine Gilbert, (the said Perotine and Guillemine, daughters to the said Katharine,) are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be consumed to ashes, in the place accustomed, with the confiscation of all their goods, movables, and heritages, to be in the hands of the king and queen's Majesties, according and after the effect of a sentence delivered in justice by Master Dean and the curates, the thirteenth day of the month of July, in the year aforesaid, in the which they have been approved heretics."

After which sentence pronounced, the said women did appeal unto the king and queen, and their honourable council, saying, that against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal; notwithstanding, they could not be heard, but were delivered by the said bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the said sentence.

The time then being come, when these three good servants and holy saints of God, the innocent mother with her two daughters, should suffer, in the place where they should consummate their martyrdom were three stakes set up. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and so the poor women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful sight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true-hearted Christians that shall read this history. For as the belly of the woman burst



asunder by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a fair man-child, fell into the fire, and eftsoons being taken out of the fire by one W. House, was laid upon the grass. Then was the child had to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave censure that it should be carried back again, and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of catholic tormentors.



ow forasmuch as this story percase, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed of some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified

by the faithful relation both in the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers upon; but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother to the mother of the said two sisters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners concerning the horribleness of the act; which supplication, for the more evidence, hereunder followeth to be seen.

"To the right honourable, and the queen's Highness's most gracious commissioners, for the hearing and determining of matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical.

"Most lamentably and woefully complaining, sheweth unto your gracious and honourable Lordships your poor and humble orator Matthew Cawches, of the isle of Guernsey, that whereas Jaques Amy, clerk, dean of the isle aforesaid, assisted by the curates there, against all order, law, and reason, by colour of a sentence of heresy pronounced against Katharine Cawches, the sister of your Honours' said supplicant, and Perotine and Guillemine her two daughters, did cause the said Katharine, being a poor widow, and her said two daughters, most cruelly to be burned; although neither the said persons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or de-

send any thing directly against the ecclesiastical laws then in place, under the reign of the late Queen Mary, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the laws then in force : and yet the cruelty of the said dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating such murder as aforesaid, raged so far, that whereas, whilst the said persons did consume with violent fire, the womb of the said Perotine being burned, there did issue from her a goodly man-child, which by the officers was taken up and handled, and after, in a most despiteful manner, thrown into the fire, and there also with the silly mother most cruelly burnt. In tender consideration whereof, and forasmuch as this bloody murder was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to justice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the said dean and his accomplices, here ready to be showed to your Honours, will make very plain and manifest : may it therefore please your good and gracious Lordships, of the zeal that you bear to justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, to have due consideration in justice of such horrible murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And may it please your honourable Lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor beseecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your Honours' said suppliant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to his glory, and your everlasting health."

This supplication being presented in manner aforesaid to the queen's honourable commissioners in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the said country, further to be examined, the dean thereupon was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that bloody murder, whether of conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the queen's pardon.

A defence of this Guernsey story against Master Harding.

And thus have you the true narration of this history, discoursed without corrupting or falsifying any part or sentence thereof ; no less faithfully of my part reported, than I received of them, who, dwelling in the same isle, and being present the same time, were best acquainted with the matter, and have given sufficient evidence, not only to me, but also to the queen's Highness's commissioners,

concerning the same, as both by the letter of the bailiff, by the sentence of the dean, by the supplication of the plaintiff, and submission of the parties, and likewise by the queen's pardon granted unto them, may well appear.

By all which proofs and circumstances thus debated, it remaineth manifest for all men to perceive, what cruelty and wrong were wrought against these poor women above specified, and no less matter offered, in a case so unjust, justly to expostulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of these men, but especially of the catholic clergy of Guernsey, who, professing the gospel of peace and charity, should after the example of Christ walk in the steps of meekness and mercy, and yet, contrary not only to all Christian charity and mansuetude, but also against all order of equity or humanity, were so extreme and rigorous to condemn them to the burning fire, under the pretended colour of heresy ; who, if they had been heretics indeed, yet mercy would have corrected the error, and saved life ; equity would have considered man's weak fragility ; at least true justice would have heard both the parties advisedly, and also substantially have surveyed the cause, and not have rushed out the sentence of death so hastily as they did : yea, and though they had been heretics indeed, yet true Christian charity would have stretched further, and at least have given them leisure and respite of time to reclaim themselves. But now what is here to be said, they being no heretics at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can, be proved ? For if King Edward's religion (which was objected to them) were heresy, yet were they then no heretics, when they revoked the same ; and if Queen Mary's religion were heresy, then were they much more heretics themselves, which condemned them of heresy.

But, most of all, we have herein to wonder at Master Harding, who in his late Rejoinder, written against the bishop of Salisbury, notwithstanding all these evidences and demonstrations so certain and manifestly appearing, yet goeth about first to deny the story, terming it to be a fable ; and afterward, being forced to fly, *a statu inficiali*, to admit the story, he removeth *ad translationem criminis* ; and there, seeking by all means to clear the clergy from the spot of cruelty, transferreth the whole blame only upon the women that suffered ; but principally upon poor Perotine, whom he specially charged with two capital crimes ; to wit, whoredom and murder.

And first, touching his accusation of whoredom, let us hear how he proveth this matter : "because," he saith, "by story it is granted, that she was with child ; and yet the historiographer doth not declare (neither durst for shame) who was her husband, or

father to the child," &c. As though that historiographers, being occupied in setting forth the persecution of God's people suffering death for religion and doctrine of Christ, were bound, or had nothing else to do but to play the sumner, and to bring forth who were husbands to their wives, and fathers to their children; which new-found law of history, being never required before, nor observed of any story writers, if Master Harding now shall exact of me, first let him begin with himself, and show us (as wise as he is) who was his own father, if he can. And yet I think not contrary, but his mother was an honest woman. And no less also do I think of this Perotine aforesaid; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

But in the mean time here cometh in the cavilling objection of Master Harding, who beareth the reader in hand, as though for shame I durst not, or of purpose would not, express it, &c. My answer whereunto is this: First, to express every minute of matter in every story occurrent, what story writer in all the world is able to perform it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reasonable reader would require it? Thirdly, albeit some curious readers would so require, yet I suppose it neither requisite, nor convenient to be observed. And, fourthly, what if it were not remembered of the author? what if it were to him not known? what if it were of purpose omitted, as a matter not material to the purpose? Many other causes besides might occur, which the reader knoweth not of. And shall it then by and by be imputed to shame and blame, whatsoever in every narration is not expressed? or doth Master Harding himself, in all his sermons, never pretermitt any thing that conveniently might be inferred? Who was the husband of this Perotine, the historiographer hath not expressed, I grant: and what thereof? Ergo, thereupon concludeth he, that for shame I durst not. Nay, I may marvel rather, that he durst for shame utter such untidy arguments, or so asseverantly pronounce of another man's mind and purpose, which is as privy to him, as then it was to me unknown, what was her husband's name. And though it had been known, what was that material in the story to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruel parts of them, which burned both the mother and infant together, though the infant's father had been expressed? And how then did I for shame conceal that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to express, nor in my suspicion to misdeem?

Nevertheless, if he be so greatly desirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me, who was this infant's father, I will not stick with Master Harding, although I cannot swear for the matter, yet to take so

much pain for his pleasure, to go as near as I may. For precisely and determinately to point out the right father, either of this, or any child, I trow, neither will Master Harding require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himself, being asked, to demonstrate his own. And yet, as much as I may, to satisfy his dainty desire herein, and partly to help the innocency of the woman, touching this demand, Who should be the infant's father? who, say I, but his own mother's husband? the name of which husband was David Jores, a minister, and married to the said Perotine in King Edward's time, in the church of our Lady's-castle parish at Guernsey; the party which married them being called Master Noel Regnet, a Frenchman, and yet alive, witness hereunto, and now dwelling in London, in St. Martin's-le-grand.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have showed forth, for Master Harding's pleasure, the right husband of this Perotine, and what was his name, who was also alive, his wife being great with child, and partaker of the persecution of the same time, and a schoolmaster afterward in Normandy, &c. Now, if Master Harding can take any such advantage hereof to disprove that I have said, or be so privy to the begetting of this child, that he can prove the said David Jores, which was the right husband to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him show herein his cunning by what mighty demonstrations he can induce us to deem the contrary; and as I shall see his reason, I shall shape him an answer in such sort (I trust) that he will perceive, that whoredom, wheresoever I may know it, shall find no bolstering by me—I wish it might find as little amongst the chaste catholics of Master Harding's church.

From this I proceed now to the second part of his infamous accusation, wherein he chargeth her of murder. A strange case, that she which was murdered herself, with her child, and died before him, should yet be accused to murder the child. Murder doubtless is a horrible iniquity in any person; but the mother to be murderer of her own infant, it is a double abomination, and more than a monster; so far disagreeing from all nature, that it is not lightly to be surmised of any, without vehement causes of manifest probation.

Wherefore, to try out this matter more thoroughly, touching this murdering mother, let us see, first, what hand did she lay upon the child? None. What weapon had she? None. Did she then drown it, or cast it in some pond, as we read of the strumpets at Rome, whose children's heads were taken up in Pope Gregory's moat by hundreds, what time priests began first to be restrained of a lawful wedlock—witness the epistle of Volusianus?



Or else did she throw it by the walls into some private corner, as I am credibly certified, that in the

eighth year of Queen Elizabeth, certain scalps and other young infants' bones were found and taken out with a stick in the hole of a stone wall, in Lenton Abbey, by certain gentlemen within the county of Nottingham, (James Barusse, Richard Loveit, and W. Lovelace,) walking in the prior's chamber; witness the said W. Lovelace, with others which saw the bones aforesaid? Or otherwise did she take any hurtful drink to impotionate the child within her, as commonly it is reported few nunneries to have been in England, wherein such a tree hath not been growing within their ground, meet for practising of such a purpose? Neither so nor so. What then? did she purposely and wittingly thrust herself in jeopardy, to the destruction of her child, when she needed not, as Pope Joan, when she might have kept her bed, would needs adventure

forth in procession, where both she herself and her infant perished in the open street?

Well then, thus much by this hitherto alleged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accused of murdering her child, which neither laid hand upon it, nor used weapon against it; neither used any other practice in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poisoning, or any other wilful means, whereby to destroy it. And how then? by what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young babe? Forsooth, saith Master Harding, "When she was accused and condemned to be burned, she did not claim the benefit of her condition; whereby the life both of herself for the time might have been delayed, and the child preserved."

Whether she did or no, I have not perfectly to say; no more, I ween, hath Master Harding. Howbeit this is certain, and by witness known, that she uttered no less to her ghostly father in confession. And what if she had opened the same to the judges? "They would," saith he, "have spared her life for the time, and so the innocent had been preserved." And how is Master Harding sure of this, more than was the life spared of the young lady, and mistress sometime of Master Harding, who suffered, not-

withstanding she was reported of some to be with child?

"Because the law," saith he, "is beneficial to women in her case, claiming the benefit thereof." The law so giveth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatsoever the law giveth or prescribeth, the same to be put by and by in execution: but many times the law goeth as it pleaseth them which have the handling of the law. As for example: the law willett none to be condemned by sentence of death for heresy, which the first time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like law prescribeth none to be executed for heresy, before the writ be sent down *de comburendo*: and yet contrary to this law, without any such writ, (as far as I yet understand,) they burned her most cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of these men, who in their doings herein seemed neither to observe law, nor to regard honesty, nor much to pass for charity? And albeit she had claimed never so much the privilege of the law, what had that availed with those men, whose hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appear) seemeth to be for the household goods of these women, which after death immediately they encroached into their own hands.

But be it admitted, that neither she demanded this benefit of the law, nor that the judges would ever have denied her, if she had so done; yet it had been the part of a grave accuser, before he had been descended into such a railing action of murder against a poor woman now dead and gone, first to have advised wisely with himself, whether it might be, that she had no such intelligence what benefit the law would have given, in case it had been required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought rather yea than no, that the simple woman, brought up all her life long in her mother's house in an obscure island, and in such an out-corner of the realm, far off from the court, and practice of English laws, never heard before of any such benefit of the law; and therefore upon mere simplicity, and for lack of skill, required it not, because she knew not what to require. Peradventure also her senses might be so astonished with the greatness and suddenness of the fear, that it was out of her remembrance. Certes, it had been the duty of the judges, which knew the law, and, having of the woman before them, could not be ignorant of her case, to have questioned with her hereof, and to have holpen her simplicity in that behalf. Or at least, if they had disdained, yet it had been the priest's part, who was her ghostly father, and made privy thereunto, either to have instructed her, or to have stayed the execution of her death for safeguard of the child.

But all this denieth Master Harding, and to aggravate the matter, inferreth that she, not of any simple unskillfulness of the law, "but only of mere wilfulness, for avoiding of worldly shame, concealed her own turpitude, and so became a murderer of her babe," &c. These be the words of Master Harding, written by him not of any sure ground, but only upon his catholic conjecture; for other demonstration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore to answer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again: that in case she had been asked the question of the judges and inquisitors, whether she had been with child, and then had denied the same; or else if she by any other colourable means had cloaked her being with child, whereby it should not appear, this accuser might have some probable advantage against the woman. Now, as she was never demanded of their parts any such question, nor did ever deny any such matter; so, to answer this man with as good probability, I hold that in case they had required that matter of her, she would never have denied it. And therefore whereas she is accused for her not uttering of her being with child; why may she not, by as good reason again, be defended for not denying the same?

"But she should have uttered it," saith he. It had been well done, say I; and I would she had: but yet that is not the question between him and me, what she should have done, but why she did it not. Master Harding, wandering in his blind surmises, fantasieth the cause only to be, "for hiding her dishonesty, and for that she would not shame the gospel." So that *in summa*, to this effect tendeth all his accusation.

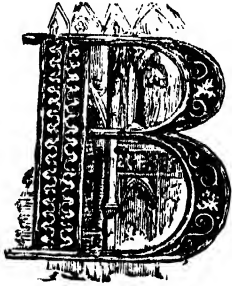
Perotine, being with child at her condemnation, did not show it to the judges.

Ergo, She did it to conceal her turpitude, and because she would not shame the gospel.

But here this accuser must understand, if he have not forgot his logic, that such arguments which do truly hold *a signis*, do always presuppose, that the signs which go before the things signified, must be necessary, perpetual, and firm, as is between causes natural and their effects. Otherwise, if the signs be doubtful, voluntary, or accidental, there is no firm consequent can proceed thereof.

Now, if the said accuser should be put to his proof, how to justify this his sequel to be true by evident demonstration, that she did it only for covering her dishonesty; I suppose verily he should be found to say more than he is able to make good, and in conclusion should be brought into the like case as were the Pharisees, who, coming to accuse the adulteress before Christ, went away mute, with as much shame out of the temple, as the woman herself came

in, having not one word to answer. For a man to pronounce assuredly upon the secret cogitation and intent either of man or woman, further than by utterance of speech is to him signified, passeth his capacity, and is to be left only to Him, who is *scrutans corda et renes Deus*.



UT forasmuch as Master Harding worketh (as I said) by surmises, construing every thing to the worst, let us see what may be surmised as much again to the contrary,

concerning the quality of this surmised murder; wherein divers things are to be considered, as hereunder followeth.

The first conjecture is this: that such manner of women, which for worldly shame are disposed to murder their children, have other ways to compass that wickedness, than by silence-keeping. Now, as touching this Perotine going to be burned, neither could this silence save her, if she would, from worldly shame, neither is it to be thought any such intent ever to be in her, to murder her child; as might well appear in her mother's house, where if she might have continued her whole time out, she intended no less but honestly to be brought to bed, and to nurse up her child; neither caring for shame of the world, nor fearing any slander to the gospel. Whereby may be argued, that no such intent of murder was ever in her thought. For how is it like that she, which had gone so long with child, almost to the full time of her deliverance, and never thought nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that while, should now, going to her own death, mind more hurt to her child, than she did before, hoping herself to live?

Secondly, how knoweth Master Harding to the contrary, but that she was known in the town to be with child, and went boldly abroad without note of any shame, before the time she came in trouble? Which being true, shame then could be no cause why she could conceal her child more now, after her condemnation, than she did before she was condemned.

Thirdly, admit the case, it was not known before, what advantage thereby should rise to her, being now appointed to die, by concealing her being with child? "She should have eschewed," saith Master Harding, "the public shame and obloquy of the world, in that none should have known

her to be with child." First, what shame was it for a married wife to be noted to be with child? Again, what gain had that been to her, to avoid the shame and fame of the world, which had not to live in the world, being now condemned to die?

Fourthly, how is it likely that for shame she meant to conceal that from the world, who both knew she should not live in the world, and also suffer that kind of death whereby her child could not be hidden from the sight of the world, though she had gone about, herself, never so much to conceal it?

Fifthly, how is it to be thought that any woman, going to such a sharp punishment of fire to be consumed, would let for any worldly shame to rescue her own life from so bitter torment, at least so long as she might—besides the safeguard also of her child, if by any means she had known any remedy?

Sixthly, forasmuch as Master Harding doth so heinously charge her with the wilful murdering of her own natural child, let all indifferent consciences this consider with themselves, what was the cause that moved her so willingly to recant as she did, but partly to save her own life, and especially the poor innocent? Whereby it is manifest to be understood, what a motherly affection she had to save her infant, if the fathers of the spirituality had not been so cruel, against all order of law to cast both her and her child away, all this her said recantation notwithstanding.

Seventhly and lastly, when Master Harding hath inveighed all that ever he can against this poor Perotine, yet is all the same but a by-matter from this principal purpose pretended, supposing thereby, through his depraving of her, to justify and excuse the pope's holy clergy, which wrought her death. Which will not be; for whatsoever her life was besides, yet forasmuch as the cause of her death and condemnation was neither for theft, whoredom, nor murder, but only and merely for religion, which deserved no death; I therefore having in my story no further to deal, as I said before, so do I say again, that the cause of her condemning was wrongful, her death was cruel, the sight of the babe was rueful, the proceeding of the judges was unlawful, the whole story is pitiful, and of all this the priest and clergy were the authors principal. All which being considered, and well expended, Master Harding, I trust, may stand sufficiently contented. Or if he think murder to be a thing which ought not (as it ought not indeed) lightly to be passed over, let him then find out murder where it is, and tell us truly, without affection of partiality, where the true murder lieth; whether in the poor woman,

which together with her child was murdered, or in them which, without all law and conscience, brought them both to death.

Briefly, and finally, to conclude with this man; whatsoever the woman was, she is now gone. To bite so bitterly against the dead is little honesty. And though the accusation had in it some truth, yet this accusation here needed not. Now the same being false, it is too much unmerciful. At least, being doubtful and to him unknown, charity would have judged the best. Humanity would have spared the dead. And if he could not afford her his good word, yet he might have left her cause unto the Lord, which shall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead, he findeth in his mass; but to backbite the dead, he neither findeth in his mass, matins, nor even-song. And no doubt but in his dirige and commendations he commendeth many a one, less deserving to be commended than this woman, let catholic affection be set aside. And though the merits of her cause deserved not his commendations, yet did she never deserve this at Master Harding's hand to give her such a Kyrie eleison (as they say) after her departure. Cruelly she suffered enough alive, though Master Harding had not added this cruel invective to her former afflictions: wherein notwithstanding he hurteth not her, but hurteth peradventure himself; neither so much distaineth her honesty as he blemisheth his own. It hath been the manner of learned men in time past, with their defending oration ever to be more ready, than to accuse. And if they did at any time accuse, yet never but enforced; neither did they accuse any but such only as were alive, and that neither but in such matters wherein either the commonwealth or themselves were vehemently touched.

Now if this grieve him so greatly, that in my story I have termed her to be a martyr, let him consider the cause wherefore she suffered, which was neither for felony, murder, nor whoredom, but only for the religion in King Edward's time received; and when he hath confuted that religion, I shall cross her out of the book and fellowship of martyrs. In the mean time my exhortation shall be this to Master Harding:

First, that if he will needs become a writer in these so furious and outrageous days of ours, he will season his vein of writings with more mildness and charity, and not give such example of railing to others.

Secondly, that he will moderate his judging and condemning of others with more equity and indifferency, and not to be so rash and partial. For if she be to be accounted a murderer, which so carefully went about by recantation to save both herself

and her child from the fire, what is to be said of them which condemned her so cruelly, and caused both her and the infant to be burned, notwithstanding that she, for safeguard of their lives, had (as I said) recanted. And yet so partial is he, that in all this invective, crying out so intemperately against the woman and the child that were burned, he speaketh never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Thirdly, forasmuch as Master Harding is here in hand with infanticide, and with a casting away young children's lives, I would wish, that as he hath sifted the doings of this woman to the uttermost, who was rather murdered than a murderer; so he would with an indifferent eye look on the other side a little, upon them of his own clergy, and see what he could find there, amongst those wilful contemners of immaculate marriage. Not that I do accuse any of incontinency, whose lives I know not, but there is One above that well knoweth and seeth all things, be they never so secret to man, and most certainly will pay home at length with fire and brimstone, when he seeth his time.

I say no more, and not so much as I might; following herein the painters, which when their colours will not serve to express a thing that they mean, they shadow it with a veil. But howsoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be suspected touching this crime aforesaid of infanticide; most sure and manifest it is, that they are more than worthily to be accused of homicide, in murdering the children and servants of God, both men and women, wives and maids, old and young, blind and lame, mad and unmad, discreet and simple innocents, learned with the unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high archbishop to the clerk and sexton of the church, and that most wrongfully and wilfully; with such effusion of innocent Christian blood, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Master Harding, in my mind, should do well to spare a little time from these his invectives, wherewith he appeareth the poor protestants of murder, whom they have murdered themselves, and exercise his pen with some more fruitful matter, to exhort these spiritual fathers first to cease from murdering of their own children, to spare the blood of innocents, and not to persecute Christ so cruelly in his members as they do: and furthermore, to exhort in like manner these agamists, and wilful rejecters of matrimony, to take themselves to lawful wives, and not to resist God's holy ordinance, nor encounter his institution with another contrary institution of their own devising, lest perhaps they, prevented by fragility, may fall into danger of such inconveniences above touched, which if they be not

in them, I shall be glad; but if they be, it is neither their railing against the poor protestants, nor yet their secret auricular confession, that shall cover their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he shall come to reveal *abscondita tenebrarum, et judicare sæculum per ignem*.

And thus, for lack of further leisure, I end with Master Harding; having no more at this time to say unto him, but wish him to fear God, to embrace his truth, to remember himself, and to surcease from this uncharitable railing and brawling, especially against the dead, which cannot answer him; or if he will needs continue still to be such a vehement accuser of others, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuser: first, that his accusation be true; secondly, that no blind affection of partiality be mixt withal: thirdly, whosoever taketh upon him to carp and appeach the crimes of others, ought themselves to be sincere and upright, and to see what may be written in their own foreheads.

Whoredom and murder be grievous offences, and worthy to be accused. But to accuse of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leave the other persons untouched which were the true murderers, it is the part of an accuser, which deserveth himself to be accused of partiality. As verily I think by this woman, that if she had been a catholic papist, and a devout follower of their church, as she was a protestant, she had neither been condemned then alive of them, nor now accused, being dead, of Master Harding. But God forgive him, and make him a good man, if it be his will!

Three martyrs burned at Grinstead in Sussex.

Near about the same time that these three women with the infant were burnt at Guernsey, suffered other three likewise at Grinstead in Sussex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree, who for righteousness' sake gave themselves to death and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them; at the said town of Grinstead ending their lives, the eighteenth of the said month of July, and in the year aforesaid.

The burning and martyrdom of Thomas Moor, a simple innocent, in the town of Leicester.

As the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman, nor child, wife nor maid, lame, blind, nor cripple; and so through all men and women, as there was no difference either of sex or age considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person, but whosoever he were, that held not as they did on the pope, and sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise or simple innocent, all went to the fire, as may appear by this simple poor creature and innocent soul, named Thomas Moor, retained as a servant to a man's house in the town of Leicester, about the age of twenty-four, and, after, in manner of a husbandman; who, for speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix, was thereupon apprehended in the country, being with his friends; who coming before his ordinary, first was asked, whether he did not believe his Maker there to be (pointing to the high altar): which he denied.

Then asked the bishop, "How then," said he, "dost thou believe?"

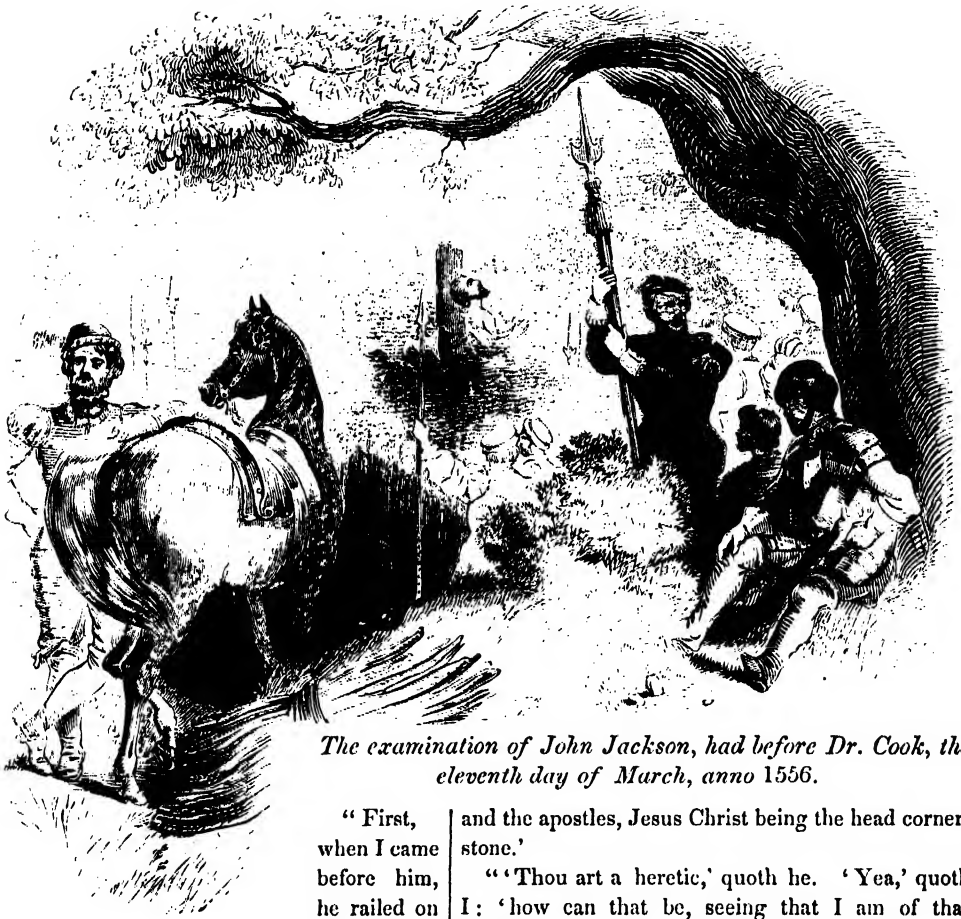
The young man answered again: As his creed did teach him.

To whom the bishop said, "And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?" He answering said, "Forsooth I cannot tell what you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay gear hanging about the pix: what is within I cannot see."

"Why, dost thou not believe," said the bishop, "Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?" "No, that I do not," said he.

Whereupon the ordinary, making short with him, read the sentence, and so condemned the true and faithful servant of Christ to death, in St. Margaret's church in Leicester; who was burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom, for the testimony of righteousness, in the same town of Leicester, the year of our Lord above mentioned, 1556, about the twenty-sixth of June.

To this Thomas Moor, we have also annexed the answers and examination of one John Jackson, before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, for that it belongeth much unto the same time.



The examination of John Jackson, had before Dr. Cook, the eleventh day of March, anno 1556.

ed me heretic. I answered and said, 'I am no heretic.'

"'Yes,' quoth he: 'for Master Read told me, that thou wast the rankest heretic of all them in the King's Bench.' I said, I knew him not. 'No?' quoth he: 'yes, he examined thee at the King's Bench.' I answered him, and said, 'He examined five others, but not me.'

"'Then answer me,' quoth he, 'what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? tell me.' I answered, 'It is a diffuse question, to ask me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me.'

"'What a heretic is this!' quoth he. I said, 'It is easier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one.'

"Then said he, 'What church art thou of?' 'What church?' quoth I; 'I am of the same church that is builded on the foundation of the prophets

and the apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone.'

"'Thou art a heretic,' quoth he. 'Yea,' quoth I: 'how can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.'

"'No,' quoth he; 'but what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar again? tell me.' I answered him, and said, 'I find it not written.' 'No?' quoth he: 'keeper, away with him.'

"Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him, and I said, 'Sir, I can be content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.'

"He answered and said to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not. I answered, and said to him, 'Yea, that I do.'

"'Whereby?' quoth he. 'Hereby,' said I. 'Our Saviour Christ saith, Search the Scriptures, for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that testify of me.'

"'This is a wise proof,' quoth he. 'Is it so?' quoth I: 'what say you then to these words that

the prophet David said, Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will show him the way that he hath chosen : his soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall possess the land. The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he sheweth them his covenant ?'

" 'Well,' quoth he, 'you shall be rid shortly one way or other.'

"Then said I to him, 'My life lieth not in man's hands ; therefore no man shall do more unto me than God will suffer him.'

" 'No?' quoth he : 'thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow.'

" 'You cannot so judge of me,' quoth I, 'except you did see some evil by me.'

" 'No?' quoth he : 'why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papists?'

" 'Why,' quoth I, 'that is no judgment : but Christ saith, If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day.'

" 'I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?' I answered and said, 'Christ is the head.'

" 'But who is head in earth?' I said, 'Christ hath members here in earth.'

" 'Who are they?' quoth he. 'They,' quoth I, 'that are ruled by the word of God.'

" 'You are a good fellow,' quoth he. 'I am that I am,' quoth I.

"Then he said to my keeper, 'Have him to prison again.' 'I am contented with that,' quoth I ; and so we departed.

"I answered no further in this matter, because I thought he should not have my blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion. For they build but upon the sand, and their walls be daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long. Therefore, good brothers and sisters, be of good cheer : for I trust in my God, I and my other prison-fellows shall go joyfully before you, praising God most heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my simple answer, at this time, committing you unto God."

Of this John Jackson, besides these his foresaid answers and examination before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, no more as yet came unto our hands.

The examination of John Newman, martyr, which is to be referred to his story before.

John Newman was first apprehended in Kent,

dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton, suffragan, and others at Tenterden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with Master Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But because his examinations and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first what his answers were by writing to the said suffragan after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as followeth.

"It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living were commended unto all men, under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation, nor corporal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly ; but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but, if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it ; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it.

"We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends ; neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's Grace and his council, and the most part of all the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know, that the preachers were commanded by the king, and the laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and none other. And by their diligent setting forth of it, by the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it, as a very infallible truth taught unto us, for the space of seven years. Wherefore until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God, neither that the queen's merciful Highness, nor yet her most honourable council, will, in a matter of faith, use compulsion or violence, because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

The examination and answers of John Newman, martyr, before Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and others.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench, either the archdeacon or Fauced, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express, beginneth, asking in this wise :

Doctor.—"How say you to this? This is my body, which is given for you."

Newman.—"It is a figurative speech; one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith, I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone, &c. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

Doctor.—"This is no figurative speech; for he saith, This is my body which is given for you. And so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech."

Newman.—"Christ saith, This cup is the new testament in my blood. If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor.—"Nay, that is not so meant: for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, Drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman.—"Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other."

Doctor.—"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, Drink a cup of ale or beer: and therefore it is no figurative speech."

Newman.—"The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is: but where-soever one thing is spoken and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor.—"Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye by the real presence? is not Christ's natural body there that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman.—"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things, as the body doth."

Doctor.—"Why, how then doth it feed?"

Newman.—"I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God; and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins.—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

Newman.—"I grant it to be true: but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body, which doth perish; therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins.—"Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation."

Newman.—"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had both the devil and Christ in him at one time."

Collins.—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman.—"Yea, and before too: what do you think? had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins.—"Well, put case it be so, what say you to that?"

Newman.—"Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins.—"We grant they were both in Judas at that time; for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will: but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman.—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton.—"Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell? yet ye will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas if it pleased him."

Newman.—"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

Thornton.—"Yes, seeing God may do all things he may do what he list, and be where he will: and doth not the psalmist say, he is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

Newman.—"Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places."

Thornton.—"No! do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Newman.—"I do believe that God is almighty, and may do all that he will do."

Thornton.—"Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

Newman.—"I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will: but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled."

Thornton.—"What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; we speak but of things that God doth."

Newman.—"Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places, as the Deity is?"

Thornton.—"Yea, he is in all places, as the Deity is, if it please him."

Newman.—"I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy; for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God: for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet ye will say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity; and so ye will make him no body, but a phantastical body, and not a body indeed."

Thornton.—"Nay, we do not say he is in all places, as the Deity is; but, if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity."

Newman.—"I promise you that seemeth to me as great a heresy as ever I heard of in my life; and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man, and that were against all the Scriptures."

Thornton.—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother, not opening the matrice. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone?"

Newman.—"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say."

Thornton.—"Lo, how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone: and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other."

Newman.—"The Scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angels of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men."

Thornton.—"Ah fool, ah fool! that was because the women should see that he was risen again from death."

Newman.—"Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too."

Thornton.—"Well, let us not stand any longer about him. Back again to the real presence. How say ye? is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

Newman.—"I have answered you already."

Thornton.—"Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?"

Newman.—"No, I believe it not."

Thornton.—"Well, will ye stand to it?"

Newman.—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded to a further truth."

Thornton.—"Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

Newman.—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, God I take to witness, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand

here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that which I do is only in regard of my conscience; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, (for it is not you that can give me faith, nor any man else,) therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

"Thornton had many other questions, which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest; as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength!"

The arguments of John Newman.

"If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body."

"The wicked, receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ:

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not really in the sacrament."

"They which eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them."

"The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them:

"Ergo, The wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ."

"They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit. He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit, &c."

"The wicked bringeth forth no fruit of goodness:

"Ergo, They have not Christ's body dwelling in them."

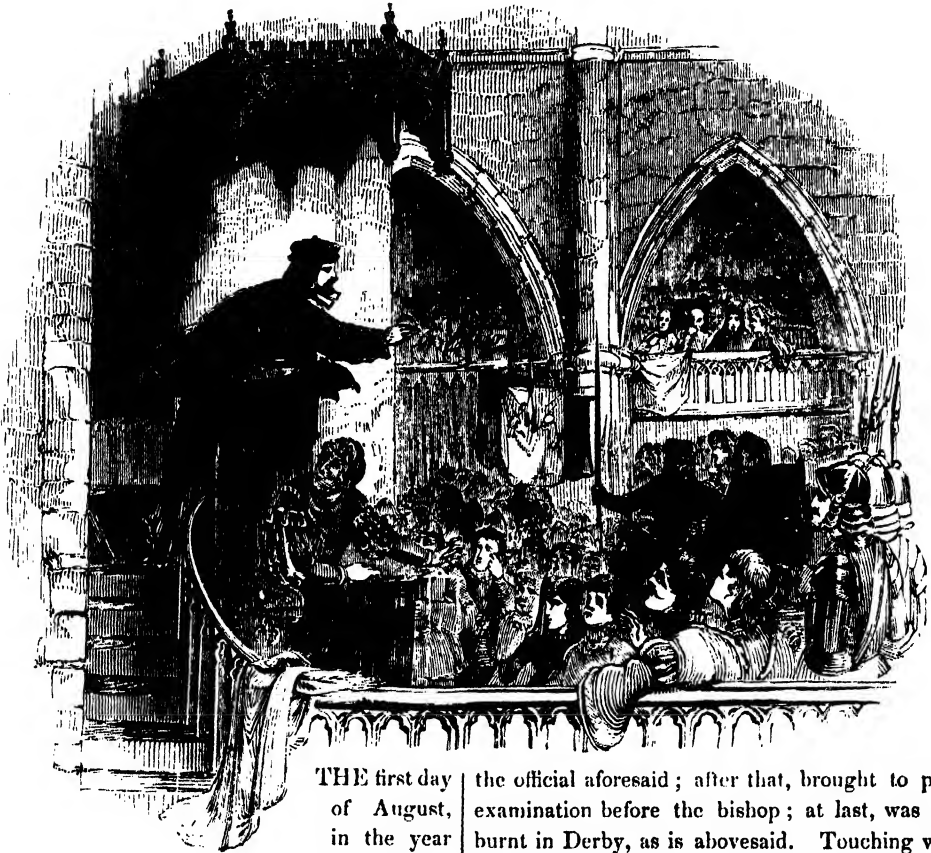
"Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof."

"Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament; Do this in remembrance of me, &c.:

"Ergo, Christ body there is imported to be absent."

"Marry they will say, 'We see him not with our outward eyes; but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine: and that we see, is nothing but a quality or an accident.' But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them."

And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments, whose martyrdom is before expressed.

The martyrdom of Joan Waste, a blind woman, in the town of Derby.

THE first day of August, in the year above specified, suffered likewise at the town of Derby a

certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of twenty-two, named Joan Waste, of the parish of All-hallows. Of them that sat upon this innocent woman's blood, the chiefest were Ralph Banes, bishop of the diocese, Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, Sir John Port, knight, Henry Vernon, esquire, Peter Finch, official of Derby, with the assistance also of divers others; Richard Ward and William Bainbridge the same time being bailiffs of the town of Derby, &c. First, after the above-named bishop and Dr. Draicot had caused the said Joan Waste to be apprehended in the town of Derby, suspecting her to be guilty of certain heresies, she was divers times privily examined, as well in prison as out of prison, by Finch,

the official aforesaid; after that, brought to public examination before the bishop; at last, was there burnt in Derby, as is abovesaid. Touching whose life, bringing up, and conversation, somewhat more amply we mind to discourse, as by faithful relation hath come to our hands.

First, this Joan Waste was the daughter of one William Waste, an honest poor man, and by his science a barber, who sometime also used to make ropes. His wife had the same Joan and one other at one birth, and she was born blind. And when she was about twelve or fourteen years old, she learned to knit hosen and sleeves, and other things, which in time she could do very well. Furthermore, as time served, she would help her father to turn ropes, and do such other things as she was able, and in no case would be idle. Thus continued she with her father and mother, during their lives. After whose departure, then kept she with one Roger Waste her brother, who in the time of King Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory, gave herself daily to go to the church to hear divine service read in the vulgar tongue. And thus, by hearing homilies and ser-

mons, she became marvellously well affected to the religion then taught. So at length, having by her labour gotten and saved so much money as would buy her a New Testament, she caused one to be provided for her. And though she was of herself unlearned, and by reason of her blindness unable to read, yet for the great desire she had to understand, and have printed in her memory the sayings of the Holy Scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted herself chiefly with one John Hurt, then prisoner in the common hall of Derby for debts.

The same John Hurt being a sober grave man, of the age of threescore and ten years, by her earnest entreaty, and being a prisoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exercise daily read unto her some one chapter of the New Testament. And if at any time he were otherwise occupied or letted through sickness, she would repair unto one John Pemerton, clerk of the parish church of All-saints in the same town of Derby, or to some other person which could read, and sometimes she would give a penny or two (as she might spare) to such persons as would not freely read unto her; appointing unto them aforehand how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter, upon a price.

Moreover, in the said Joan Waste this was notorious, that she being utterly blind, could notwithstanding, without a guide, go to any church within the said town of Derby, or at any other place or person, with whom she had any such exercise. By the which exercise she so profited, that she was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Testament without book, but also could aptly impugn, by divers places of Scriptures, as well sin, as such abuses in religion, as then were too much in use in divers and sundry persons.

As this godly woman thus daily increased in the knowledge of God's holy word, and no less in her life expressed the virtuous fruits and exercise of the same: not long after, through the fatal death of blessed King Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion, in the reign of Queen Mary his sister. In which alteration, notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greatest part and multitude of the whole realm into the old papism again, yet this poor blind woman, continuing in a constant conscience, proceeded still in her former exercise, both being zealous in that she had learned, and also refusing to communicate in religion with those which taught contrary doctrine to that she before had learned in King Edward's time, as it is above declared. For the which she was called and convented before the

aforsaid bishop and Dr. Draicot, with divers other called in to bear witness.

Articles ministered unto Joan Waste.

The articles ministered unto her, and wherewith she was charged, were these:

"First, That she did hold the sacrament of the altar to be but only a memory or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine, but not his natural body, unless it were received. And that it ought not to be reserved from time to time over the altar, but immediately to be received.

"Item, That she did hold, in the receiving of the sacrament of the altar, she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption.

"Item, She did hold, that Christ at his last supper did not bless the bread that he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and, by the virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine is not converted and turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

"Item, That she did grant that she was of the parish of All-hallows in Derby.

"Item, That all and singular the premises are true and notorious by public report and fame."

Whereunto she answered, that she believed therein so much as the Holy Scriptures taught her, and according to that she had heard preached unto her by divers learned men; whereof some suffered imprisonment, and other some suffered death for the same doctrine. Amongst whom she named, beside others, Dr. Taylor, who, she said, took it of his conscience, that that doctrine which he taught was true; and asked of them, if they would do so in like case for their doctrine: which if they would not, she desired them for God's sake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, with any further talk, saying, that (by God's assistance) she was ready to yield up her life in that faith, in such sort as they should appoint.

And yet notwithstanding, being pressed by the said bishop and Dr. Draicot, with many arguments of Christ's omnipotency, as, why was not Christ able as well to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, raise Lazarus from the dead, and such other like arguments; and many times being threatened with grievous imprisonments, torments, and death: the poor woman thus being, as it were, half astonished through their terrors and threats, and desirous (as it seemed) to prolong her life, offered unto the bishop then present, that if he would before that company, take it upon his conscience, that that doctrine which he would have her to believe

concerning the sacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of judgment answer for her therein, (as the said Dr. Taylor in divers of his sermons did offer,) she would then further answer them.

Whereunto the bishop answered, he would. But Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, hearing that, said, "My Lord, you know not what you do; you may in no case answer for a heretic." And immediately he asked the poor woman whether she would recant or no, and said she should answer for herself: unto whose sayings the bishop also reformed himself.

The poor woman perceiving this, answered again, that if they refused to take of their conscience that it was true they would have her to believe, she would answer no further, but desired them to do their pleasure: and so, after certain circumstances, they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her unto the bailiffs of the said town of Derby aforementioned; who after they had kept her about a month or five weeks, at length there came unto them a writ *De hæretico comburendo*: by virtue whereof they were appointed by the said bishop to bring her to the parish church of All Saints at a day appointed, where Dr. Draicot should make a sermon.

When the day and time were come that this innocent martyr should suffer, first cometh to the church Dr. Draicot, accompanied with divers gentlemen, as Master Thomas Powthread, Master Henry Vernon, Master Dethick of Newhall, and divers other. This done, and all things now in a readiness, at last the poor blind creature and servant of God was brought and set before the pulpit, where the said doctor, being entered into his sermon, and there inveighing against divers matters, which he called heresies, declared unto the people that that woman was condemned for denying the blessed sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church; and said, that she was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her soul. And he said, that as her body should be presently consumed with material fire, so her soul should be burned in hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it shall be separated from the body, and there to remain world without end; and said, it was not lawful for the people to pray for her. And so with many terrible threats he made an end of his sermon, and commanded the bailiffs and those gentlemen to see her executed. And the sermon thus ended, eftsoons the blessed servant of God was carried away from the said church, to a place called the Windmill pit, near unto the said town, and holding the foresaid Roger

Waste her brother by the hand she prepared herself, and desired the people to pray with her, and said such prayers as she before had learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as life served. In this mean season, the said Dr. Draicot went to his inn, for great sorrow of her death, and there laid him down, and slept, during all the time of her execution! And thus much of Joan Waste.

Now, forasmuch as I am not ignorant, faithful reader! that this, and other stories more, set forth of the martyrs, shall not lack carpers and markers enow, ready to seek all holes and corners how to defame the memory of God's good saints, and to condemn these histories of lies and untruths, especially histories wherein they see their shameful acts and unchristian cruelty detected and brought to light, therefore, for better confirmation of this history above written, and to stop the mouths of such momes, this shall be to admonish all and singular readers hereof, that the discourse of this poor blind woman's life and death, in such sort as is above prefixed, hath been confessed to be very true, by divers persons of worthy credit, and yet living; and also hath been specially perused and examined by William Bainbridge, before mentioned, bailiff then of Derby; who as well of his own knowledge, as by special inquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified us the same to be undoubted; beside the testimonial of John Cadman, curate of the said town, and of others also, upon whose honesty well known, and their report herein nothing differing from such as were best acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this story to posterity, for all good men to consider and judge upon.

The martyrdom of Edward Sharp at Bristol.

About the beginning of the next month following, which was September, a certain godly, aged, devout person, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltshire, named Edward Sharp, of the age of forty years or thereabout, was condemned at Bristol to the like martyrdom, where he, constantly and manfully persisting in the just quarrel of Christ's gospel, for misliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romish church, was tried as pure gold, and made a lively sacrifice in the fire: in whose death, as in the death of all his other saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy; to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

Four who suffered at Mayfield, in Sussex.

Next after the martyrdom of Edward Sharp, abovesaid, followed four, which suffered at Mayfield, in Sussex, the twenty-fourth day of Septem-

ber, anno 1556; of whose names, two we find recorded, and the other two we yet know not, and therefore, according to our register, hereunder they be specified, as we find them: John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, a shoemaker, and a currier; which said four, being at the place where they should suffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the stake ready to abide the force of the fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

The day after the martyrdom of these aforesaid at Mayfield, which was the twenty-fifth of September, anno 1556, was a young man (which by science was a carpenter, whose name we have not) put to death, for the like testimony of Jesus Christ, at Bristol, where he, yielding himself to the torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the Lord, with such joyful constancy and triumph, as all the church of Christ have just cause to praise God for him.

The martyrdom of John Horn and a woman, at Wootton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire.

Now not long after the death of the said young man at Bristol, in the same month were two more godly martyrs consumed by fire at Wootton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, whose names are above specified, which died very gloriously in a constant faith, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly. So gloriously did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was life, and life with a blotted conscience was death.

A pitiful story concerning the unmerciful handling of William Dangerfield, and Joan his wife, being in child-bed; taken out of her house, with her sucking infant of fourteen days old, and laid in the common jail amongst thieves and murderers.

When I had written and finished the story of the Guernsey women, with the young infant there with them burned, and also had passed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waste at Derby, I well hoped I should have found no more such stories of unmerciful cruelty showed upon silly women with their children and young infants: but now, coming to the persecution of Gloucestershire, about the parts of Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness showed against a woman in child-bed, as far from all charity and humanity as hath been any other story yet hitherto rehearsed, as by the sequel hereof may appear.

In the parish of Wootton-under-Edge, not far from Bristol, was dwelling one William Dangerfield,

a right honest and godly poor man, who by Joan Dangerfield his wife had nine children, and she now lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his house a certain space for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her, as natural duty required, and to see his children, she being now delivered four days before.

The return of this man was not so soon known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they, incensed with the spirit of papistry, eftsoons beset the house about, and there took the same William Dangerfield, and carried him to prison; and so at length he was brought to the bishop, being then Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained a certain space, so long, till his legs almost were fretted off with irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife likewise was taken, with her young-born child, being but fourteen days old, (as is said,) out of her child-bed, and carried into the common jail, and there placed amongst thieves and murderers, where both she and her poor innocent found so small charity amongst the catholic men, that she never could come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that she should put about the child in her bosom.

In the mean season while they lay thus enclosed in several prisons, the husband and the wife, the bishop beginneth to practise not with the woman first, as the serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glozing words, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted, and asking him, wherefore he should more stand in his own conceit than she, being as well learned as he, and so subtilly drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the simple soul: whereunto after that he had once granted that he would consent, although he had not yet recanted they suffered him to go to his wife, where she lay in the common jail.

Then they, with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he saw his wife not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falsely he was circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the bishop, bearing him in hand that certainly she had recanted: "and thus deceiving me," said he, "brought this unto me;" and so plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promise. At the sight whereof the wife, hearing what her husband had done, her heart clave asunder, saying, "Alack! thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed, to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism?" And so parted the said William and

Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he not a little to bewail his promise made to the bishop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, or darkness light; and so departed he home toward his house, where, by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his death, and shortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had endured in prison twelve weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued still in prison with her tender infant, till at last she was brought before the bishop to be examined; whereunto what her answers were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit most like it is, whatsoever they were, they pleased not the bishop, as appeared by his ire increased against the poor woman, and her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which also remained with her in the jail, partaker of her martyrdom, so long as her milk would serve to give it suck, till at length the child, being starved for cold and famine, was sent away when it was past all remedy, and so shortly after died; and not long after the mother also followed. Besides, the old woman, which was mother of the husband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who, being left in the house after their apprehension, for lack of comfort, there perished also.

And thus have ye in one story the death of four together; first of the old woman, then of the husband, after that of the innocent child, and lastly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly sure, but that I partly understand, that they were all undone by the same.

This story is reported and testified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. Bridges, dwelling in the same town, and partaker then of the like afflictions, and who hardly escaped with her life.

A shoemaker burnt in Northampton, &c.

In the month of October following, was burned at the town of Northampton, a shoemaker, a true witness and disciple of the Lord, who, according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving fast to the sound doctrine and preaching of God's word, renounced the untrue and false-coloured religion of the Romish *seæ*, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

After whom not long after, in the same month of October, died also in the castle of Chichester three godly confessors, being there in bonds for the like cause of Christ's gospel, who also should have suffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather (as it is to be suspected) the cruel

handling of the papists, made them away before, and afterward buried them in the field.

I read moreover that in this present year, to wit, anno 1556, was burnt one called Hooke, a true witness of the Lord's truth at Chester.

Five prisoners famished in Canterbury castle, by the unmerciful tyranny of the papists.

As among all the bishops, Bonner, bishop of London, principally excelled in persecuting the poor members and saints of Christ; so of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, (as may by man's sight appear,) was the sorest, and of least compassion, (only Dunning of Norwich excepted,) by whose unmerciful nature and agrest disposition very many were put to death in that diocese of Canterbury, not only in the bloody time of that queen, but some also in the blessed beginning of this our most renowned queen that now is, as by the grace of Christ hereafter shall appear.

Of those that suffered in Queen Mary's time within the aforesaid diocese of Canterbury, some be recited already, with the order and form set down of such articles as then were most commonly ministered to the examinatees by Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and the said Nicholas Harpsfield, and others, as before in the volume of this history may appear.

Now to proceed in the order and course of time where we left, next followeth the month of November.

In the beginning of November were together in the castle of Canterbury fifteen godly and innocent martyrs, of which number none escaped with their lives, but they were either burned, or else famished in prison; of the which two sorts, which is the easier death, God knoweth; it is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that of these fifteen, ten were burned and suffered in the fire, of whom in the next book more shall follow hereafter, the Lord willing. The other five were pined and famished most unmercifully in the strait prison, of whom we have here presently to entreat; whose names were these: John Clark, and Dunston Chittenden (which two were yet uncondemned): also William Foster, of Stone; Alice Potkins, wife, of Staplehurst; and John Archer, of Cranbrooke, weaver: these were condemned to be burnt.

Of these five prisoners, the first two were uncondemned; the other three last were condemned, and should have been burned, but suffered no less torments than if they had abided the fire, being macerated and pined to death by famine. What their articles and answers were, I need not here to recite, seeing all they, in the time of Queen Mary, commonly suffered for one manner and sort of cause,

that is, for holding against the seven sacraments ; against the reality of Christ's being in his supper ; for speaking against the Church of Rome, and determinations of the same ; against images set up and worshipped in the church ; for not coming to church, and other like, &c.

First, William Foster, answering to these and like articles, said, that he believed well in all the articles of the creed ; but to believe that there be more sacraments than two, and to pray to saints either to profit us, or to pray for souls in purgatory to profit them, that faith and works do justify, or to allow the popish ceremonies in the church, that he denied. Moreover he said, to carry candles upon Candlemas-day, were as good for him, as to carry a dung-fork, and that it is as necessary to carry the gallows about, if his father were hanged, as the cross. To come to the church he cannot, said he, with a safe conscience. Concerning fish-days and flesh-days, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where necessity required the contrary. This William Foster was a labouring man, of the age of forty years. He was apprehended and imprisoned by Sir Thomas Moyle, knight.

Alice Potkins, for the like confession, was condemned to be burned, for that she was not, neither would be, confessed to the priest ; for that she received not the sacrament of the altar ; because she would not pray to saints, nor creep to the cross, &c. Being demanded of her age, she said that she was forty-nine years old, according to her old age ; and according to her young age, since she learned Christ, she was of one year's age ; and was committed by Master Robertſ to prison.

The answer and confession of John Archer of Cranbrooke was much in like sort. And although certain of these, upon ignorant simplicity, swerved a little in the number of sacraments, some granting one sacrament, that is, the body of Christ hanging upon the cross, some more, some less ; yet in the principal matter touching the doctrine of salvation for faith to stay upon, and in disagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the popish church, they most agreed. Concerning the not praying to saints, and for the dead in purgatory, for not creeping to the cross, for faith only to justify, for taking of an oath, and other such like, he granted as the others had done. This father Archer, by his occupation a weaver of the town of Cranbrooke, of the age of fifty years, was attached and imprisoned by Sir John Gilford, knight.

And thus have ye the cause and imprisonment of these five godly prisoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, that ye shall not surmise the suspicion or relation thereof to proceed of myself,

you shall hear their own testimony and certification by their own letter, thrown out of the prison, concerning the unmerciful dealing of the catholic tyrants in famishing them, as is aforesaid. The words and copy of their letter is this.

"Be it known to all men that shall read, or hear read these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, (except money or raiment,) to carry it them again ; or else if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof ; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us : inso-much that there are four of us, prisoners there for God's truth, famished already, and thus is it his mind to famish us all. And we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us ; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners in other prisons for the like cause, to be also famished. Notwithstanding, we write not these our letters to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus' sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law so to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.—Out of the castle of Canterbury."

The trouble and vexation of good people in the diocess of Lichfield and Coventry.

These foresaid months of September, November, and December, as they were troublesome to divers other places, and especially to the diocess of Canterbury, by reason of the archdeacon above named ; so likewise they brought no little business in the country to Lichfield and Coventry, by a cruel bishop there, called Ralph Banes, and a more cruel chancellor, named Dr. Draicot, through the fierce inquisition of whom great stir was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many caused to bear faggots ; who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet because it may appear what a number there are in the countries of England abroad, which in their hearts have a misliking of the pope's Romish laws and religion, if for fear they durst utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearsal of their names, which in the foresaid diocess of Coventry and Lichfield

were taken in suspicion, and examined for their religion.

And first amongst them that were detected and

enjoined to the popish penance, that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in procession, were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and by witness



convicted, and bare a faggot the twelfth of September. Likewise Margery Kirry, Thomas Norris, Thomas Stiffe, William Kaime, Robert Katrenes, Thomas Smith, John Borsley the younger. Item, John Waterhouse, against whom came in witness and accusers Richard Caerbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying against him for seldom coming to the church, for giving no reverence at

the elevation of the sacrament, but looking upon his book, for not kissing the pax, &c. Robert Bissel, Leonard West, Richard Baily of the parish of Whitacre.

These were deprived: Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Jurdian, priest; Edmund Crockel, priest; Thomas Whitehead, priest; William Taylor, priest; Anselme Sele, priest; Richard Slavy, priest, married; Edward Hawkes, priest, married; Robert Aston, priest, deprived; Henry Tecka, priest, deprived; Robert Mossey, priest, married and deprived.

Beside these were divers other, which in like sort were detected, accused, and examined, although they bare no faggot, but were dismissed; as Richard Kempe, John Frankling, William Marler, Julius Dudley, Eustache Bysacre, William Shene, Antony Afterwhittle, Thomas Steilbe, Henry Birdlim, Wil-

liam Mosley, John Leach, John Richardson, Antony Jones alias Pulton, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres his son, Isabel Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preston, Thomas Saulter, John Stamford, shoemaker, Richard Woodburne, Thomas Arnal, shoemaker, John Robinson, Hugh Moore, shoemaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Foxal, Thomas Underdonne, Richard Weaver.

The next month following, being October, came under examination Joyce Lewes, gentlewoman, of whom we defer to speak until the next year, at what time she was burned.

These forenamed persons, with many more following in the next year after, although they did subscribe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cause I do here recite them, that by them it might appear, what a number there were, not only in the county of Lichfield, but also in other parts, in heart set against the pope's proceedings, if that fear rather than conscience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The conclusion of this eleventh book, with a brief story of Sir John Cheke, &c.

And thus have ye the whole persecution of this year declared, which was the year of the Lord 1556, and the fourth of Queen Mary's reign. with the names and causes of all them which suffered martyrdom within the compass of the said year: the number of all which, slain and martyred in divers places of England at sundry times this year, came to above eighty-four persons, whereof many were women, wives, widows, and maidens; besides them which otherwise by secret practice were made away, or driven out of goods and houses, or out of the realm, or else within the realm were put to penance and coacted by forcible violence to recant: save only that I have omitted the story of Sir John Cheke, knight, and schoolmaster sometime of King Edward; the worthiness of which man deserveth much to be said of him, but his fall would rather be covered in silence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the present story most principally appertaining it shall suffice.

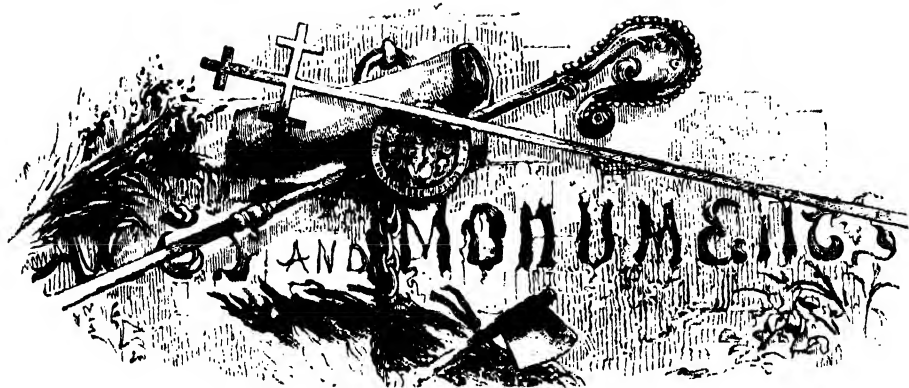
First, Master Cheke being in the country of Germany, out of all danger of persecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in safety, but also with reputation accordingly esteemed among the Germans, and also well placed in the city of Strasburg; where if he had contented himself to have remained, rather giving place to time, than to presume upon adventures,

peradventure it had been better with him. But what fatal instigation wrought in his mind I know not. In the end so it fell, that he would needs take his journey with Sir Peter Carew, from High Germany unto Brussels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew somewhat) not without the forecasting of his adventured journey by the constellation of the stars, and disposition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famously expert and travailed in the knowledge of sundry arts and sciences; so was he a little too much addicted to the curious practising of this star-divinity, which we call astrology. But howsoever it was, or whatsoever it was that the stars did promise him, truth was, that men here in earth kept little promise with him. For having, as it is said, King Philip's safe-conduct to pass and repass, and that by the means, as I find, of the Lord Paget and Sir John Mas, pledging for his safeguard King Philip's fidelity, he came to Brussels to see the queen's ambassadors; and having brought the Lord Paget on his way toward England, in the return between Brussels and Antwerp, he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the provost-marshal, spoiled of their horses, and clapped into a cart, their legs, arms, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and so shipped, being blindfold, under the hatches, and so brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being entrapped, and in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of these two ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life: other remedy with those holy catholics there was none. Neither could his conscience excuse him, nor truth defend him, nor learning help him.

Albeit Master Fecknam, whether by the queen suborned, or upon his own devotion or friendship toward his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of Master Cheke, speaking in his behalf, yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he must needs recant, and so did he; the copy of whose recantation prescribed unto him, because it is known and in the hands of divers, it needeth not here to be expressed.

Then after this recantation, he was, through the crafty handling of the catholics, allured first to dine and company with them; at length drawn unawares to sit in place, where the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other bishops to be condemned; the remorse whereof so mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life; whose fall, although it was full of infirmity, yet his rising again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable; the Lord be praised.



THE TWELFTH BOOK.

CONTAINING

THE BLOODY DOINGS AND PERSECUTIONS OF THE ADVERSARIES, AGAINST THE FAITHFUL AND TRUE SERVANTS OF CHRIST, WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH AS WERE PUT TO SLAUGHTER FROM THE BEGINNING OF JANUARY, 1557, AND THE FIFTH YEAR OF QUEEN MARY.

The order and manner of the cardinal's visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning of the bones and books of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius; anno 1557, January the ninth.

CARDINAL POLE, three years after his return into England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having in all points established the Romish religion, began to have an eye to the university of Cambridge, which place among others specially seemed to have need of reformation out of hand. To perform this charge were chosen Cuthbert Scot, not long before consecrated bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet an Italian, arch-priest of the people of Bozolo, in the diocese of Verona, professed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the pope's datary, Thomas Watson, elected bishop of Lincoln, John Christopherson, elected bishop of Chichester, and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eton. There was good cause why the matter was especially committed to these persons; for as touching Ormanet, it is well

known that he was a man of much estimation with Julius the Third, at that time bishop of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinal Pole, because, without his knowledge, (as in whom he put his chief trust and confidence,) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

The residue were sent thither either for experience in matters of the university, or else they seemed of all others most meet to be put in trust with the handling of that case, because they were taken for most stout champions and earnest defenders of the Romish religion, and of things appertaining to the establishment of the same. Some were of opinion that Scot, Watson, and Christopherson busily procured this journey of their own hands, because there was a grudge between them and divers of the university, at whose hands they thought themselves, lately before, to have received displeasure, and that now time and occasion served to be revenged upon them, as they listed themselves.

These persons thus appointed (in the mean while as the visitors were addressing themselves to their

journey) sent their letters with the cardinal's citation before to Dr. Andrew Perne, vice-chancellor then of Cambridge, with the other commissioners associate, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the university, in their name, to be in a readiness against the eleventh day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin: willing him especially to be there himself in presence, and also to set forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, that they should search out all statutes, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the university, or to any of the colleges, or finally to any of themselves; and these to present the same before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there personally: for they would not fail but be there at the same time, to lay before them such things as should seem necessary to this charge of reformatory the university; and further to give charge of all such things as should seem most for the profit and behoof of the same, together with such things as were to be done on their part, according as should seem most agreeable to the decrees of the canon law.

This citation of the cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Master Bullock, was first exhibited in the convocation house of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the university the eleventh of December.

These letters the vice-chancellor caused to be set up in places convenient. This reformation was looked for certain months before, but now, when it was once certainly known that it should be indeed, every man's mind was marvellously moved. Some greatly rejoiced that the time was come, wherein they thought that they might not only freely speak, but also do what they listed against their adversaries, who, beforetimes, had rejected the baubles of the Romish bishop. Other some, perceiving in what peril they stood, looked narrowly about them how to wind themselves out of the briers. Many sought the good will and friendship of such as were known to be in favour with the terrible commissioners. Other certain made themselves guilty, and desired forgiveness of them at whose hands they themselves had taken wrong before.

There were also divers to be found, who, in time past, counterfeited to be very earnest embracers of the true doctrine, but, in their living and conversation, had greatly defaced it; applying to their own fleshly lusts, the liberty that appertained of right to the spirit, so that they thought it lawful to do what they listed. These men supposed there was no way but one to purge themselves of their misbehaviour, namely, if they became accusers of those whose friendship they had erewhiles embraced: and

to the intent to make men believe that they professed the Romish religion from the bottom of their hearts, and to curry favour with the commissioners, they promised to take upon them the order of priesthood without delay; for they knew the commissioners would like them very well, who already were in such wise minded, that as they would withhold no man from that order, that would offer himself thereunto, so would they by all means endeavour to bring every man thereto that was any thing witty or learned.

After this, upon the twenty-fourth of December, which was Christmas-even, the vice-chancellor with the heads of the houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded, that the visitors' charges should be borne by the university and colleges, (which then cost the university a hundred pounds thick,) and also that no master of any college should suffer any of the fellows, scholars, or ministers to go forth of the town, but to return before the visitation.

On Friday, the eighth of January, the queen's commissioners, namely, Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, Dr. Segewick, Dr. Harvy, Master Frank, Rust, and another who is here nameless, also with Sir James Dyer the recorder, Master Chapman and Evered sitting together in the hall, certain were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge given what should be done. And first the commission was read. Then were all the high-constables called to bring in their precepts, and sworn. Also two of every parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn to inquire of heresy, Lollardy, conspiracy, seditious words, tales, and rumours against the king and queen. Item, For heretical and seditious books, for negligences and misdemeanour in the church, for observation of ceremonies, for ornaments, and stock of the church.

We said at the first, that the cardinal thought the university to have need of reformation. The reason why he should think so, was this; either because the same of long continuance, since any man could remember, had cast off the yoke of the bishop of Rome, and cleaved to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; or else by reason that both for the late schism, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the said university interpreted Holy Scripture, they saw many so sore corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a town) unless a speedy remedy were adhibited out of hand, it were not possible, to their thinking, to quench it many years after; who also feared (if it were not looked to in time) lest this mischief should take root, and by little and little infect all the

members next unto it, which yet were whole and sound.

This was the year of our Lord 1556. To the intent therefore to make a salve for this sore, the inquisitors, of whom we spake before, came unto Cambridge the ninth day of January. And as they were yet in their journey, and not far from the town, divers of the masters and presidents of the colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the town, and after to their lodgings. They were entertained in Trinity College by Master John Christopherson, master of the same house, and lately before elected bishop of Chichester. Notwithstanding they were desired, some to one place, and some to another, as occasion served, either to do their duties, or to show their good will; Cole to the King's College, and Dr. Watson to St. John's. But whether it were for the acquaintance of Christopherson, or for the largeness of the house, which, forasmuch as it was able to receive them all, seemed therefore most meet and convenient to take their conference in, and stood well for all comers to have access unto them, they all took up their lodgings in the said college with Master Christopherson.

At their coming thither an oration was made by a fellow of the house, who in the name of all the rest, with long protestation declared that they were most heartily welcome thither; and that he and his fellows gave them great thanks, that it had pleased their Lordships to have so good opinion of them, as to choose their house especially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to stand in hope of some further benevolence towards them, and also done great worship to their college by their being there: wherefore they should look at their hands again for as much duty and reverence, as lay in their power to perform.

To this oration Watson made answer, that this forward and earnest good will and mind of theirs in doing such courtesy, was right thankfully taken, both of him and his, exhorting them to continue stedfastly in the same, and to proceed also when need should require: for it was so far from any of their thoughts, to stop them in this their race, that they would rather haste them forward to run through more speedily, being not without good cause persuaded to conceive good hope of their benevolence towards them, inasmuch as they would do for them whatsoever might turn to their profit and commodity.

This day, forasmuch as it was toward evening ere they came, and the sun was going down, was nothing else done. The next day, being the tenth of January, they bestowed in recreating themselves after their journey, and in setting other things at a stay. Nevertheless, to the intent the same should

not escape altogether without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Master Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Phagius, lay buried.

These men were dead a good while before. Paulus Phagius had scarce yet showed the proof of his wit and learning, when he departed to God, 1549. Bucer lived but a little after. During which time somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, (wherein the old man, being painful in the word of God, never spared himself, nor regarded his health,) he brought all men into such admiration of him, that neither his friends could sufficiently praise him, neither his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine. A most certain token whereof may be his sumptuous burial, solemnized with so great assistance and gladness of all the degrees of the university, that it was not possible to devise more to the setting out and amplifying of the same. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof being written by Master Nicholas Carre, a learned man, in a little treatise to Sir John Cheke, knight, with an epistle full of consolation as concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius, unto the coming of these visitors, were passed about three or four years, more or less. And from the time that that blessed King Edward the Sixth deceased, unto that day, the priests never ceased to celebrate their masses and other kind of ceremonies in those places, and that without scruple of conscience, as far as men could perceive. But, after the time that these commissioners came thither, those things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounced for profane and unholy. For they commanded that all those assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies, should be removed to the King's chapel, which is a place far more stately than all the others.

Now was come the eleventh day, in which the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of colleges, and all the other graduates of every house, were commanded to appear before the said commissioners in their habits. It was commanded that the scholars also should come in their surplices; but that was not done. They assembled in great number to Trinity College, having the university cross borne before them, and in the Gatehouse a form was set and covered, with cushions and carpet on the ground, for the visitors; where the vice-chancellor, having on a tissue cope, sprinkled holy water on them, and purposed to cense them, but they refused it there; which not-

withstanding afterward, in the Queen's College and elsewhere, they refused not.

There Master John Stokes, common orator of the university, one of the popish superstition, (for none other but such, in those days, might be promoted to any worship,) made an oration in the name of all the rest.

The answer of Master Scot, bishop of Chester, to the oration of John Stokes.

When Master Stokes had made an end of speaking, the bishop of Chester answered thereunto as follows :

"That they took in right good part, that the mother the university had made so open a declaration of her good will toward them ; for the which he gave most hearty thanks, desiring her to perform, in deed and in her works, the things that she had so largely promised of herself in words and communication. As concerning their good wills, there was no cause to mistrust : for their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with such as fell to the amendment ; but both the cardinal himself, and they also, were fully minded to show favour, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, desiring nothing more earnestly, than that they which have erred and gone astray, should return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wished to have been present, wished the selfsame thing also, desiring nothing so much as with his own hands to sustain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the ground, the university, his ward—for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian—whom it greatly grieved that the infections of the times past had spread abroad so grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with the contagious air thereof. For he would gladlier have come thither to visit and salute it, than to correct it, if the weightier affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now, seeing he could not do so, he had appointed this commission, in the which he had assigned them to be his deputies, which, because they knew him to set so much store by the university, should extend the more favour to it ; and (because they themselves had been there brought up) would the more earnestly embrace it. The chief matter that they came for tended to this end, that such as had erred should confess their faults, and return into the right way again : for they were in good forwardness of healing, that acknowledged themselves to have offended. And therefore it was wisely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuse the faults of the university, nor of other men,

but [that they must] confess and acknowledge their crime, for that there were many things had need to be corrected and amended.

"The cause why they were sent thither was to raise up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour such as were sorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they should not be able to do so much with some men as they would ; yet notwithstanding, according to their duty, they would show themselves so diligent for their part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a froward wilfulness, and took stoutly upon them : wherewith as they were greatly moved and aggrieved, (as reason was,) so they coveted to remedy the mischief. Against whom, if any thing should seem hereafter to be straitly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deserts, and not to the wills of them. Neither ought such as are whole and sound to be moved at the chastisement of others, forasmuch as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now stucked on the university, but also to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts, they more inclined unto mercy than rigour. Howbeit, considering that so great diseases could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of necessity to use stronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted, (for they wished that all should amend and be led by wholesome counsel,) and would yet at length wax weary of their errors, and instead of them frequent again the ancient customs of themselves and of their forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of humanity and gentleness at their hands, in all this their business of reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requesting no more of the university, but to do as became them ; which being performed, he promised that their benevolence, neither in any public nor in any private person's case, should in any wise be behind-hand."

These things being finished, they were brought *processionaliter* to King's College, by all the graduates of the university, where was sung a mass of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity, nothing wanting in that behalf that might make to the setting-forth of the same. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly surnamed Datary, (who albeit he were inferior in estate unto Chester, being a bishop, yet was superior to them all in authority,) while the mass was celebrating, eft standing, eft sitting, and sometimes kneeling on his

knees, observed certain ceremonies, which afterward were required of all others to be observed, as in process hereof was to be seen.

From thence they attended all upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to have been interdicted; in the which place, forasmuch as it was suspended, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon made in open audience by Master Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching against heresies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. The which being ended, they proceeded eftsoons to the visitation, where first Dr. Harvy did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the commission to the bishop of Chester with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by Master Clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his seal of office with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses. Among whom was also Robert Brassey, master of King's College, a worthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoar hairs; who, hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, said, he was there present, as all the others were: nevertheless, forasmuch as the reformation of his house was wholly reserved to the discretion of the bishop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patent, but also by grant of confirmation from the bishop of Rome himself, under a penalty, if he should suffer any strangers to intermeddle, he openly protested in discharge of his duty, that unless their commission gave them authority and jurisdiction upon that college, either by express words or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present. This his exception they took all in great displeasure; alleging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whose jurisdiction no place nor person was exempted: wherefore he had done evil to call into question their authority, so well known to all men. Chester seemed to be more moved with the matter than all the others; and that was because Brassey had a little before obtained the worship of that room, even utterly against his will, and maugre his head; he doing the worst he could against him.

After the formal solemnity of these things thus accomplished, the commission being read, and the citation exhibited, all the masters of houses being only cited, every man for a while departed home to his own house, with commandment to be at the common schools of the said university at one of the clock the same day. When the degrees of the university, commonly called regents and non-regents,

were assembled thither, they spent the rest of the day in reading over of charters, granted to the university by kings and princes, in searching out of bulls and pardons from the pope, and in perusing of other monuments pertaining to the university.

The next day following, being the twelfth of January, they resorted to the King's College to make inquisition, either because the same for the worthiness thereof was chief and sovereign of all the residue, or else because that that house specially before all others had been counted, time out of mind, never to be without a heretic (as they termed them) or twain. And at that present time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themselves from thence, yet they judged there were some remaining still.

The order and manner how they would be entertained of every college, when they should come to make inquisition, they themselves appointed, which was in this sort. They commanded the master of every house, together with the residue, as well fellows as scholars, apparelled in priest-like garments, (which they call habits,) to meet them at the uttermost gate of their house towards the town: the master himself to be dressed in like apparel as the priest when he harnesseth himself to mass; saving that he should put on uppermost his habit, as the rest did. The order of their going they appointed to be in this wise: the master of the house to go foremost; next unto him, every man in his order as he was of degree, seniority, or of years. Before the master should be carried a cross and holy water to sprinkle the commissioners withal; and then, after that, the said commissioners to be censured. And so after this meeting, and mumbling of a few devotions, they determined with this pomp and solemnity to be brought to the chapel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the state of man. Others (forasmuch as at that time they not only pretended the jurisdiction of the cardinal, but also represented the power and authority of the bishop of Rome himself, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) said, it was far less than of duty appertained to his Holiness, in that the honour that was done to his legates, was not done to them but to his Holiness. Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet; and being entered the King's College gate, where they looked for the master and fellows of the house, seeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded forth to the church-door, where they stayed. There, perceiving how the master and the rest of the house were dressing themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came in sud-

denly upon them, before they had set out any foot out of their places.

Then the master first excused himself that he was ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in a readiness. Secondly, he said he was very glad of their coming, promising first in his own name, and after in the name of all the rest, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, the which he doubted not but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the same exception he made to them now also; the which his doing he besought them not to be offended withal; for, seeing he did it only for the discharge of his duty, he had juster cause to be held excused.

He had scarcely yet finished his tale, but the bishop of Chester, with a frowning look and an angry countenance, interrupting him of his talk, said, he needed not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor they to make answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He rather feared that their quarrel was not good, that they made such ado about it, and sought such starting-holes: for so were diseased persons oftentimes wont to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As though that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority. As for the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and with such as were with him, and could not in any wise be alleged against him. Therefore he admonished him to desist from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himself and his to such things as then were in doing.

After this they went to mass: which finished, with great solemnity, first they went to the high altar of the church, and having there saluted their god, and searching whether all were well about him or no, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church-goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatsoever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging, where first and foremost swearing them upon a book to answer all such interrogatories as should be propounded unto them, (as far as they knew,) they examined first the master himself, and afterward all the residue, every man in his turn. But there were some that refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against them-

selves: for it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to bewray himself, and not to be suffered to keep his conscience free, when there is no manifest proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjust it is, that a man should be constrained perforce to accuse himself. Nevertheless these persons also, after much altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be sworn.

Three days long lasted the inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed: for they looked to have had much altercation and business about the matter. Now, forasmuch as the present state of the case required good deliberation and advisement, the vice-chancellor and masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed altogether in this determination: that forasmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but also had himself been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise, a supplication should be made to the lords commissioners, in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcass might forthwith be digged up, (for so it was needful to be done,) to the intent that inquisition might be made as touching his doctrine, the which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him: for it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in Christian burial. Yea, and besides that, it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's souls, and the offence of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be suffered, that they which utterly dissented from all other men in the trade of their living, laws, and customs, should have any part with them in the honour of burial. And therefore the glory of God, first and before all things, ought to be defended; the infamy, (which through this thing riseth on them,) with all speed put away; no room at all left unto those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noisome to the very elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying of the consciences of the weak. In executing whereof so notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold to attempt the like.

They gave the same verdict by common assent upon Phagius also. Unto this writing they annexed another, by the which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the university. He was a man meetest for the purpose, both for the office that he bare, and also because that by the testimony of Christopherson he was deemed to be the most catholic of all others. This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university and signed with their common seal, the next day, which was the thirteenth of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commissioners. Note here, good reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the university under a colourable pretence to desire this thing of them by way of petition: as who should say, if they had not done so, the other would never have gone about it of themselves. But this gloze was soon found out; for the commissioners had given the vice-chancellor instructions in writing before. But now peradventure they thought by this means to remove the envy of this act from themselves.

Thus the vice-chancellor came unto the commissioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about seven of the clock in the morning. He had scarce declared the cause of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his suit, but also even at the very same time received the sentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fair copied out by Ormanet the datary himself. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university. Whereupon a solemn convocation, called, *Congregatio regentium et non regentium*, for the same purpose was appointed to be at nine of the clock; where the graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this: "Pleaseth it you that Martin Bucer, for the heresies now recited, and many others by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial, may be exhumate and taken up again?"

After this grace eftsoons being granted, then was the sentence of condemnation, drawn by the datary, openly read, and immediately another grace asked, that the same might be signed with the common seal; the which request was very lightly and easily obtained. And it was no marvel; for now after the death of King Edward, since the time that the government of the realm came to the hand of Queen Mary, all such persons being driven away as had rejected the Romish religion, (in whom well nigh alone rested whatsoever wit and learning were in

the whole university besides,) such a sort of rascals were put in their room, that all places now swarmed with unlearned and unnurtured chaplains; to whom nothing was greater pleasure, than to cause all men to speak slander and reproach of Bucer. There were divers yet left among them to speak against their demands. But they (because, as it commonly cometh to pass, that might overcome right) could nothing avail. For this is a common custom in all such matters and ordinances, that look what the greater number decreeth, is published in the name of all; and that which the better part disallowed, seemeth as though no man at all disallowed it.

The next day, being the fourteenth of January, all the visitors (only Christopherson, elect of Chichester, excepted) came to the King's College; where, first going into the church, and there making their prayers at the greetings, they so proceeded into the stalls, there sitting all the mass time, the company standing in their copes, and singing a solemn respond in honour of the visitors. After the respond done, the provost in the best cope made to them his protestation, unto whom the bishop of Chester made answer also in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to mass, which ended, the catholic visitors approached up to the altar, and took down the sacrament, and searched the pix, but first the two bishops censed the sacrament.

Then they went unto the revestry, and opened the chalices, corporas cases, and chrismatory, and viewed all those things. And so returning into the provost's chamber, divided themselves in examination of the provost, vice-provost, and the rest of the company. The same day Dr. Bacon, master of Gonville-hall, bade the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvy, Swinborne, Maptide, with others, home to dinner. These men, immediately after dinner, caused the common seal of the university to be put to the aforesaid instrument of condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the general consent of the graduates of the university. And by and by after, they carried the same to the commissioners to their lodging; the which when they had received, forasmuch as (after more diligent perusing thereof) it liked them not in all points, some things they raised out, some they interlined, other some they changed; so that in fine, they were fain to take the pain to engross it new again.

About this time almost, one of the King's College, (of the number of them that chanced to be there at such time as the commissioners took a view of the ornaments of the church, and of other things that the priests occupy at their ceremonies,) hear-

ing Ormanet call for the oil, wherewith sick folks were wont to be annealed, (which, as it should seem, he had never seen before,) after his departure, being desirous to see what gear it was, came to the place; but it was kept under lock and key. Then he inquired where it stood; and when he saw where, he demanded to have a sight of the thick milk and a little oil, wherewithal men were wont to be annealed. When it was brought before him, and that he had well considered it, it was rank of savour, so that he was fain to turn away his nose, bidding them make that milk into cheese betimes, or else it would stink so that no man would be able to abide it. But ere it was long after, he bought that word dearly; for there never yet wanted some Doeg of Edom or other, to bear word of such things to Saul: for they had their spies in every corner, who ever crept in among company.

St. Mary's church was not yet reconciled, nor the place purged from the dead bones and withered carcass of Martin Bucer; by means whereof, the trentals, obits, and anniversaries that were customably wont to be done for Sir R. Read, knight, were appointed to be done at the King's College, the commissioners being present at the same. The bishop of Chester, or ever service was fully done, going out, called to him one of them that were there, whom he began to undermine with such kind of talk.

"It is not unknown to thee that the time draweth nigh, when Bucer's carcass, according to the decrees of the canon law, must be digged up, and that which remaineth of him (to the intent that all men may take ensample thereby) be put to the fire, (for so the holy canons have enacted,) and the memorial of him be utterly condemned to oblivion for ever. Now, forasmuch as he was buried with great pomp and solemnity, we think it necessary that his burning be executed with no less solemnity and furniture. This assuredly is our meaning, and this toucheth all the degrees of the university; for it is a foul shame and not to be borne with, that so great reverence should be done unto heretics. Wherefore it behoveth every man by all means, to show evident tokens of the alteration of his mind: and it ought not to be thought a strange matter that this inquisition is extended upon a dead man; for if so be that in cases of high treason it be lawful to attain a person that is dead, it standeth with reason that these persons, being more pestiferous and hurtful than those that are guilty of treason, should abide like judgment. When they were buried, orations were made before the degrees of the university, and sermons preached to the people; the like thing now also, when they shall be burned, do

we purpose to have. Now because I understand that thou art an expert orator, and canst handle thyself well in that feat, I would choose thee before all others to do the thing, which, forasmuch as it shall be greatly to thy praise and commendation, I know thou wilt not refuse to take upon thee: and, for my part, I assure thee, I have the gladlier called thee hereunto, because I court thy preferment. There is but one in all the university, that, when he was a young man, was my pupil, Nicholas Carre by name, whom, for the good will I bear him in that respect, I will join fellow with thee in this matter; to the intent thou mayest well perceive thereby, that I commit this charge unto thee to do thee honour."

The man, having this oration in mistrust, answered in this wise:

"He wished, with all his heart, that the judgment as concerning this case should be reserved to his betters, saying that he was not desirous of that honour; for men would not give credit to his words, neither was he able to devise what to say against so worthy a person, especially that might seem to have any likelihood in that behalf. For he knew not the man's living and conversation; but, as far as he could gather by other men's talk, he was a man of such integrity and pureness of living, that not even his enemies could find any thing blameworthy in him. As for his doctrine, it passed his power to judge of it, howsoever he were deemed to be of a corrupt religion; whereof he was not able to determine, considering it was a doubtful question among so great learned clerks. But this was manifestly apparent, that Bucer undoubtedly was a man of singular knowledge and dexterity of wit, which for him to abuse, he thought it an intolerable unshamefacedness.

"Finally, for the estimation of so weighty a matter, it was requisite to put some meet persons to the defence of it; for, neither in years was he grave and ancient enough, neither in wit prompt nor ready enough, neither in eloquence sufficiently furnished to take that matter upon him: and, if so be that he were able to do any good, he might serve their turn in another matter."

The bishop was still more earnest upon him: and when he saw that it availed not to use this kind of persuasion with him, he fell into a rage, and, at length, bewrayed himself in all his pretence. For all this earnest entreatance was not to have had him say somewhat against Bucer, (albeit it was part of his desire as occasion should serve,) but to the intent that such as he suspected for religion should speak against themselves. And therefore he added moreover, saying:

"Thou, at his burial, didst blaze and set him out marvellously with epitaphs and sententious metres, wherefore now also thou shalt neither will nor choose but speak in the contrary part; and this to do, I straitly charge thee in mine own name, and in the name of my fellow commissioners."

After many words the other answered, that no man was able to show any thing of his doing; and, if any could be brought before him, he would condescend to satisfy their pleasure, otherwise he would not by any means be induced to speak against him. At length, when none of his writings could be showed, the bishop desisted from his purpose.

By this time, the sentence of condemnation was engrossed again; to the signing whereof, a congregation was eftsoons called of all the graduates of the university against the next day, which there being read over, a new grace again was asked and granted for setting the seal. Then were the graduates dismissed, with commandment to resort forthwith to St. Mary's church, whither the commissioners also repaired. When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvey presented to them before all the company, a new commission, to make inquest upon heresy, then newly sent from the lord cardinal, which was read immediately by Vincent of Noally, Ormanet's clerk, with a loud voice, that all men might hear it. This done, Dr. Perne, who, as ye heard, was factor for the university, exhibited to the commissioners in the name of the university the sentence of the foresaid condemnation; the copy and tenor whereof, hereafter (God willing) shall follow. This condemnation being openly read, then Dr. Perne aforesaid desired to send out process to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or any others that would take upon them to plead their cause, and to stand to the order of the court against the next Monday; to the intent that when they had exhibited themselves, the court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commissioners condescended to his request, and the next day process went out to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally, their common notary, having first read it over before certain witnesses appointed for the same purpose, caused to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common schools, and the cross in the market-stead of the same town. In this was specified, that whosoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or stand in defence of their doctrine, should at the eighteenth day of the same month, stand forth before the lord commissioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every

man should be sufficiently heard what he could say. This commandment was set out with many words.

Shortly after, the matter drew toward judgment. Therefore the day next before the day limited, which was the seventeenth of January, the vice-chancellor called to him to Peter-house, (whereof he was master,) Dr. Young, Dr. Segewick; and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, and Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. These men cast their heads together how they might bear witness against Bucer and Phagius to convince them of heresy. For seeing the matter was brought in face of open court, and because it might so come to pass, that some patrons of their cause would come out, they thought it needful to have witnesses to depose of their doctrine: what came of this their consultation, it is not perfectly known.

The commissioners, for they were marvellously conscionable men in all their doings, had great regard, in their expenses, of every college where they should make inquisition. Wherefore, to the intent that none of them should stretch their liberality beyond measure, or above their power, they gave charge, at the beginning, that there should not in any place be prepared for their repast above three kinds of meat at the most; the like order the cardinal himself, in a certain provincial synod, appointed in his diets a little before, to all his priests and chaplains.

Therefore when they came to the King's College, the eighteenth day, to sit upon inquiry, and that one capon chanced to be served to the table, more than was prescribed by the order taken, they thrust it away in great displeasure. These thriving men that were so sore moved for the preparing of one capon, within little more than one month, beside their private refectations, wasted, in their daily diet, well nigh a hundred pounds of the common charges of the colleges; so that the university may worthily allege against them this saying of our Saviour, Woe unto you that strain out a gnat, and swallow up a camel!

The eighteenth day, the vice-chancellor, going to the inquisitors sitting at the King's College, did put them in remembrance, that the same was the day in which, by their process sent forth the sixteenth day before, they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, such as would take upon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He desired therefore that they would vouchsafe to sit there, if perchance any man would try the adventure of the law. They lightly condescended thereunto. When the vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the process of the citation which he had received of them to publish a little before,

saying, that he had diligently executed whatsoever the contents of the same required. After that they had taken their places, and that no man put forth himself to answer for the offenders, the judges called aside Dr. Young, Dr. Segewick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above mentioned. Also Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnson, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a singular commendation of him, and sent it to Sir John Cheke, knight. These men, taking first their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witness against the heresies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The twenty-second day of the same month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watson abode at home in their lodging to take the deposition of them whom we showed you before to have been called to Peter-house, and to have communicated with the vice-chancellor as concerning that matter, whose depositions (as I told you) never came to light. The bishop of Chester and Dr. Cole this day visited them of Katharine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of rehearsal.

As Ormanet the pope's datary was sitting at Trinity College, John Dale, one of the Queen's College, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pix, wherein the bishop of Rome's god of bread is wont to be enclosed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel; the same was a linen clout that the pope had consecrated with his own hands, which he promised to bestow upon them for a gift. But Dale, misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pix brought a chalice and a singing cake called the host, the which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom. When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he sent him for: to whom he answered, he had brought it. "Then give it me," quoth he. Dale pulled out the chalice and the singing cake. When Ormanet saw that, he stepped somewhat back as it had been in a wonder, calling him block-head, and little better than a mad-man, demanding what he meant by those things, saying; he willed him to bring none of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit: yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as he had promised before to give it them, he would perform his promise. Whereupon, with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth, and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them, both for the holiness of the thing, and also for the author of it, to keep it among them with such due reverence as belonged to so holy a relic.

About the same time the commissioners had given

commandment to the masters of the colleges, that every man should put in writing what books he had, with the authors' names; and to the intent that every man should execute it without deceit, they took a corporal oath of them. For they said, it was not lawful for any man to have, read, or copy out of those ungodly books of wicked heretics, written against the reverend sect of the catholics and the decrees of the most holy canons; therefore they should diligently search them out, to the intent they might be openly burned. They said, they gave them warning of these things which they ought not to look for; for these things ought rather to have been done of their own free will, than extorted by force. Which thing not only the canons commanded, but also the most noble and worthy emperors Theodosius and Valentinian made in certain places decrees, as concerning the writings of heretics, and especially against the books of Nestorius. This commandment some executed exactly and diligently; other some, forasmuch as they deemed it wrongful, executed it slack enough.

We declared before that the eighteenth day was limited for the day of judgment. When the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himself to defend them; yet the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment; which nevertheless, for their contumacy in absenting themselves, they might have done, considering how that day was peremptory. But these men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather show some favour, than to do the uttermost they might by the law. Whereupon Vincent published the second process, and set it up in the same places, as in manner before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the first, but that it put off the judgment day unto the twenty-sixth of the same month; upon the which day the vice-chancellor was sent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And because there should want no solemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgesses, which the vice-chancellor did speed with all readiness.

While these things were a working against Bucer and Phagius, in the meah while they foreslowed not to make inquisition in some places as the matter required. Therefore, at almost the same time they came into Clare-hall, and entered into the chapel, which was their ordinary custom to do first of all, wheresoever they came, they perceived there was no sacrament, as they call it, hanging over the altar. The which thing being taken in great displeasure,

Ormanet, calling to him the master of the house, told him what a great wickedness he had, by so doing, brought upon himself and all his house: for, although he were so unwise as to think it no shame at all, yet unto them it seemed an inexpressible offence. The old man being amazed and looking about him how he might answer the matter, while he went about to purge himself thereof, made the fault double: he said it was a profane place never as yet hallowed, nor consecrated with any ceremonies. At that word the commissioners were yet more astonished, demanding whether he himself, or any other, had used to sing mass there or no. When he had confessed that both he himself and others also had oftentimes said mass there: "O thou wretched old man," quoth Ormanet, "thou hast cast both thyself and them in danger of the grievous sentence of excommunication." Ormanet, being sore amazed at the beginning, searched the man narrowly: how many benefices he had? where they lay? by whose favour or licence he held so many at once? what excuse he had to be so far and so long from them? for, as it should seem, he spent the most part of the whole year in the university, far from the charge that he had taken upon him. Swinborne was so sore astonished at this so sudden disquietness of Ormanet, that, being more disquieted himself, he was not able to answer one word, neither to these things, nor to any other things, appertaining to the state of his house. Wherefore one of the fellows, who was the senior of all the rest, was fain to take upon him the master's turn in that business. This was now the twenty-second day, which I told you was limited to the jury, Young, Segewick, &c., to give up their verdict; who nevertheless, during the time that the inquisitors sat in St. Mary's church, neither appeared that day, nor put up any thing openly against them that were accused: whether they objected any thing secretly against them or no, I am not able to say, for, by like oath they were exhibited to publish their depositions, as they were bound to bear witness.

In this session nothing was done, saving that the vice-chancellor restored again the process for appearance, that he had received of them two days ago, the tenor whereof he said he had published, upon the contumacy of them that were cited, according as they had commanded him; whereupon he requested them to appoint the fourth day next following to pronounce the sentence of condemnation, which, without any difficulty, he obtained. For I showed you before that so it was agreed among themselves; and yet these bloody butchers would, for all that, seem meek and merciful men; insomuch that they would seem to determine nothing of their own heads, before that this most filthy executioner of

other men's wicked lusts had earnestly sued to them for the same: as though no man had been able to espy out their colourable conveyance, or as if we had cast from us both our minds and eyes, that we should neither understand nor see their crafty packing. Even so they, setting a fair gloss upon all their doings, sought to bring themselves in credit with men, to the intent that, when opportunity should serve, they might, to their own most advantage, deceive men unawares. Surely they might not in any wise seem to do those things which they were most chiefly bent upon, and therefore they sought all means possible to blear men's eyes, that they should not see them; but they could not so escape unspied. About this time they sent out a commandment that the master of every college, by the advice of his house, should cause to be put in writing how much every house had of ready money, how much of yearly revenue, how much thereof had been bestowed about necessary uses of the college, how much went to the stipends of the fellows and the daily diet of the house, how much was allowed for other extraordinary expenses, how much remained from year to year, what was done with the overplus; with a due account of all things belonging to that purpose: which thing (because that, for the strangeness and novelty thereof, it should not make men to muse and break their brains about it) they said that, before them, the colleges of Eton and Winchester had done the like. The cause why they coveted to be certified therein, was for none other purpose but to the intent that they themselves might see whether that they, to whose charge the custody and administration of those goods were committed, had behaved themselves so truly and faithfully, as, by their oath, they were bound to do: this pretence made these diligent and curious stewards of other men's goods. But it was known well enough that this was rather a feigned allegation than a true tale; for it was their mind to search what power the clergy were of, of which, forasmuch as they made an assured account, [they were] willing to take their parts; who were the chief heads in this business they coveted to know beforehand, and to put them in a readiness against all hazards and adventures of fortune. And no man ought to surmise that this conjecture is vain, or that it dependeth upon a light ground, considering what a deal of armour, what a deal of artillery and furniture for the wars, the whole body of the clergy, but especially the prelates, (who at that time bare all the sway,) had laid up in store at home in their own houses, or else put in custody of their confederates; which, forasmuch as they could be construed to tend to none other purpose than to open force, (especially in so cankered a time as that was,) force,

is it not a good likelihood, that to the same intent and purpose, inquisition should be made of the strength of the university, which itself, to the uttermost of her power, was ready to sustain any danger or burden for the maintenance of that filthy superstition? But God hath looked mercifully upon us, and pulled their swords from our necks. But let us return to Bucer and Phagius.

Now was come the day of judgment: which day, as I said, was the twenty-sixth of January, which being now come, first all degrees of the mother university were assembled. And to fill up this pageant, thither came also the mayor and his townsmen; and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what there should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, at length the commissioners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the residue, prepared for the same purpose. When they had taken their places, Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, fashioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the process that was lately published, to cite them, saying these words: "I bring forth again," quoth he, "to you, right reverend fathers, and commissioners of the most reverend my Lord Cardinal Pole," painting out the rest of his style, "this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same:"—omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter. When he had thus finished his tale, by and by the bishop of Chester, after he had a little viewed the people, began in manner as followeth.

"Ye see" (quoth he) "how sore the university presseth upon us, how earnest intercession it maketh unto us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which these certain years past have spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretics, (as they be indeed,) but also that we will command their dead carcasses, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be cast into fire, or whatsoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the university deal not slightly nor slackly with us in this case, but do so press upon us, and follow the suit so earnestly, that they scarce give us any respite of delay. And I assure you, albeit this case of itself be such, as that even the unworthiness of those persons (though there were no further cause) ought to induce us to the doing thereof; much the rather moved with these so wholesome petitions, it is meet and convenient we should grant it. For howsoever we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts, (than the which we protest there is

nothing under the sun to us more dear and acceptable,) yet, notwithstanding, the very law riseth up to revengement; so that the common salvation of you all, which the law provideth for, must be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any such negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being scarce yet escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, should now suffer this unexpiable mischief to disquiet any longer the consciences of the weak.

"Moreover, it is but reason that we should do somewhat at so earnest entreatance and suit of the university. I need not to speak much of ourselves; for if we had been desirous to enterprise this matter, it had been lawful after the first citation to have proceeded to judgment: but because we were willing that their defenders should be heard, and that the matter should be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second process.

"If we had desired revengement, we might have showed cruelty upon them that are alive: of the which (alas! the more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not so to be sought in withered carcasses and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the entreaty of the university; partly moved with the unworthiness of the case itself; but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we covet by all means to preserve. For you yourselves are the cause of this business; you gave occasion of this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that shall come after, as in that which ye may learn not only to shake off the filth which ye have taken of these persons; but also to beware hereafter that ye fall no more so shamefully as ye have done. But I trust God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourselves from it.

"As concerning the parties themselves, whose case now hangeth in law, they bare about the name of the gospel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing else than thievery and deceit. And so much the wickeder were they, in that they sought to cover so shameful acts with the cloak of so fair and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that God will punish this despite, of itself wicked, to you pernicious; but the authors thereof shameful and abominable.

"But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leaneth, should permit so execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we should not live in quiet one hour."

When he had thus spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of heresy.

After the sentence read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power : for it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring from all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death ! Oh unworthy and abominable act ! for which the university shall never be able to make satisfaction. How unworthy a thing was it, to do all the spite that might be to him being dead, to whom, being alive, she exhibited all the honour and reverence she could devise ! How intolerable a thing was it, to detest and abhor him as a wicked deceiver and leader out of the right way, being dead, whom, in his lifetime, she had followed and revered with all humility and obedience, as her master and chief guide of her life ! What a monstrous thing is it not to spare him when he was dead, who, during his life, being aged and always sickly, yet never spared himself, to the intent he might profit them ! Nothing grieved him more, all the time he lay sick and bedridden, than that he was unprofitable both to them and to the church of God ; and yet when he was deceased, he neither found obedience among his disciples nor burial among Christian men. If manhood and reason could not have obtained so much at our hands, as to spare his memorial or reverence his ashes, yet nature and the common law of all nations, (by which, upon promise made by the body of the realm, he came thither,) ought to have withheld this so great cruelty and extreme barbarousness, or savageness, from his bones. Notwithstanding this infamy of the university so openly gotten, Andrew Perne, with his slanderous talk, more increased ; for, over and besides this oration and sentence of Dr. Scot, came in also Perne, vice-chancellor, with his sermon which he made before the people, tending to the same effect, to the depraving of Master Bucer, taking for his theme, the place of Psalm cxxxiii., Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is, &c.

The effect of Dr. Perne's sermon against Martin Bucer.

"Where, beginning first with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knitting together of the minds, he alleged, that it was not possible to hold together, unless the concord were derived out of the head, the which he made to be the bishop of Rome, and that it also rested in the same.

"After he had made a long protestation hereof,

he passed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made such a shameful railing, that it is not possible to defame a man more than he did, saying, that his doctrine gave occasion of division in the commonwealth ; and that there was not so grievous a mischief, which by his means had not been brought into the realm.

"Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was ; yet, notwithstanding, (he said,) he knew 'it more perfectly himself, than any did, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himself. For at such time as they had communication secretly among themselves, Bucer (said he) would oftentimes wish he might be called by some other name, than by the name he had ; for this purpose, as though knowing himself guilty of so grievous a crime, he might by this means escape unknown to the world, and avoid the talk that went among men of him.

"Moreover, among other things he told how Bucer held opinion, (which thing he should confess to him his own self,) that God was the author and wellspring, not only of good, but also of evil ; and that whatsoever was of that sort, flowed from him, as from the head-spring and maker thereof. The which doctrine he upheld to be sincere ; howbeit, for offending divers men's consciences, he durst not put it into men's heads."

Many other things he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, of the marriage of priests, of divorcements ; and of shameful usury also, as though he had deemed the same lawful to be used among Christian people ; with divers other of the like sort. In all which his allegations, considering how lewdly, without all shame, he lied upon Bucer, (as his writings evidently declare,) he did not so much hinder his name with railing upon him, as win unto himself an inexpressible infamy, by forging so shameful leasings upon so worthy a man.

But what needeth witness to prove him a liar ? his own conscience shall make as much against him, as a number of men. It was reported for a truth, and that by his own familiar friends testified, that the said Dr. Perne himself, either immediately after his sermon, or else somewhat before he went to it, striking himself on the breast, and in manner weeping, wished (at home at his house) with all his heart, that God would grant his soul might even then presently depart and remain with Bucer's. For he knew well enough that his life was such, that if any man's soul were worthy of heaven, he thought his in especial to be most worthy.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in the

mean time the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verses, in the which the young men, to show their folly, which scarce knew him by sight, blazed Bucer's name with most reproachful poetry.

Divers also that were somewhat more grown in years, and yet more fools than the young men, like eager curs, (who had been well served if their legs had been broken for their labour,) barked all that they could against him. And to the intent it might seem to be done by a great number, wherein the papists greatly vaunt themselves, they enticed unto the same business many that by all means favoured Bucer, and that revered his name, as it became them; who, notwithstanding, to the intent that under this pretext they might escape their cruelty, full sore against their wills, faintly and slenderly pricked at him.

These things being despatched, Perne (as though he had sped his matter marvellously well) was, for his labour, of courtesy bidden to dinner to Trinity College by the commissioners; where, after the table was taken up, they caused the sentence of condemnation to be copied out with all speed: which, being signed with the bishop of Chester's seal, the next day following was for a triumph sent to London, with divers of those verses and slanderous libels. Besides this, they sent also their own letters, wherein they both advertised the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and also desired his Grace, that he would cause to be sent out of hand to Smith, the mayor of the town, the commandment commonly called a writ, for the burning of heretics. For unless he had the queen's warrant to save him harmless, he would not have to do in the matter; and that which remained to be done in that case, could not be despatched till that warrant came.

While this pursuivant went on his journey, they willed to be brought unto them the books that they commanded before to be searched out: for they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the same time Dr. Watson, taking occasion upon the day, because it was a high feast, in the which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the blessed Virgin, made a sermon to the people upon that psalm, We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midst of thy temple, &c.; in the which sermon he spake much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

The effect of Watson's sermon upon Candlemas day.

"He said that these men, and all the heretics of

our time that were of the same opinion, (the which for the most part, he said, we budded out of Germany,) among other things which they had perniciously put into men's heads, taught to cast away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithstanding, the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order. And upon that deed of the blessed Virgin and Joseph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifestly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, observed these rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For he said that they came to the temple the same time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of procession, (as they term it,) in good order, with much reverence and devotion; and yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the heretics and schismatics."

As he was telling his tale of Christ, Mary, and Joseph, one of them that heard him, a pleasant and merry-conceited fellow, turning himself to him that stood next him; "And if it be true," quoth he, "that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might spur him a question) bare the cross before them? for that might not be missing in such solemn ceremonies." Not only this man jested at the preacher's folly, but divers others also laughed at his manifest unshamefacedness, in preaching these so vain and foolish superstitions.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Christopherson, elected bishop of Chichester, being stricken with a sudden sickness, fell down in a swoon among the press; and with much ado, being scarce able a good while to come to himself again, in the mean time babbled many things unadvisedly, and as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occasion, because he had been greatly accused before the commissioners for mispending and misordering the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him by this, that Ormanet had cancelled before his face a lease of his, by the which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, because the covenants seemed unreasonable.

By this time was returned again the pursuivant, who (as we before told) was sent to London with the commissioners' letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of these men. Upon the receipt whereof, they appointed the sixth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter; for it had hanged already a great while in hand.

Therefore when the said day was come, the commissioners sent for the vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what case things stood; whether all things

were in a readiness for the accomplishment of this business, or no. Understanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The vice-chancellor therefore, taking with him Marshal the common notary, went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. There

he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parish, and bound them with an oath, to dig up Phagius's bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marshal took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Hasell, the town-sergeants, and of John Capper, warden of the same church, for doing



the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, which should be their executioner, (for it was not lawful for *them* to intermeddle in cases of blood,) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in harness, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon men's shoulders, (for they were enclosed in chests, Bucer in the same that he was buried, and Phagius in a new,) they were borne into the midst of the market-stead, with a great train of people following them. This place was prepared before, and a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcasses to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withal. When they came thither, the chests were set up on end with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as soon as it began to flame round about, a great sort of books that were condemned with them, were cast into the same.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folk, (for it was market day,) who, seeing men borne to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commissioners toward the rotten carcasses, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparature: "for what needeth any weapon," said they, "as though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm? or to what purpose serveth that chain wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt loose without peril? For it was not to be feared that they would run away."

Thus, every body that stood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, as every man's mind gave him. There were very few (and those not of sound and wholesome religion) that liked their doing therein.

In the mean time that they were a roasting in the fire, Watson went into the pulpit in St. Mary's

church, and there, before his audience, railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying, that it was the ground of all mischief that had happened of a long time in the commonweal.

The purpose of Dr. Watson's sermon against Bucer and Phagius.

"For behold," said he, "as well the prosperity, as the adversity, of these years that have ensued, and ye shall find that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily all things have happened fortunately to them that have eschewed it. What robbing and polling (quoth he) have we seen in this realm, as long as religion was defaced with sects; the common treasure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole public weal) and the goods of the realm shamefully spent in waste for the maintenance of a few folks' lusts; all good order broken, all discipline cast aside; holidays appointed to the solemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and that more is, the places themselves beaten down; flesh and other kind of prohibited sustenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorse of conscience; the priests had in derision; the mass railed upon; no honour done to the sacraments of the church; all estates and degrees given to such a licentious liberty without check, that all things may seem to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

"And yet in the mean time, the name of the gospel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of duty to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more discrepant, or more to the slander of God's word, than the same. For what other thing taught they to remain in that most blessed and mystical sacrament of the body of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? And what else do the remnant of them teach unto this day? whereas Christ by express words doth assure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and absolute necessity of predestination? and yet they set it out in such wise, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who should say, it skilled not what a man purposed of any matter, since he had not the power to determine otherwise than the matter should come to pass. The which was the peculiar opinion of them that made God the author of evil, bringing men, through this persuasion, into such a careless security of the everlasting eternity, that in the mean season it made no matter either toward salvation, or damnation, what a man did in this life. These errors (which were not even among the heathen men) were defended by them with great stoutness."

These and many other such things he slanderously and falsely alleged against Bucer, whose doctrine (in such sort as he himself taught it) either he would not understand, or else he was minded to slander. And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught none other things than the very same whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, had willingly assented, by subscribing thereto with their own hands. While he talked in this wise before the people, many of them that had written verses before, did set up others new, in the which, like a sort of water-frogs, they spewed out their venomous malice against Bucer and Phagius. This was the last act of this interlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among the which was the reconciling of two churches, of our Lady and of St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

This was done the next day following, by the aforesaid bishop of Chester, with as much ceremonial solemnity as the law required. But that impatent god, whom Bucer's carcass had chased from thence, was not yet returned thither again; neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unless he were brought thither with great solemnity. As I suppose, during all the time of his absence, he was entertained by the commissioners at Trinity College, and there continued as a sojourner. For thither came all the graduates of the university, the eighth of February, of gentleness and courtesy, to bring him home again. Amongst the which number, the bishop of Chester (worthy for his estate to come nearest to him, because he was a bishop) took and carried him clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of sarcenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his idol also. Ormanet the datary had given the same a little before to the university, for that and such-like purposes.

When this idol should return home, he went not the straightest and nearest way, as other folks are wont to go; but he fetched a compass about the most part of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was a large hour and more ere he could find the way into this church again. (I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their procession, when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods.) The order of which procession was this; the masters regents went before, singing with a loud voice, *Salva festa dies*, &c. Next them followed the bishop of Chester; about him went Ormanet and his fellow commissioners, with the masters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper-light in his hand. After whom, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Last, behind came

the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beades, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host. If any refused so to do, they threatened to send them forthwith to the toll-booth. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with great sacrificed hosts of Bucer and Phagius, at length settled himself again in his accustomed room.

Scot of Chester prayed with many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himself, and to all that were present, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things set in their order) all men should make themselves contentable to peace and quietness, namely, in matters appertaining to religion. After this, they bestowed a few days in punishing and amercing such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, lest they should infect the tender youth (being pliable, to take what print soever should be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and heresy. Others they chastised wrongfully without any desert; and many a one they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all they set forth certain statutes, by the which they would have the university hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things as concerning the election of their offices of the university, of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they handled the matter very circumspectly for religion, in the which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all things either with open blasphemy, or with ridiculous superstition. For they prescribed at how many masses every man should be day by day, and how many Pater-nosters and Aves every man should say when he should enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what sort he should bow himself to the altar, and how to the master of the house; what he should do there, and how long he should tarry; how many, and what prayers he should say; what, and how he should sing; what meditations others should use while the priest is in his memento, mumbling secretly to himself; what time of the mass a man should stand, and when he should sit down; when he should make courtesy, when exclusively, when inclusively; and many other superstitious toys they decreed, that it was a sport then to behold their superstitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover these masters of good order, for fashion's sake, ordained that every man should put on a

surplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wise to wipe their noses thereon; and these are the things which we told you before, that some noted Ormanet, how devoutly he observed them in the king's chapel.

These things thus set at a stay, when the commissioners were now ready to go their ways, the university, for so great benefits, (which she should not suffer to fall out of remembrance many years after,) coveting to show some token of courtesy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorship; for all the residue (saving Christopherson, who now, by reason he was elected bishop, prevented that degree) had received that order before. Thus at length were sent away these peace-makers, that came to pacify strifes and quarrels, who, through provoking every man to accuse one another, left such gaps and breaches in men's hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be closed nor joined together again.

These commissioners, before they departed out of the university, gave commandment, that the masters of every house should copy out their statutes, the which, besides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every house particularly. Swinborne (who, as I said, was master of Clare-hall) being demanded whether he would have those things engrossed in parchment or in paper, answered, that it made no matter wherein they were written; for the paper, or slighter thing that were of less continuance than paper, would serve the turn well enough: for, he said, a slenderer thing than that would last a great deal longer than those decrees should stand in force. Neither was the man deceived in his conjecture; for within two years after, God, beholding us with mercy, called Queen Mary (which princess the cardinal, and the rest of the bishops of England, miserably abused to the utter destruction of Christ's church) out of this life the seventeenth of November, anno 1558; after whom her sister Elizabeth succeeded in the kingdom; raised to life again the true religion, being not only sore appalled and commanded to seek her a new dwelling-place, but in a manner burnt up and consumed to ashes; which, after the time she once began to recover strength again, and by little and little to lift up her head, the filthy dregs of the Romish juggling-casts began forthwith to melt away. Whereupon the church of God began to be edified again in England, the building whereof the Sanballats and Tobias did not only as then hinder and waste, but, even in this day also, (as Satan is a most subtle slanderer,) work all the policies they can devise, that the truth (which is not dark unless men be blinded wilfully) should not come abroad and be

seen in the light. While the broken and decayed places in this work were in repairing, it came to remembrance how the right reverend father, sometime our schoolmaster, Martin Bucer, with Paulus Phagius, being taken with the violent tempest of the former times, were thrown down out of their standing which they had in the wall of this building; whom the most reverend fathers in Christ, Matthew Parker, now archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, (who before, at his burial, preached honourably of him,) and Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, (who among the rest did him that service, that he did help to bear him in his coffin to burial on his shoulders,) and other both honourable and worshipful persons—among whom was Walter Haddon, master of the Requests to the queen's Highness, who made a funeral oration of the death of Bucer, being himself half dead—these having received commission of the queen's Majesty to make a reformation of religion in the university of Cambridge and other parts of the realm, decreed that they should be set in their places again. For the performance hereof, the aforesaid right reverend fathers addressed their letters to the vice-chancellor and the graduates of the university. Andrew Perne bare still that office; who, by his good will, could not abide to hear one word spoken as touching the full restitution of Bucer and Phagius. When he had perused these letters, he propounded the matter to the degrees of the university, whether it pleased them that the degrees and titles of honour, taken away from Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius by the verdict of the whole university, should, by the same, be fully restored again; and that all acts done against them and their doctrine should be repealed and disannulled: which demands were openly consented unto by all the graduates of the university. This was about the twenty-second day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1560.

Albeit that this had been sufficient to restore them lawfully again, nevertheless, forasmuch as it seemed not enough in consideration of the dignity of so worthy men, and in satisfaction of the duty of the university, they that were the chief doers in this matter called a congregation in St. Mary's church, at the last day of the same month saving one: in which place consultation was had concerning Bucer and Phagius, not with so great furniture and gloriousness, (which things the truth seeketh not greedily for,) but with honest comeliuess, to the intent to reconcile men's hearts again. An oration was made by Acworth, the common orator of the university, whose words I will rehearse in order as he spake them.

"I am in doubt whether I may entreat of the

praise and commendation of so great a clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this assembly and concourse of yours is made this day); or of vices and calamities, out of the which we be newly delivered; or of them both, considering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In the which times ye felt so much anguish and sorrow, my right dear brethren, that if I should repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear me, I should not so much work a just hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old sorrow and heaviness. Again, men must needs account me unadvised and foolish in my doing, if I should think myself able to make him which hath lived before our eyes in praise and estimation, more famous and notable by my oration, which he, by his living and conversation, hath oftentimes polished. But the wickedness of the times, which endeavoured to wipe clean out of remembrance of men the name that was so famous and renowned in every man's mouth, did much profit him: insomuch, that both in his lifetime all things redounded to his continual renown, and especially after his decease, nothing could be devised more honourable, than with so solemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to hurt the memorial of such a worthy man, and yet could not bring to pass the thing that was so sore coveted; but rather brought that thing to pass, which was chiefly sought to be avoided. For the desire that men have of the dead, hath purchased to many men everlasting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but rather amplified and increased the same. By means whereof it cometh to pass, that he that will entreat of those things that pertain to the praise of Bucer after his death, cannot choose but speak of the crabbedness of the times past, upon the which riseth a great increase and augmentation of his praise. But his life so excellently set forth, not only by the writings of the clerks, Cheke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Dr. Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body should be laid into his grave to be buried; and after his burial, by the godly and most holy preachings of the right reverend father in Christ the archbishop of Canterbury that now is, and of Dr. Redman, the which, for the worthiness and excellency of them, ought to stick longer in our minds unwritten, than many things that are penned and put in print; but also by the great assembly of all the degrees of the university the same day, in bringing him to his grave, and, the next day after, by the industry of every man that was indued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of the which, there was no man but set up some verses, as witness of his just

and unfeigned sorrow upon the walls of the church: that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then overslipped, or now remaineth undone, that may seem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of so holy or famous a person, or to the consecrating of him to everlasting memory.

"We, at that time, saw with our eyes this university flourishing by his institutions, the love of sincere religion not only engendered, but also confirmed and strengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Insomuch, that at such time as he was suddenly taken from us, there was scarce any man that for sorrow could find in his heart to bear with the present state of this life, but that either he wished with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality, or else endeavoured himself with weeping and sighing to call him again, being despatched of all troubles, into the prison of this body, out of the which he is escaped, lest he should leave us, as it were, standing in battle-array without a captain, and he himself, as one cashed, depart with his wages; or, as one discharged out of the camp, withdraw himself to the everlasting quietness and tranquillity of the soul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how sore they took his death to heart, and also how hardly they could away with the mixture of such a man.

"As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flourished, it wrought in our hearts an incredible desire of his presence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceased to be any more in our sight and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion by little and little waxed cold in our minds, and according to the times that came after, (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing,) it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troublesomeness of the popish doctrine; the old rites and customs of the Romish church were restored again, not to the garnishment and beautifying of the Christian religion (as they surmised); but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the same. Death was set before the eyes of such as persevered in the Christian doctrine that they had learned before. They were banished the realm that would not apply themselves to the time, and do as other men did. Such as remained, were enforced either to dissemble, or to hide themselves, and creep into corners; or else, as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beasts, but (that far worse and much more

monstrous is) from the likeness of God and his angels, into the likeness of devils; and all England was infected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of those times, which overwhelmed all the whole realm, had not at leastwise yet pierced every heart and member thereof; of the which there was not one but that (besides the grief that it felt, with the residue of the body, by reason of the sickness and contagion spread into the whole) had some sorrow and calamity peculiarly by itself.

"And to omit the rest, (of the which to entreat this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be spoken,) this dwelling-place of the Muses (which we call the university) may be a sufficient witness what we may judge of all the rest of the body; for certainly, my brethren, the thing is not to be dissembled, that cannot be hidden. We, applying ourselves to those most filthy times, have most shamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards which had not the stomachs to sustain the adversities of poverty, banishment, and death, which in our living and conversation kept neither the constancy taught us by philosophy, nor yet the patience taught us by Holy Scripture, which have done all things at the commandment of others. And therefore that which the poet (although in another sense) hath trimly spoken, may well be thought to have been truly prophesied upon us:

'The times and seasons changed be.
And changed in the same are we.'

"Divers of them that were of a pure and sincere judgment as concerning religion, being driven from hence and distroubled, the rest that remained tasted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whose hands the authority of doing things here consisted; although, to say the truth, I have used a gentler term than behoved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beastly cruelty; the which when they had spent all kinds of torments and punishments upon the quick, when they had cruelly taken from such as constantly persevered, life, from others, riches, honours, and all hope of promotion, yet they could not be so satisfied, but that, incensed and stirred with a great fury, it began to outrage even against the dead. Therefore, whereas in every singular place was executed a singular kind of cruelty, insomuch that there was no kind of cruelty that could be devised, but it was put in use in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exercise the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quick. Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble

witnesses of the clear light of the gospel. Moreover at London perished these two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford; in whom it is hard to say, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many others without number, both here and in other places, were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I say not with burning of houses and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might spew out their bitter poison, played the mad bedlam against the dead! The dead men, whose living no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by false slanderous accusers indicted; contrary to the laws of God and man, sued in the law; condemned; their sepulchres violated and broken up; their carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire! A thing surely incredible, if we had not seen it with our eyes; and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, and was blown and dispersed through all Christendom.

"Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countrymen in manner craved, of many others entreated and sent for, to the intent he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere doctrine of the Christian religion, being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own country; refused not the tediousness of that long journey; was not afraid to adventure himself upon the sea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion he came: every man received and welcomed him. Afterward he lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for ours: for he sought not to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travail of his long journey; and albeit his strength were weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. And yet toward this so notable and worthy a person, while he lived, were showed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy, that could be; and when he was dead, the most horrible cruelty and spite that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living, house and abiding place, and to the dead, burial? or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cherish that person in his house with all kind of gentleness that he can devise, upon

whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow burial when he is dead?

"Again, what an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues, to bury a man honourably; and anon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and wrongfully to slander him being dead, who, during his lifetime, always deserved praise! All these things have happened unto Bucer, who, whilst he lived, had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes, and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor grave: who being laid in the ground nobly, to his eternal fame, was afterward, to his utter defacing, spitefully taken up and burned. The which things, albeit they did no harm to the dead, (for the dead carcasses feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God,) yet it reproveth an extreme cruelty and unsatiable desire of revengement in them which offer such utter wrong to the dead. These persons, therefore, whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of house and home; they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end with most cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheless aliens, being strangers, and being also fetched hither by us out of such a country, where they not only needed not to fear any punishment, but contrariwise were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as also among the vulgar and common people.

"But yet how much more gentle than these men was Bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine! who, against his own countrymen, let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the gospel; and yet he spared foreigners, because the right of them is so holy, that there was never nation so barbarous that would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned clerk, Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he should go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers. And whom the law of God could not withhold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of strangers, the which hath ever appeased all barbarous beastliness, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a point of humanity

for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be never so far separated and set asunder, both by sea and by land, without the which access there can be no intercourse of merchandise, there can be no conference of wits, which first of all engendered learning, nor any commodity of society long to continue. To repulse them that come to us, and to prohibit them our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entreat them evil that by our sufferance dwell among us, and have increase of household and household-stuff, it is a point of wickedness. Wherefore this cruelty hath far surmounted the cruelty of all others, the which, to satisfy the unsatiable greediness thereof, drew to execution not only strangers, brought hither at our entreatance and sending for, but even the withered and rotten carcasses digged out of their graves; to the intent that the immeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning of dead men's bones. These, my brethren, these, I say, are the just causes which have so sore provoked the wrath of God against us, because that in doing extreme injury to the dead, we have been prone and ready; but in putting the same away, we have been slow and slack. For verily I believe, if I may have liberty to say freely what I think, (ye shall bear with me, if I chance to cast forth any thing unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my oration,) that even this place, in the which we have so oftentimes assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness, such as man never heard of before, is a let and hinderance unto us when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

"The blood of Abel shed by Cain, calleth and crieth from the earth that sucked it up: likewise the undeserved burning of these bodies calleth upon Almighty God to punish us; and crieth, that not only the authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers thereof, are impure, the places defiled in which these things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we may receive punishment for so execrable wickedness. Look well about ye, my dear brethren, and consider with yourselves the evils that are past; and ye shall see how they took their beginning at Bucer's death, following one in another's neck even unto this day. First and foremost, when we were even in the chiefest of our mourning, and scarcely yet comforted of our sorrow for his death, the sweating sickness lighted upon us, the which passed swiftly through

all England, and as it were in haste despatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our most noble King Edward the Sixth, (whose life in virtue surmounted the opinion of all men, and seemed worthy of immortality,) happened contrary to men's expectation in that age in which, unless violence be used, few do die. The conversion of religion, or rather the eversion and turning thereof into papacy: the incursion and domination of strangers, under whose yoke our necks were almost subdued: the importunate cruelty of the bishops against the Christians, which executed that wickedness, for making satisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day: these are the things that ensued after his death. But after his burning ensued yet grievous things, namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diseases unknown to the very physicians, whereby either every man's health was impaired, or else they were brought to their graves, or else very hardly recovered. Bloody battles without victory, whereof the profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the slaughter with great loss. The which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and sighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and assembly should be to this end, that forasmuch as we have violated their corpses, we should do them right again; so that the memorial of these most holy men may be commended unto posterity unhurt and undefained.

"Wherefore amend yet at length, my brethren, which hitherto, by reason of the variableness and inconstancy of the times, have been wavering and unstedfast in your hearts; show yourselves cheerful and forward in making satisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with so great wickedness of late ye endamaged and defiled; not censuring them with the perfumes of those odours and spices now worn out of use, and put to flight; but with a true and unfeigned repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble submission be entreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requests."

When Acworth had made an end of his oration, Master James Pilkington, the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit, made a sermon upon Psalm cxii., the beginning whereof is, Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord. Where, intending to prove that the remembrance of the just man shall not perish, and that Bucer is blessed, and that the ungodly shall fret at the sight thereof, but yet that all their attempts shall be to no purpose, to the intent this saying may be verified, I will curse

your blessings, and bless your cursings, he took his beginning of his own person :

The effect of Dr. James Pilkington's sermon.

"That albeit he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthiness of the matter itself, and especially for certain singular virtues of those persons for whom that congregation was called, yet notwithstanding, he said, he was nothing meet to take that charge upon him. For it were more reason that he, which before had done Bucer wrong, should now make him amends for the displeasure. As for his own part, he was so far from working any evil against Bucer, either in word or deed, that for their singular knowledge almost in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart. But yet he somewhat more favoured Bucer, as with whom he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In consideration whereof, although that it was scarce convenient that he at that time should speak, yet notwithstanding he was contented, for friendship and courtesy' sake, not to fail them in their business.

"Having made this preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, so fiercely extended against the dead. He said it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have showed such extreme cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to misbehave himself in such wise toward the dead, was such a thing as had not lightly been heard of: saying that he affirmed this custom of excommunicating and cursing of dead folk to have come first from Rome. For Evagrius reporteth in his writings, that Eutychius was of the same opinion, induced by the example of Josias, who slew the priests of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars: whereas, before the time of Eutychius this kind of punishment was well near unknown, neither afterward usurped of any man (that ever he heard of) until nine hundred years after Christ. In the latter times, (the which how much the further they were from the golden age of the apostles, so much the more they were corrupted,) this kind of cruelty began to creep further: for it is manifestly known, that Stephen, the sixth pope of Rome, digged up Formosus, his last predecessor in that see, and, spoiling him of his pope's apparel, buried him again in a layman's apparel, (as they call it,) having first cut off and thrown into the Tiber his two fingers, with which, according to their accustomed manner, he was wont to bless and consecrate. The which his unspeakable tyranny used against Formosus, within six years after, Sergius the Third increased

also against the same Formosus. For taking up his dead body, and setting it in a pope's chair, he caused his head to be smitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be cast into the river of Tiber, abrogating and annulling all his decrees; which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cause why so great cruelty was exercised (by the report of Naucleus) was this: because that Formosus had been an adversary to Stephen and Sergius when they sued to be made bishops.

"This kind of cruelty (unheard of before) the popes awhile exercised one against another. But now, ere ever they had sufficiently felt the smart thereof themselves, they had turned the same upon our necks. Wherefore it was to be wished, that seeing it began among them, it might have remained still with the authors thereof, and not have been spread over thence unto us. But such is the nature of all evil, that it quickly passeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliff was in like manner digged up, and burnt into ashes, and thrown into a brook that runneth by the town where he was buried. Of the which selfsame sauce tasted also William Tracy of Gloucester, a man of a worshipful house, because he had written in his last will, that he should be saved only by faith in Jesus Christ; and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in heaven or in earth; and therefore bequeathed no legacy to that purpose, as all other men were accustomed to do. This deed was done since, we may remember, about the twenty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, in the year of our Lord 1530.

"Now seeing they extended such cruelty to the dead, (he said,) it was an easy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living; whereof we have had sufficient trial by the examples of our own men, these few years past: and if we would take the pains to peruse things done somewhat longer ago, we might find notable matters out of their own chronicles. Howbeit, it was sufficient for the manifest demonstration of that matter, to declare the beastly butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenses at Cabriers, and the places near thereabout, by his captain Minerius, about the year of our Lord 1545, than the which there was never thing read of more cruelty done, no, not even of the barbarous pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had showed their uttermost cruelty both against these and many others, they were so far from their purpose, in extinguishing the light of the gospel, which they endeavoured to suppress, that it increased daily more and more. The which thing Charles

the Fifth (than whom all Christendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Christ almost a sorer enemy) easily perceived; and therefore, when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthon and Pomerane with certain other preachers of the gospel alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely against them, nor violated their graves, but also entreating them gently, sent them away, not so much as once forbidding them to publish openly the doctrine that they professed. For it is the nature of Christ's church, that the more that tyrants spurn against it, the more it increaseth and flourisheth.

"A notable proof assuredly of the providence and pleasure of God in sowing the gospel, was that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to hear Wickliff, of whom we spake before, who at that time read openly at Oxford; and also the going of our men to the said Bohemians, when persecution was raised against us. But much more notable was it, that we have seen come to pass in these our days; that the Spaniards, sent for into this realm of purpose to suppress the gospel, as soon as they were returned home replenished many parts of their country with the same truths of religion, to the which before they were utter enemies. By the which examples it might evidently be perceived, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, considering how the mercy of God hath sown it abroad, not only in those countries that we spake of, but also in France, Poland, Scotland, and almost all the rest of Europe. For it is said that some parts of Italy, although it be under the pope's nose, yet do they of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth. Wherefore sufficient argument and proof might be taken by the success and increasement thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is sent us from heaven, unless we will wilfully be blinded.

And if there were any that desired to be persuaded more at large in the matter, he might advisedly consider the voyage that the emperor and the pope, with both their powers together, made jointly against the Bohemians; in the which the emperor took such an unworthy repulse of so small a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place. Hereof also might be an especial example of the death of Henry, king of France, who, the same day that he had purposed to persecute the church of Christ, and to have burned certain of his guard whom he had imprisoned for religion, at whose execution he had promised to have been himself in proper person, in the midst of his triumph at a tourney, was wounded so sore in the head with a spear by one of his

own subjects, that ere it was long after he died. In the which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no less approved in our own countrymen; for one that was a notable slaughter-man of Christ's saints, rotted alive, and ere ever he died, such a rank savour steamed from all his body, that none of his friends were able to come at him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter despair well nigh of all health, howled out miserably. The third ran out of his wits; and divers other that were enemies to the church perished miserably in the end. All the which things were most certain tokens of the favour and defence of the divine Majesty towards his church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the tyrants.

"And forasmuch as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he said it was a most apt example that was reported of their captain, Zisca; who, when he should die, willed his body to be flayed, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum. For it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the sound of it, they should not be able to stand against them. The like counsel (he said) he himself now gave them as concerning Bucer; that like as the Bohemians did with the skin of Zisca, the same should they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer. For as soon as the papists should hear the noise of him, their gewgaws would forthwith decay. For saving that they used violence to such as withstood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might seem to any man (having but mean understanding in Holy Scripture) to be grounded upon any reason.

"As for those things that were done by them against such as could not play the mad-men as well as they, some of them savoured of open force, and some of ridiculous foolishness. For what was this, first of all? Was it not frivolous, that by the space of three years together, mass should be sung in those places where Bucer and Phagius rested in the Lord, without any offence at all? and as soon as they took it to be an offence, straightway to be an offence, if any were heard there? or that it should not be as good then as it was before? as if that then upon the sudden it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was past should be counted the grievouser, because it was done of longer time before. Moreover, this was a matter of none effect, that Bucer and Phagius only should be digged up, as who should say, that they only had embraced the religion which they called heresy. It was well known how one of the burgesses of the town had been minded toward the popish religion; who, when he should die, willed neither ringing of bells, diriges, nor any other such kind of trifles to be

done for him in his anniversary, as they term it, but rather that they should go with instruments of music before the mayor and council of the city, to celebrate his memorial, and also that yearly a sermon should be made to the people, bequeathing a piece of money to the preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to speak of Ward the painter, who albeit he were a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be despised for the religion's sake which he diligently followed. Neither were divers other more to be passed over with silence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the same sect, and to rest in other church-yards in Cambridge, and rather through the whole realm, and yet defiled not their masses at all. All the which persons (forasmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or else all to have been let lie with the same religion: unless a man would grant that it lieth in their power to make what they list lawful and unlawful, at their own pleasure.

"In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to say the truth, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howsoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse Phagius, inasmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, saving a few things that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught; for he deceased soon after, so that he could in that time give no occasion for his adversaries to take hold on, whereby to accuse him whom they never heard speak. In that they hated Bucer so deadly, for the allowable marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves: for he had for his defence in that matter (over and besides other helps) the testimony of Pope Pius the Second, who in a certain place saith, that upon weighty considerations priests' wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored again. And also the statute of the emperor, they call it the Interim, by the which it is enacted, that such of the clergy as were married, should not be divorced from their wives.

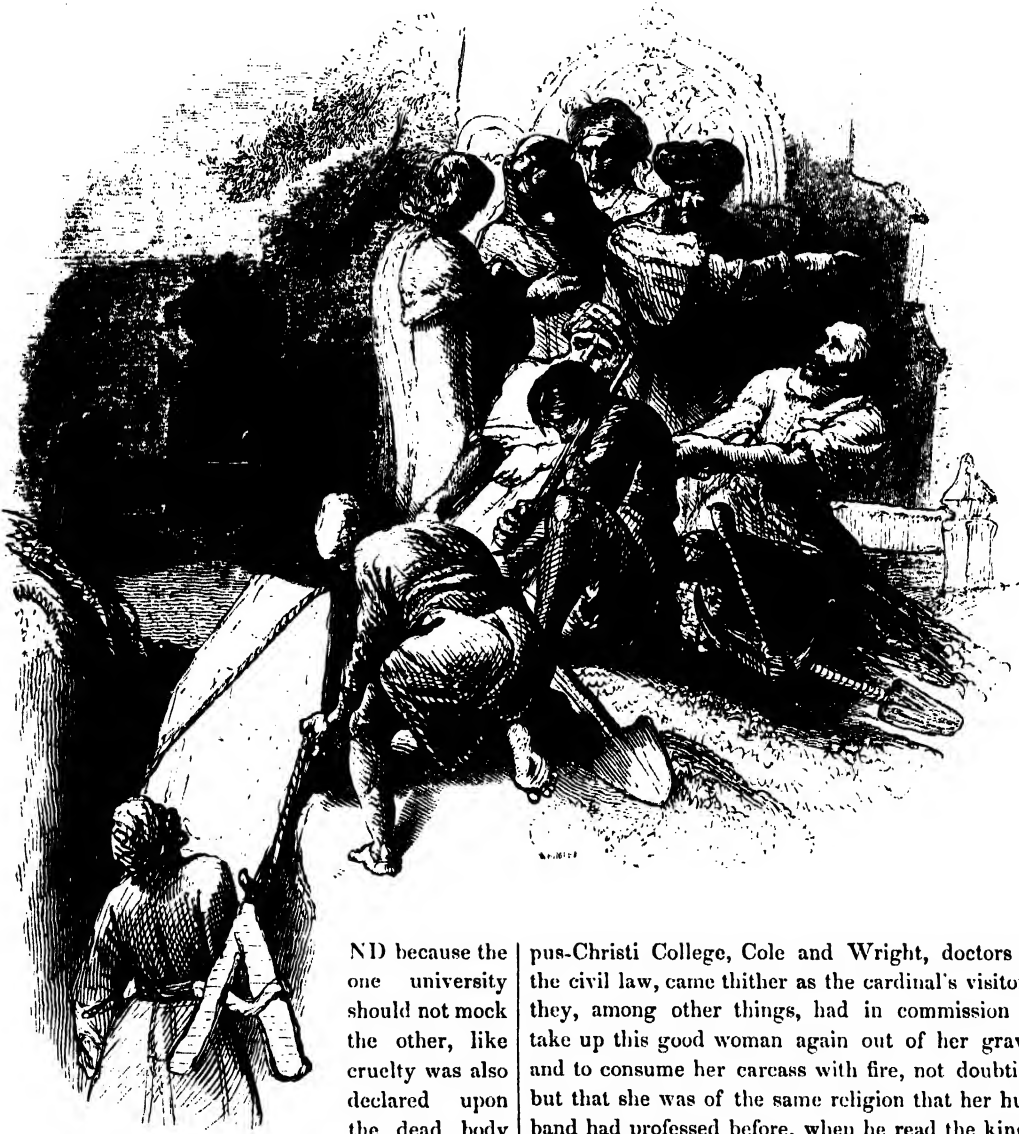
"Then, turning his style from this matter to the

university, he reprov'd in few words their unfaithfulness towards these men. For if the Lord suffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without revenge, (as saith Amos,) let us assure ourselves he will not suffer so notable a wrong done to his godly preachers, unrevenged.

"Afterward, when he came to the condemnation, (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Perne, the vice-chancellor, in the name of them all,) being somewhat more moved at the matter, he admonished them how much it stood them in hand, to use great circumspectness, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the university. For that he which should take his authority from them, should be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion that he had of their doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think nothing but well of them. For it would come to pass, that if they would bestow their promotions upon none but meet persons, and let the unmeet go as they come, both the commonwealth should receive much commodity and profit by them, and besides that, they should highly please God. But, if they persisted to be negligent in doing thereof, they should grievously endamage the commonweal, and worthily work their own shame and reproach. Over and besides that, they should greatly offend the majesty of God, whose commandment, not to bear false witness, they should in so doing break and violate."

In the mean while that he was speaking these and many other things before his audience, many of the university, to set out and defend Bucer withal, beset the walls of the church and church-porch on both sides with verses; some in Latin, some in Greek, and some in English; in the which they made a manifest declaration how they were minded both toward Bucer and Phagius. Finally, when his sermon was ended, they made common supplication and prayers. After thanks rendered to God for many other things, but in especial for restoring of the true and sincere religion, every man departed his way.

The despiteful handling and madness of the papists toward Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave at the commandment of Cardinal Pole, and after buried in a dunghill.



ND because the one university should not mock the other, like cruelty was also declared upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an honest, grave, and sober

matron, while she lived, and of poor people always a great helper, as many that be dwelling there can right well testify. In the year of our Lord 1552 she departed this life, with great sorrow of all those needy persons, whose necessities many times and often she had liberally eased and relieved. Now when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormanet, datary, Robert Morewen, president of Cor-

pus-Christi College, Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's visitors, they, among other things, had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcass with fire, not doubting but that she was of the same religion that her husband had professed before, when he read the king's lecture there. And to make a show that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them, that had any acquaintance with her or her husband. They ministered an oath unto them, that they should not conceal whatsoever was demanded. In fine, their answer was, that they knew not what religion she was of, by reason they understood not her language.

To be short, after these visitors had sped the business they came for, they gat them to the cardinal again, certifying him that, upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by

the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding the cardinal did not leave the matter so, but wrote down his letters a good while after to Marshal, then dean of Frideswide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto St. Frideswide's relics, sometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marshal, like a pretty man, calling his spades and mattocks together in the evening, when he was well whittled, caused her to be taken up and buried in a dung-hill.

Howbeit, when it pleased God under good Queen Elizabeth to give quietness to his church, long time persecuted with prison and death, then Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her Majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion, (nothing ignorant how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the sepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman,) willed certain of that college in the which this uncourteous touch was attempted or done, to take her out of that unclean and dishonest place where she lay, and solemnly, in the face of the whole town, to bury her again in a more decent and honest monument. For though the body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, how or where the bones were laid; yet was some reverence to be used towards her for sex and womanhood sake. Besides, to say the truth, it was great shame, that he which had travelled so far, at King Edward's request, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken so earnest pains (being an old man) in reading and setting forth the truth all he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so well deserved of that university, should, with so ungentle a recompence of ingratitude, be rewarded again, as to have his wife, that was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without just deserving, and beside their own law, not proceeding against her according to the order thereof, spitefully to be laid in a stinking dunghill.

To all good natures the fact seemed odious, and of such as be endued with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Master James Calfield, then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marshal's dunghill she was restored and translated to her proper place again, yea, and withal coupled her with Frideswide's bones, that in case any cardinal will be so mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for them to discern the bones of her from the other. And to the intent the same might be notified to the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was

Sunday, Master Rogerson preached unto the people, in which sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the adversaries, which were not contented to practise their cruelty against the living, but that they must also rage against one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to see their own wickedness. Amen.

And thus much touching the noble acts and strangeness of this worthy cardinal in both the universities; whereunto it shall not be impertinent, here also consequently to adjoin and set forth to the eyes of the world, the blind and bloody articles set out by Cardinal Pole, to be inquired upon, within his diocese of Canterbury; whereby it may the better appear what yokes and snares of fond and fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to entangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty; by the which, wise men have to see what godly fruits proceeded from that catholic church and see of Rome. In which, albeit thou seest, good reader, some good articles interspersed withal, let that nothing move thee; for else how could such poison be ministered, but it must have some honey to relish the reader's taste.

Here follow the articles set forth by Cardinal Pole, to be inquired in his ordinary visitation, within his diocese of Canterbury.

Cardinal Pole's articles touching the clergy.

"First, Whether the divine service in the church at times, days, hours, be observed and kept duly, or no.

"2. Item, Whether the parsons, vicars, and curates do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themselves, or no.

"3. Item, Whether they do reverently and duly minister the sacraments or sacramentals, or no.

"4. Item, Whether any of their parishioners do die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no.

"5. Item, Whether the said parsons, vicars, or curates, do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby infamy and slander, or no.

"6. Item, Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the church, or no.

"7. Item, Whether they see that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be christened.

"8. Item, If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the church.

"9. Item, Whether there be any priests, that late unlawfully had women under pretended mar-

riage, and hitherto are not reconciled; and to declare their names and dwelling-places.

"10. Item, Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments.

"11. Item, Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the church, and all those things that tend to a good and Christian life, according to the canons of the church.

"12. Item, Whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's Majesties.

"13. Item, Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended.

"14. Item, Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and unity of the church.

"15. Item, Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the church.

"16. Item, Whether any of them do suspiciously keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresies, or of evil opinion.

"17. Item, Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort unto them.

"18. Item, Whether they do go decently apparelled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet ministers; and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven.

"19. Item, Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and evil report.

"20. Item, Whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the laws ecclesiastical.

"21. Item, Whether they do keep the book of registers of christenings, buryings, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers."

His articles touching the lay-people.

"First, Whether any manner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholic church.

"2. Item, Whether any person do hold, affirm,

or say that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto.

"3. Item, Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

"4. Item, Whether any do absent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine service upon Sundays and holy days.

"5. Item, Whether, being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer; and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of the divine service.

"6. Item, Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds, and receivers of evil persons, or be vehemently suspected of any of them.

"7. Item, Whether any do blaspheme and take the name of God in vain, or be common swearers.

"8. Item, Whether any be perjured, or have committed simony or usury, or do still remain in the same.

"9. Item, Whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestly repaired and enclosed.

"10. Item, Whether the churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessary, and whether they have a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.

"11. Item, Whether any do withhold, or do draw from the church, any manner of money or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

"12. Item, Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exercise any lewd pastimes, especially in the time of divine service.

"13. Item, If there be any that do, practise, or exercise, any arts of magic or necromancy, or do use or practise any incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected thereof.

"14. Item, Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity prohibited by the laws of holy church, or that do marry, the bans not asked, or do make any privy contracts.

"15. Item, Whether in the time of Easter last, any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof.

"16. Item, Whether any do keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matter of religion, contrary to the laws.

"17. Item, Whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and embering days.

"18. Item, Whether the altars in the churches be consecrated, or no.

"19. Item, Whether the sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.

"20. Item, Whether the common schools be well kept; and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholic, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary.

"21. Item, Whether any do take upon them to administer the goods of those that be dead, without authority from the ordinary.

"22. Item, Whether the poor people in every parish be charitably provided for.

"23. Item, Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the sacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

"24. Item, Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

"25. Item, Whether any do keep, or have in their custody, any erroneous or unlawful books.

"26. Item, Whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

"27. Item, Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced.

"28. Item, Whether any do violate or break the Sundays and holy-days, doing their daily labours and exercises upon the same.

"29. Item, Whether the [keepers of] taverns or alehouses, upon the Sundays and holy-days, in the time of mass, matins, and even-song, do keep open their doors, and do receive people into their houses to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church.

"30. Item, Whether any have or do deprave or contemn the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's Holiness, or the see of Rome.

"31. Item, Whether any minstrels, or any other persons, do use to sing any songs against the holy sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church.

"32. Item, Whether there be any hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

"33. Item, Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or

possessions be taken away, or withholden, from the said hospitals, and by whom."

A history of ten martyrs condemned and burned within the diocess of Canterbury, for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and truth of his gospel.

Mention was made a little before of the persecution in Kent; wherefore we declared, that fifteen were in the castle of Canterbury imprisoned and condemned for God's word. Of the which fifteen, moreover, we showed and declared five to be famished unto death within the said castle, and buried by the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the first month of the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1557, were committed unto the fire, and there consumed to ashes, by Thornton, called bishop or suffragan of Dover, otherwise called Dick of Dover, and by Nicholas Harpsfield, the archdeacon of the said province.

The names of these ten godly and Christian martyrs be these: John Philpot of Tenterden, William Waterer of Biddenden, Stephen Kempe of Norgate, William Hay of Hythe, Thomas Hudson of Selling, Matthew Bradbridge of Tenterden, Thomas Stephens of Biddenden, Nicholas Final of Tenterden, William Lowick of Cranbrooke, William Prowting of Thornham.

Of these ten godly martyrs of Christ, six were burned at Canterbury, about the fifteenth of January, that is, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudson, and Hay. Other two, that is, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the same month. Other two, which were Final and Bradbridge, were burned both together at Ashford, the sixteenth of the same.

What the ordinary articles were, commonly objected to them of Canterbury diocess, is before rehearsed, save only that to some of these, as to them, that follow after, as the time of their persecution did grow, so their articles withal did increase to the number of two and twenty, containing such-like matter as served to the maintenance of the Romish see.

To these articles what their answers were likewise, needeth here no great rehearsal, seeing they all agreed together, though not in the same form of words, yet in much-like effect of purposes; first, granting the church of Christ, and denying the Church of Rome; denying the seven sacraments; refusing the mass, and the hearing of Latin service, praying to saints, justification of works, &c. And though they did all answer uniformly in some smaller things, as their learning served them, yet

in the most principal and chiefest matters they did not greatly discord, &c.

The next month following, which was February, came out another bloody commission from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commission I thought here not to pre-termit, not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much, but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world, like as in the first persecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximian, Dioclesian, Licinius, &c., so now also in these latter perilous days, have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority to the uttermost they could devise, against Christ and his blessed gospel. And yet, notwithstanding all these laws, constitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided against Christ and his gospel, Christ yet still continueth, his gospel flourisheth, and truth prevaieth; kings and emperors in their own purposes overthrown, their devices dissolved, their counsels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifest. But now let us hear the intent of this commission, in tenor as followeth.

“Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c.: to the right reverend father in God our right trusty and well-beloved councillor Thomas, bishop of Ely; and to our right trusty and well-beloved William Windsor, knight, Lord Windsor; Edward North, knight, Lord North; and to our trusty and well-beloved councillor, J. Bourne, knight, one of our chief secretaries; J. Mordaunt, knight; Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries; Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe; Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls and our high court of chancery; and to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Pope, knight; Roger Cholmley, knight: Richard Rede, knight; Rowland Hill, knight; William Rastal, sergeant at law; Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's; William Roper and Ralph Cholmley, esquires; William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

“Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruited, and set forth, divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books, within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities,

contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people, we minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such-like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to inquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England or elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the seas, and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letter, book, rumour, and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops, as elsewhere, willing you and every of you to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions. And also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place, within this realm; and also for and concerning the taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money or other things, belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same. And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches or other convenient places appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be, committed within this our said realm.

“Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when and as often as any person or persons, here-

after being called or convented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws. And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barrators, quarrellers, and suspect persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles' compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass. And further to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm; giving you and every of you full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient.

"Further, willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying, your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered: and we give you, and every three of you, full power and authority by these presents, to take and receive, by your discretion, of every offender or suspect person to be convented and brought before you, a recognisance or recognisances, obligation or obligations, to our use, of such sum or sums of money as to you, or three of you, shall seem convenient; as well for the personal appearance before you of every such suspected person, as for the per-

formance and accomplishment of your orders and decrees, in case you shall so think convenient: or, for the true and sure payment of all and every such fine and fines, as shall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or assessed, upon any offender that shall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced as is aforesaid, to our use, to be paid at such days and times as by you, or three of you, shall be called, limited, and appointed: and you are to certify every such recognisance or obligation, so being taken for any fine or fines, (not fully and wholly paid before you,) under your hands and seals, or the hands or seals of three of you, into our court of chancery; to the intent we may be thereof duly answered, as appertaineth.

"And furthermore we give to you, and three of you, full power and authority by these presents, not only to call before you all and every offender and offenders, and all and every suspected person and persons, in any of the premises, but also all such and so many witnesses as ye shall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine, and compel to answer and swear upon the holy evangelists to declare the truth, of all such things whereof they or any of them shall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the premises, or of any part thereof.

"And further, our will and pleasure is, that you, or three of you, shall name and appoint one sufficient person to gather up and receive all such sums of money as shall be assessed and taxed by you, or any three of you, for any fine or fines upon any person, for their offences; and you, or three of you, by bill or bills assigned with your hands, shall and may assign and appoint, (as well to the said person for his pains in receiving the said sums, as also to your clerks, messengers, and attendants upon you, for their travail, pains, and charges to be sustained for us, about the premises or any part thereof,) such sum and sums of money for their rewards, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought expedient: willing and commanding also all our auditors and other officers, (upon the sight of the said bills signed with the hands of you, or three of you,) to make to the said receiver due allowance according to the said bills, upon this account. Wherefore we will and command you, our said commissioners, with diligence to execute the premises, any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other grants, privileges, or ordinances, which be, or may seem to be, contrary to the premises, notwithstanding.

"And moreover, we will and command all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and faithful subjects, to be aiding, helping, and assisting

you at your commandment, in due execution hereof; as they may tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost perils. And we will and grant, that these our letters patent shall be sufficient warrant and discharge for you, and every of you, against us, our heirs and successors; and all and every other person and persons, whatsoever they be, of, for, and concerning, the premises or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this our commission or any part thereof. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters

patent to be made, and to continue and endure for one whole year next coming after the date hereof.

“Witness ourselves at Westminster, the eighth of February, the third and fourth year of our reigns.”

The apprehension of two and twenty prisoners, sent up together for God's word, to London, from Colchester.

After this bloody proclamation or commission thus given out at London, which was February the



eighth, in the third and fourth years of the king and queen's reign, these new inquisitors, especially

some of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and prisons almost full of prisoners, namely, in the diocess of Canterbury, whereof (by the leave of Christ) we will say more anon.

In the mean time, about the town of Colchester, the wind of persecution began fiercely to rise; in-

somuch that three and twenty together, men and women, were apprehended at one clap; of the which twenty-three, one escaped: the other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of Christian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at most, ready to give their skins to be plucked off for the gospel's sake. Notwithstanding the bishops, afraid belike of the number, to put so many at once to death, sought means to deliver them, and so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out themselves: notwithstanding divers of them afterward were taken again and suffered, as hereafter ye shall hear (God willing) declared. Such as met them by the way coming up, saw them in the fields,

scattering in such sort, as that they might easily have escaped away. And when they entered into the towns their keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the same in their hands, having another cord every one about his arm, as though they were tied.

And so were these fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London, they were pinioned, and so came into the city, as the picture here shortly before-going, with their names also subscribed, doth describe. But first let us declare concerning their taking and their attachers, contained in the commissary's letter written to Bonner; then the indenture made between the commissioners and the popish commissary. The letter of the commissary is this.

The letter of the commissary, called John Kingston, written to Bishop Bonner.

"After my duty done in receiving and accomplishing your honourable and most loving letters, dated the seventh of August, be it known unto your Lordship, that the twenty-eighth of August, the Lord of Oxenford, Lord Darcy, Henry Tyrrel, Anthony Brown, William Bendelows, Edmund Tyrrel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, published their commission, to seize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor commodity thereof, but by inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause were determined.

"And also there was likewise proclaimed the queen's Grace's warrant for the restitution of the church goods within Colchester and the hundreds thereabout, to the use of God's service. And then were called the parishes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my examination; and that divers persons should certify me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the justices' next appearance, which shall be on Michaelmas-even next. And the parishes which had presented at two several times, to have all ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again; and others to make their appearance from time to time. And those names blotted in the indenture, were indicted for treason, fugitives, or disobedients, and were put forth by Master Brown's commandment. And before the sealing, my Lord Darcy said unto me (apart) and Master Bendelows, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your Lordship, yea, if need were, the heretics to remain in durance till I had an answer from you, yea, till the lord legate's Grace's commissioners come into the country.

"And Master Brown came unto my Lord Darcy's house and parlour belonging unto Master Barnaby, before my said Lord and all the justices, and laid his hand on my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to make his hearty commendations to your good Lordship, and asked me if I would; and I said, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I should not have been charged with so sudden carriage.

"But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and with the jailers; and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the indentures, and sealed them; and then Master Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the thirtieth of August, to go and receive my prisoners by and by. And then I said, 'It is an unreasonable commandment, for that I have attended on you here these three days, and this Sunday early I have sent home my men. Wherefore I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will please my Lord and Master to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them unto his Lordship.' Then Master Brown: 'We are certified, that the council have written to your master, to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste.' Then I: 'Sir, I shall receive them within these ten days.' Then Master Brown: 'The limitation lieth in us, and not in you: wherefore get you hence.'

"'Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whose faith or opinions I know not, trusting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, lest I should punish the catholics.' 'Well,' said Master Brown, 'for that cause, ye shall have time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Master Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wednesday, set open your doors, and let them go.'

"Then I: 'My Lord and Masters all, I promise to discharge the town and country of these heretics, within ten days.' Then my Lord Darcy said, 'Commissary, we do and must all agree in one: wherefore do ye receive them on or before Wednesday.'

"Then I: 'My Lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the castle and St. Katharine's chapel, two hours and a half, and in great press and danger: wherefore this may be to desire your Lordship, to give in commandment unto my Master Sayer, bailiff, here present, to aid me through his liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the most busy persons, and this upon three hours' warning:' all which both my Lord and Master Brown commanded.

"The thirty-first of August, William Goodwin of Much Birch, husbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alsey of Copford, your Lordship's apparitor of your consistory in Colchester, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other men at the least, whereof one should be a bow-man, to come to me the next day about two of the clock at afternoon, so that I might recite this bargain before Master Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, forty-six shillings and eightpence. Wherefore they should then go forth with me unto Colchester, and on Wednesday before three of the clock in the morning receive there at my hand within the castle and moat-hall, fourteen men and eight women, ready bound with gyves and hemp; and drive, carry, or lead, and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought to be found continually, unto such time that the said William and Thomas shall cause the said two and twenty persons to be delivered unto my Lord of London's officers, and within the safe keeping of my said Lord; and then to bring unto me again the said gyves, with a perfect token of or from my said Lord, and then this covenant is void; or else, &c.

"Master Bendelows said unto me in my Lord of Oxenford's chamber at the King's Head, after I had said mass before the lords, that on the morrow after Holy-rood day, when we shall meet at Chelmsford for the division of these lands, 'I think, Master Archdeacon, you, and Master Smith, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to those portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like case divide yourselves, to tread and view the ground with the quest; or else I think they will not labour the matter.' And so do you say unto Master Archdeacon.

"Alice the wife of William Walley of Colchester, hath submitted herself, abjured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do her solemn penance in her parish church of St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a catholic and a faithful woman, as long as God shall send her life. And for these covenants, her husband standeth bound in five pounds. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your indenture; and she is big with child: wherefore she remaineth at home. And this done in the presence of the bailiffs, aldermen, and town-clerk. And for that Master Brown was certified, there was no curate at Lexden, he inquired who was the farmer. The answer was made, 'Sir Francis Jobson.' 'Who is the parson?' 'They of the quest-men answered, 'Sir Roger Gostlow.' 'When was he with you?' 'Not these fourteen years.' 'How is your cure served?' 'Now and then.' 'Who is the patron?' 'My Lord of Arundel.' And within short time after, Sir Francis Jobson came with great courtesy unto my Lord Darcy's place: and of

all gentlemen about us, I saw no more come in. Sir Robert Smith, priest, sometime canon of Bridlington, now curate of Appledore in the wild of Kent, came to Colchester the twenty-eighth day of August, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined of the lords; and Master Brown told me, that they have received letters from the council for the attachment of certain persons, and especially of one priest, whose name is Pullen, (but his right name is Smith,) doubting this priest to be the said Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confess the same. Wherefore he lieth still in prison, but surely this is not Pullen.

"If it please your Lordship to have in remembrance, that the householders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own seat in the church in time of divine service, it would profit much. And also there be yet standing hospitals, and other of like foundation about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation; as the masters and lazars of Mary Magdalene in Colchester, the proctor of St. Katharine's chapel in Colchester, the hospital or breadhouse of the foundation of the Lord H. Marney in Layer-Marney, the hospital and beadman of Little Horkesley. Thus presuming of your Lordship's goodness, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly business, beseeching Almighty God to send your honourable Lordship a condign reward.

"From Easthorp this present 20th day of August.

"We found a letter touching the marriage of priests in the hands of the foresaid Sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Master Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me, if I had proclaimed the proclamation. I said, 'Yea.' Then he said openly upon the bench, that they should be proclaimed every quarter once. And then take the constables and officers; and they alone take and punish the offenders accordingly.

"By your poor beadman,

JOHN KINGSTON, priest."

An indenture made between the lords and the justices within specified, and Bonner's commissary, concerning the delivery of the prisoners above named.

"This indenture, made the twenty-ninth day of August, in the third and fourth years of the reigns of our sovereign lord and lady, Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, archdukes of Austria,

dukes of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, counts of Hamburg, Flanders, and Tyrol, between the right honourable Lord John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England; Thomas Lord Darcy of Chichester; Henry Tyrrel, knight; Anthony Brown, the king and queen's Majesties' sergeant-at-law; William Bendelows, sergeant-at-law; Edmund Tyrrel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, esquires, justices of oyer and determiner, and of the peace within the said county of Essex, to be kept of the one party; and John Kingston, clerk, bachelor at law, commissary to the bishop of London, of the other party; witnesseth, that Robert Colman, of Walton in the county of Essex, labourer; Joan Winseley, of Horkesley Magna in the said county, spinster; Stephen Glover, of Rayleigh in the county aforesaid, glover; Richard Clerke, of Much Holland in the said county, mariner; William Munt, of Much Bentley in the said county, husbandman; Thomas Winseley, of Much Horkesley in the said county, sawyer; Margaret Field, of Ramsey in the said county, spinster; Agnes Whitelock, of Dovercourt in the said county, spinster; Alice Munt, of Much Bentley in the said county, spinster; Rose Allin, of the same town and county, spinster; Richard Bongeor, of Colchester in the said county, currier; Richard Atkin, of Halstead in the said county, weaver; Robert Barcock, of Wiston in the county of Suffolk, carpenter; Richard George, of West Bergholt in the county of Essex, labourer; Richard Jolley, of Colchester in the said county, mariner; Thomas Feeresanne, of the same town and county, mercer; Robert Debnam, late of Dedham in the said county, weaver; Cicely Warren, of Coggeshall in the said county, spinster; Christian Pepper, widow, of the same town and county; Allin Simpson; Ellen Ewring; Alice, the wife of William Wallis, of Colchester, spinster; and William Bongeor, of Colchester in the said county, glazier; being indicted of heresy, are delivered to the said John Kingston, clerk, ordinary to the bishop of London, according to the statute in that case provided.

"In witness whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the said earl, lord, and other the justices, the said ordinary hath set to his hand and seal, and to the other part remaining with the said ordinary, the said earl, lord, and other the justices, have set to their several hands and seals, the day and year above written.

"Oxenford.	William Bendelows.
Thomas Darcy.	Edmund Tyrrel.
Henry Tyrrel.	Richard Weston.
Anthony Brown.	Roger Appleton."

The twenty-two aforesaid prisoners, thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to Bishop Bonner.

"Behold more sheep hereby, addrest to Bonner's stall,
Whose thirsty throat, so dry, for more blood still doth call."

As touching the order and manner of their coming and bringing, the said Bonner himself writeth to Cardinal Pole, as you shall hear.

*A letter of Bishop Bonner to Cardinal Pole,
concerning the prisoners aforesaid.*

"May it please your good Grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand, that going to London upon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Master Germaines's matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following (to comfort my stomach withal) letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following, I should have sent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners; and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, which both stood me above twenty nobles, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and, in all the way from Colchester to Stratford of the Bow, did go quietly and obediently; yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged Friday night.

"And albeit I took order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Gresham, then being with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These naughty heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort *e promiscuâ plebe*, and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they showed themselves desperate and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to have won them, causing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, and here to give sentence against

them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your Grace was offended, I thought it my duty, before I any thing further proceeded herein, to advertise first your Grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your Grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus most humbly I take my leave of your good Grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same.—At Fulham, *postridie Nativitatis* 1556.

“Your Grace’s most bounden beadsman and servant,
EDMUND BONNER.”

By this letter of Bishop Bonner to the cardinal is to be understood, what good-will was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) stayed his fervent headiness. Concerning the which cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist; yet again it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloody and cruel sort of papists, as may appear, not only by staying the rage of this bishop, but also by the solicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certain papists accusing him to the pope, to be a bearer with the heretics, and by the pope’s letters sent to him upon the same, calling him up to Rome, and setting Friar Peto in his place, had not Queen Mary, by special entreaty, kept him out of the pope’s danger. All which letters I have (if need be) to show; and besides, also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no less suspected at Rome: yea, and furthermore, did there at Rome convert a certain learned Spaniard from papism to Luther’s side; notwithstanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward carried him away to play the papist thus as he did. But of this cardinal enough.

To return now to this godly company again; first, how they were brought up in bands to London, ye have heard: also how Bonner was about to have read the sentence of death upon them, and how he was stayed by the cardinal, ye understand. As touching their confession, which they articulated up in writing, it were too tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the article of the Lord’s supper, (for the which they were chiefly troubled,) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

“Whereas Christ at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body; and likewise took the cup and thanked, &c.;

we do understand it to be a figurative speech, as the most manner of his language was in parables and dark sentences, that they which are carnally-minded should see with their eyes, and not perceive; and hear with their ears, and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we through his body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers thereof; and his blood cleanseth us from all our sins, and hath pacified God’s wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

“And in that he said further, Do this in remembrance of me, it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ; and he commanded it for this cause, that the congregation of Christ should come together to show his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name; and so to break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ had given his body and shed his blood for us.

“Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called the bread his body, and the wine his blood, yet it followeth not that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine; as divers places in Scripture are spoken by Christ and the apostles in like phrase of speech, as in John xv., I am the true Vine. Also in John x., I am the Door. And as it is written in Hebrews ix. and in Exodus xxiv., how Moses took the blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, This is the blood of the covenant or testament. And also in Ezekiel vi., how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, This is Jerusalem, &c.

“Thus we see the Scriptures how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all Holy Scriptures. Also we do see that great idolatry is sprung out of the carnal understanding of the words of Christ, This is my body; and yet daily springeth, to the great dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God, yea, and hold that to be their maker.”

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they also devised a letter withal, in a manner of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God’s word, might be ministered unto them; the copy of which their letter I thought here also to show unto the reader in form as followeth.

"To the right honourable audience, before whom these our simple writings and the confession of our faith shall come to be read or seen, we poor prisoners, being fast in bands upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the Scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God hath given you power and strength over us as concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves as obedient subjects in all things due, ye being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people according to right, and hear the poor and helpless in truth, and defend their cause.

God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with divers other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and most godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God, which art the most highest, the Creator and Maker of all things, and of all men both great and small, and carest for all alike, which dost try all men's works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers' hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

"And if any thing here seemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or disagreeing to the Scripture, if it shall please your Lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to the Scriptures, thereby to make answer, and to be tried, in so doing we poor subjects, being in much captivity and bondage, are most bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation."

The request of these men being so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop and other judges, but that sentence should have proceeded against them incontinent, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants, than the bishop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by sentence, it was thought otherwise by the cardinal, and some other wiser heads; fearing belike, lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might rise peradventure among the people; and so it was decreed among themselves, that rather they should make some submission or confession, such as they would

themselves, and so be sent home again, as they were indeed; howbeit divers of them afterward were apprehended and put to death. But in the mean space, as touching their submission which they made, this it was, as in form here followeth.

"Because our Saviour Christ at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me; therefore, according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we do believe in the sacrament to be Christ's body. And likewise he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many.

"Therefore likewise we do believe that it is the blood of Christ, according as Christ's church doth minister the same; unto the which catholic church of Christ we do in this, like as in all other matters, submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good Christian men, and here in this realm to use ourselves as it becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious king and queen, and to all other superiors both spiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties."

The names of them which subscribed to this submission, were these:—

"John Atkin, Alyn Symson, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winsley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merse, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Christian Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Joan Winsly, Cysly Warren, Rose Alyn, Ann Whitelocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker."

The story of five other godly martyrs burned at one fire in Smithfield, with their answers to the articles.

The learned being at this time, in a manner, all despatched in this furious rage of persecution, we now have little or small matter to write, touching the other silly sheep and simple lambs of Christ's flock, yet remaining behind; upon whom they satisfied still their blood-thirsty and slaughterous affections. I thought it therefore not beside the matter to admonish the reader, to judge of them, and of such others, before specified, as of the dear elect children and true martyrs of God; by whose simplicity the merciful wisdom and mighty power of God were more manifested and showed, who hath chosen in them the foolish and weak things of this world to confound the wise and mighty ones,

and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

And as touching those of whom there is no matter mentioned in this history, as occasions of their death, (for that none as yet came to my hands,) this one sure and only cause is certainly to be adjudged generally to them, that it was for the sincere profession of Christ's gospel: and as for the rest, of whom out of the registrar's notes somewhat is and shall be said, though there may sometimes appear in their answers and confessions to the bishops and others, before whom they were examined, a certain ignorance and lack of knowledge in some points, (which, for the most part, is made worse by the unfaithful

dealings of the registrars,) nevertheless this is to be weighed and truly considered, that, in the chief and principal ground and foundation of their religion and faith, they swerved not, laying Jesus Christ for their corner-stone, as the most perfect prop and sure foundation of their building: upon whom albeit it seemeth they built sometimes, through their ignorance, stubble or hay, (and, the rather, through the papists' crafty couching of the interrogatories,) yet, that being consumed by the fire of God's Holy Spirit, they themselves, through the same Spirit, abide both safe and sure. And therefore, in hope of this charitable and true judgment, I will proceed in the prosecuting of our history.



In this story of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow five others burned at London, in Smithfield, in the

some by other justices of peace, and constables, (their old neighbours,) at the first accused and apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, were in the end sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and by his commandment the twenty-seventh day of January were examined before Dr. Darbyshire, then chancellor to the said bishop, upon the former general articles mentioned. Whose answers thereunto were, that as they confessed there was one true and catholic church, whereof they stedfastly believed, and thought the Church of Rome to be no part or member; so in the same church they be-

aforsaid year of the Lord 1557, April the twelfth, whose names were these:—Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley: who being, some by the Lord Riche,

lieved there were but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord. Howbeit some of them attributed the title and honour of a sacrament to the holy estate of matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather of simple ignorance, than of any wilful opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admonished. Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be baptized into the faith of that true church, as in the third article is specified.

And here in reading as well of these articles, as also of the rest, mark, I beseech you, the crafty subtlety of these catholic companions, who, intermixing certain points of faith, and of the true church, with the idolatrous and superstitious maumetry of their Romish synagogue, cause the poor and simple people, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nets. For after they have made them grant a true church with the sacraments of the same, though not in such number as they would have them, and also that they were christened into the faith thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, they craftily now in the other their objections, descending as it were from the faith of the Trinity unto their idolatrous mass and other superstitious ceremonies, would make them grant, that now in denying thereof they have severed themselves from the faith of the true church, whereunto they were baptized; which is most false. For though the true light of God's gospel and holy word was marvellously darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguished; yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was still preserved; and into the faith thereof were we baptized, and not into the belief and profession of their horrible idolatry and vain ceremonies.

These things, not thoroughly weighed by these poor, yet faithful and true members of Christ, caused some of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years of discretion, and understood the light of the gospel, they did separate themselves from the faith of the church, meaning none other but only to separate themselves from the admitting or allowing of such their popish and erroneous trash as they now had defiled the church of Christ withal, and not from their faith received in baptism, which in express words in their answers to the other articles they constantly affirmed, declaring the mass and sacrament of the altar to be most wicked blasphemy against Christ Jesus, and contrary to the truth of his gospel; and therefore utterly they refused to assent unto and to be reconciled again thereunto.

These answers in effect of them thus taken by the said chancellor, they were for that time dismissed;

but the bishop, taking the matter into his own hands, the sixth day of March, propounded unto them certain other new articles, the copy whereof followeth.

"First, That thou hast thought, believed, and spoken, within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, is not a true and a laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments, nor is agreeable to God's word and Testament; and that thou canst not find in thy heart without murmuring, grudging, or scruple to receive and use it, and to conform thyself unto it, as other subjects of this realm customably have done and do.

"2. Item, That thou hast thought, &c., that the English service set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, was and is good and godly, and catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

"3. Item, Likewise thou hast thought, &c., that thou art not bound to come to thy parish church, and there to be present, and hear matins, mass, even-song, and other divine service, sung or said there.

"4. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that thou art not bound to come to procession to the church, upon days and times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish, singing or saying then the accustomed prayers used in the church; nor to bear a taper or candle on Candlemas day; nor take ashes upon Ash Wednesday; nor bear palms upon Palm Sunday; nor to creep to the cross upon days accustomed; nor to receive and kiss the pax at mass-time; nor to receive holy water or holy bread; nor to accept and allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner and fashion, as they are used in this realm.

"5. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that thou art not bound at any time to confess thy sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands, as God's minister, nor to receive at any time the blessed sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in this church of England.

"6. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that in matters of religion and faith, thou must follow and believe thine own conscience only, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the catholic church, and the see of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

"7. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that all things do chance of an absolute and precise mere necessity; so that whether man do well or evil, he could

not choose but do so; and that therefore no man hath any free-will at all.

"8. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that the fashion and manner of christening of infants, is not agreeable to God's word; and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby saved, except he have years of discretion to believe himself, and so willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure.

"9. Item, thou hast thought, &c., that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, are not available, and not allowable by God's word, or profitable in any wise; and that the souls departed do straightways go to heaven or hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom, so that there is no place of purgation at all.

"10. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that all such as in the time of King Henry the Eighth, or in the time of Queen Mary, in England, have been burned as heretics, were no heretics at all, but faithful and good Christian people; especially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and such like; and that thou didst and dost allow, like, and approve all their opinions, and dost mislike their condemnations and burnings.

"11. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that fasting, and prayers used in this church of England, and the appointing of days for fasting, and the abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, and especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by God's word, but is hypocrisy and foolishness; and that men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

"12. Item, Thou hast taught, &c., that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reserve and keep it, or to honour it, is plain idolatry and superstition: and likewise of the mass and elevation of the sacrament.

13. "Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that thou or any else, convented before an ecclesiastical judge concerning matters of belief and faith, art not bound to make answer at all, especially under an oath upon a book."

Their answers to the articles before objected.

"Their answers to these objections were, that as touching the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, saving that they denied the souls of the departed to sleep till the day of judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth article.

"And as concerning the sixth objection, they thought themselves bound to believe the true catholic church, so far forth as the same doth instruct them according to God's holy word; but not to fol-

low the determinations of the erroneous and Babylonical church of Rome.

"As for the seventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any such absurd opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that man of himself, without the help and assistance of God's Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in God's sight.

"To the eleventh they said, that true fasting and prayer, used according to God's word, are allowable and available in his sight; and that by the same word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same."

After this, the first day of April, they were again convented before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refused to recant and deny the received and infallible truth, the bishop caused them to be brought into the open consistory, the third day of the same month of April, in the forenoon, where first understanding by them their immutable constancy and stedfastness, he demanded particularly of every one, what they had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

To whom Thomas Loseby first answered, "God give me grace and strength to stand against you, and your sentence, and also against your law, which is a devouring law, for it devoureth the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would consent to your devouring law, and believe in that idol the mass."

Next unto him answered Thomas Thirtel, saying, "My Lord, I say thus, if you make me a heretic, then you make Christ and all the twelve apostles heretics: for I am in the true faith and right belief; and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal life there-for."

The bishop then asked the like question of Henry Ramsey, who said again, "My Lord, will you have me to go from the truth that I am in? I say unto you, that my opinions be the very truth, which I will stand unto, and not go from them: and I say unto you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we," meaning himself, and other true martyrs and professors of Christ, "be of the true church, and ye be not."

Unto this question next answered Margaret Hide, saying, "My Lord, you have no cause to give sentence against me; for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forsake it; and I do wish that I were more strong in it than I am."

Last of all answered Agnes Stanley, and said,

"I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never so much worth, than that I will forsake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith."

The time being now spent, they were commanded to appear again at afternoon in the same place : which commandment being obeyed, the bishop first called for Loseby, and after his accustomed manner willed his articles and answers to be read ; in reading thereof, when mention was made of the sacrament of the altar, the bishop with his colleagues put off their caps. Whereat Loseby said, "My Lord, seeing you put off your cap, I will put on my cap ;" and therewithal did put on his cap. And after, the bishop continuing in his accustomed persuasions, Loseby again said unto him, "My Lord, I trust I have the spirit of truth, which you detest and abhor ; for the wisdom of God is foolishness unto you." Whereupon the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him : and delivering him unto the sheriff, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he used the like order of exhortations. To whom notwithstanding she said, "I will not depart from my sayings till I be burned : and my Lord," quoth she, "I would see you instruct me with some part of God's word, and not to give me instructions of holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the Scripture." But he, being neither himself, nor any of his, able rightly to accomplish her request, to make short work, used his final reason of convincement, which was the sentence of condemnation ; and therefore leaving her off, called for another, viz. Agnes Stanley, who upon the bishop's like persuasions made this answer : "My Lord, whereas you say I am a heretic, I am none ; neither yet will I believe you, nor any man that is wise will believe as you do. And as for these that ye say be burnt for heresy, I believe they are true martyrs before God : therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith as long as I live."

Her talk thus ended, she received the like reward that the other had. And the bishop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto Thomas Thirtel, received of him likewise this final answer : "My Lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways, as you do ; for I say, the mass is idolatry, and will stick to my faith and belief, so long as the breath is in my body." Upon which words he was also condemned as a heretic.

Last of all was Henry Ramsey demanded if he would (as the rest) stand unto his answers, or else, recanting the same, come home again, and be a member of their church. Whereunto he answered, "I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live ; and my Lord," quoth he, "your doc-

trine is naught, for it is not agreeable to God's word."

After these words, the bishop, to conclude, pronouncing the sentence of condemnation against him and the rest, as ye have heard, charged the sheriff of London with them ; who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the same month of April, brought them into Smithfield, where all together in one fire most joyfully and constantly they ended their temporal lives, receiving therefor the life eternal.

The story of Stephen Gratwick, and two other martyrs, burned in St. George's Fields, in Southwark.

After these moreover, in the month of May, followed three others that suffered in St. George's Fields in Southwark : William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, with one King, who suffered at the same time.

Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick : who first was condemned by the bishop of Winchester and the bishop of Rochester, which were not his ordinaries. Secondly, when he did appeal from those incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted. Thirdly, when they had no other shift to colour their inordinate proceedings withal, they suborned one of the priests to come in for a counterfeit and a false ordinary, and sit upon him. Fourthly, being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet the said bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the audience assistant once to say, God strengthen him. Fifthly, as they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him ; so they pretended false articles against him which were no part of his examinations, but of their devising, to have his blood. Sixthly and lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words, "That which I said I have said," they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, which needs will be reputed for catholic fathers of the spirituality, successors of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people : of whose doings and proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Christ and his apostles, I leave to discuss, referring the judgment hereof to them which know the institution of Christ's religion and doctrine.

Now lest, peradventure, the disordered misrule of these Christmas lords will not be credited upon

the simple narration of the story, ye shall hear the whole discourse of this process, registered by the hand of the martyr himself, who as he could tell best what was done, so I am sure would not testify otherwise than the truth was, according as you shall hear by his own declaration here following.

“Upon the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1557, I, Stephen Gratwick, came before the bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, into St. George's church in Southwark, at eight of the clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and said unto me,

“‘Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy heresies, the which thou hast maintained and defended here within my diocess, oftentimes before me? And also upon Sunday last ye stood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your heresies; so that you have offended within the liberty of my diocess. And now, I being your ordinary, you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not, the which I have here in writing: and if so be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you. And therefore note well what you do, for now I read here the articles against you.’ And so when he had ended, he bade me answer unto them.

Gratwick.—“‘My Lord, these articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making: for I never had any of mine examinations written at any time. And therefore these be objections that you lay against me as a snare, to get my blood. Wherefore I desire your lawful favour, to allow my lawful appeal unto mine ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your diocess, it is nothing so; for I have not enterprised either to preach or teach within your diocess, but was apprehended by mine own bishop and sent prisoner into your diocess, by the consent of the council and mine own ordinary; and therefore I so being in your diocess, you have no cause to let my lawful appeal.’

“And with that there came the bishop of Rochester, and was received at the bishop of Winchester's hands with much gladness, according to their determinate purpose before invented. And so followed the archdeacon of Canterbury. And then the bishop again started up as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and said, that he was very glad of his coming; making himself ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me.

“Then said Winchester, ‘Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who

bath appealed unto you, being his ordinary.’ Then said the archdeacon of Canterbury, ‘I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me.’ And then I answered and said, ‘My Lord, I am not of his diocess, not by five miles: for his diocess reacheth on that part but to the cliffs of Lewes, and I dwelt at Brighthelmstone, five miles beyond, in the diocess of the bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his diocess.’

“Then the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, cast their heads together, and laughed: and then they said, my ordinary would be here by and by. And so they sent forth for a counterfeit, instead of mine ordinary; and then I saw them laugh, and I spake unto them and said, ‘Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my blood, and therein triumph? You have more cause to look weightily upon the matter; for I stand here before you upon life and death. But you declare yourselves what you are; for you are lapped in lamb's apparel, but I would to God ye had coats according to your assembly here, which are scarlet gowns; for I do here perceive you are bent to have my blood.’

“And then came rushing in their counterfeited bishop, who was the hired servant to deliver me into the hands of the high priest; and the bishop hearing him come, with haste inquired of his man, who was there; and he said, ‘My Lord of Chichester.’ Then the bishop of Winchester with haste rose up and said, ‘Ye are most heartily welcome;’ and required him to sit down: and then said the bishop of Winchester to me, ‘Lo! here is your ordinary: what have you now to say unto him?’

Gratwick.—“‘I have nothing to say unto him. If ye have nothing to say unto me, I pray you let me depart.’ Then answered my counterfeit ordinary and said, ‘Here you stand before my Lords and me in trial of your faith; and if you bring the truth, we shall by compulsion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the word; and your doctrine to be heard and embraced for a truth.’

“Then I demanded of him whether he meant ‘by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.’ And he answered me, ‘By authority as well as by the Spirit.’

“Then I said, ‘Now will I turn your own argument upon you; for Christ came before the high priests, scribes, and Pharisees, bringing the truth with him; being the very truth himself, which truth cannot lie; yet both he and his truth was condemned, and took no place with them, and also the apostles, and all the martyrs that died since Christ. Therefore I turn your own argument upon you; answer it if you can!’

“Then he, with a great heat of choler, said unto the bishop of Winchester, ‘Object some articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would fain get out of our hands, therefore hold him to some particular:’ so that other answer could I not have of his argument.

“Then the bishop of Winchester began to read his objections of his own making against me, and bade me answer unto them. And I said, ‘No, except you would set the law apart, because I see you are mindful of my blood.’

Winchester.—“‘Now you may see he will not answer to these, but as he hath aforesaid.’

“Then spake the counterfeit ordinary again, and said, ‘My Lord, ask him what he saith to the sacrament of the altar.’ Then the bishop asked me, as my counterfeit ordinary required him.

Gratwick.—“‘My Lord, I do believe that in the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, truly ministered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the body and blood of Christ.’ Then I asked him if it were not the truth. And he said, ‘Yes.’ Then said I, ‘Bear witness of the truth.’

“Then the bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtillest to gather upon my words, said, ‘My Lord, see you not how he creepeth away with his heresies, and covereth them privily? Note, how he here separateth the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true sacrament; and also how he condemneth our ministration in one kind, and alloweth that the unworthy receiver doth not eat and drink the body and blood of Christ; which be sore matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his subtle shifts and sophistry; but he shall answer directly or ever he depart.’

Gratwick.—“‘My Lord, this is but your gathering of my words, for you before confessed the same sayings to be the truth; and thus you catch at me, and fain would have a vantage for my blood. But seeing you judge me not to mean the sacrament of the altar, now come to the probation of the same sacrament, and prove it to be the true sacrament, and I am with you; or else if you can prove your church to be the true church, I am also with you.’

“But then he called to memory the last probation of the church and sacraments, how he before was driven to forsake the Scriptures, and to show me by good reason how they might minister the sacrament in one kind. And his reason was this:—Like as a man or woman dieth on a sudden, and so when we have given him the body of Christ, in the mean time the party dieth, and so he eateth the body of Christ,

and not drinketh his blood. And this was his simple shift in the proving of their sacraments: so that he was now half abashed to begin that matter again. But yet a little subtle shift he brought in, and said, ‘What sayest thou by the administration of the priests every day for themselves, and they minister in both kinds?’ To that I answered, ‘You have two administrations; for I am sure at Easter you minister but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but after your own imaginations.’

Winchester.—“‘Why, then what sayest thou to these words, Take, eat; this is my body. These are the words of Christ. Wilt thou deny them?’

Gratwick.—“‘My Lord, they are the words of Scripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.’

Rochester.—“‘Why, then thou dost confess in the sacrament of the altar to be a real presence, the selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is ascended up into heaven.’

Gratwick.—“‘My Lord, what do you now mean? Do you not also mean a visible body? for it cannot be but of necessity—if it be a real presence, and a material body, it must be a visible body also.’

Winchester.—“‘Nay, I say unto thee, it is a real presence, and a material body, and an invisible body too.’

Gratwick.—“‘My Lord, then it must needs be a fantastical body; for if it should be a material and invisible, as you affirm, then it must needs be a fantastical body: for it is apparent, that Christ’s human body was visible and seen.’

“Then the bishop of Winchester brake out and said, ‘When didst thou see him? I pray thee tell me.’ To that I answered and said, ‘A simple argument it is: because our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, doth that prove or follow, that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?’

“And with that the bishop of Winchester began to wax weary of his argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the sacrament, and said, ‘He ate him wholly, as the apostles did.’

“And then I asked him, if he meant Christ’s flesh and blood, the which he speaketh of in John vi., and saith, ‘He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life in me.’ To that the bishop of Winchester answered and said, ‘Yea.’

“Then said I, ‘Of necessity Judas must needs be saved, because he did eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as you have affirmed; and also all the ungodly that die without repentance, because they have eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh and blood of Christ; therefore of necessity they shall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eter-

nal life; which is a great absurdity to grant. And then of necessity it must follow, that all that eat not and drink not of your sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned; for Christ saith, Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, you can have no life in you. And you have afore said that your sacrament is the same flesh and blood that Christ speaketh of. And here I prove, that all children, then, that die under age to receive the sacrament, by your own argument must be damned; which is horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you; answer it if you can!

Winchester.—"My Lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he bringeth in here against us, mingled with sophistry, and keepeth himself in vantage, so that we can get no hold upon him? But I say unto thee, thou perverse heretic, I see now thou art a perverse fellow. I had a better opinion of thee; but now I see we lose our time about thee. Yet I answer thee, St. Paul doth open John vi. plainly, if thou wilt see; for he saith, They eat Christ's body and drink his blood unworthily, and that was the cause of their damnation.'

Gratwick.—"My Lord, take heed ye do not add to the text; for he that addeth unto the text, is accursed of God. And I am sure here you have brought more than Paul hath spoken; for he saith not, because they have eaten his body and drunk his blood unworthily; but St. Paul saith, Whosoever shall eat of this bread and drink of the cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ. Note, my Lord, he saith not as you have affirmed, but clean contrary.'

"And with that they were all in a great rage. And the bishop of Winchester said, I belied the text. And then I called for the text.

"And he said, I asked thee even now, if thou understoodest Latin, and thou saidst, 'Whether I can or no, the people shall bear witness in English.'

"And so I called again for the Testament, whether it were Latin or English, for the trial of the text.

"And then when the bishop of Winchester saw that I cared not whether of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man that had a book there, and bade him that had an English Testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold at him that should bring a Testament. But God disappointed him thereof, and so he flew away from his matter, and began to rail upon me, and said my subtle arguments should not serve; for if I would not answer directly, I should nevertheless be excommunicated. 'For,' said he, 'I see a mad toy in thine head: thou gloriest much in thy talk, and thinkest now the people are come

about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy constant heretical opinion. For the last day, when thou wast before me upon Sunday, in St. Mary Overy's church, thou there reprovdest my sermon, and hadst a thousand by thee at the least, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see him here, that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the death that thou shalt die.'

"To that I answered, 'My Lord, I know your cruelty doth extend more largely than your pity. Good experience so I have to say, for you keep men in prison a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their soul's comfort, the which all men ought to have; and so you entreat them more like brute beasts than Christian men.'

Winchester.—"No, sir; we will use you as we will use the child: for if the child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So, because you will damn your souls with the word, therefore you shall not have it.'

Gratwick.—"My Lord, a simple argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the word the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but only you, that did not affirm our sins to be the cause of our damnation, and not the word, as you say; and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good also: because that some men do abuse drink, therefore the benefit of drink should be taken from all men, or any other such-like good gift.'

Winchester.—"My Lords, here we lose much time, for this fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse questions; so that we can get no advantage upon him.'

"Then spake my counterfeit ordinary, as one half asleep all this while; yet somewhat with haste, when he was awaked, he began to tell his tale, and said, 'Read these articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words: That which I said, that I have said.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester began to read them again. But I said unto him, I would not answer them, because they were none of mine examinations, but objections of their own making, because they would have my blood. But yet I said, if they would set the law apart, I would talk my conscience freely to them.

"Then my counterfeit ordinary began to speak again, charging me with the saying of St. Peter, that I should render account of such hope as was in me.

Gratwick.—"So can I do, and yet I shall not please you; for here I now render my hope as St. Peter willeth me: I believe only in Jesus Christ to have my whole salvation in him, by him, and through

him ; but I perceive you would have me render my faith in such sort, as you may have my blood, and therefore you bring good Scriptures, and evil apply them.'

Winchester.—" 'Why, this fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his hands than we have already ; therefore let us pronounce sentence against him, for we do but lose our time.'

Gratwick.—" 'Nay, good my Lord, seeing you will needs have my blood, let me say a little more for myself. Upon Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle St. James, and said, If any man think himself a religious man, and in the mean time seduce his tongue or his heart, the same man's religion is a vain religion. And so, my Lord, you, standing there in the pulpit, in the mean time seduced your tongue to slander us poor prisoners, being there present, in iron bonds, burdening us with the sect of Ariens, and with the sect of Herodians, and with the sect of Anabaptists, and with the sect of Sacramentaries, and with the sect of Pelagians. And when we stood up to purge ourselves thereof, you said you would cut out our tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gave yourself a shrewd blow, for your tongue in the mean time slandered your neighbour. For I, my Lord, will give my life against all these heresies, the which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you.'

"And with that he was raging angry, and caught my condemnation, and said, 'Thou wilt grant here no more, but this word ; That I have said, I have said. And here I gather matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou hast heretofore said.'

"Then I answered, 'If you can prove that ever any of mine examinations were written, it were enough ; but you have nothing against me, but objections of your own making.'

Winchester.—" 'Have at thee now. If thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce sentence against thee.' And so he proceeded forth onward apace, cursing and banning in Latin ; so that I told him, 'If the people might hear it in English, they would think you an uncharitable bishop.' And then I said, 'Stay, my Lord, and note what you do ; for you have neither temporal law, nor spiritual, here against me in any just cause.'

"Then stepped forth a gentleman, and said unto my Lord, 'Take heed what ye do ; for he doth here say, that you have no title nor cause, why you should condemn him.'

"Then the bishop looked about him again, and

asked me if I would recant. I asked him, whereof I should recant.

"Then said the bishop, 'Are you there ? Nay, then I know what I have to do.' And so he proceeded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was another gentleman which began to snap and snatch at me : and then said I, 'I would God I had known this, ere ever I had come from home ; I would surely have put on my breech, and not had my skin thus torn.' And all this while the bishop read forth still.

"At last his chaplains cried, 'Stop, stop, my Lord : for now he will recant.' And then the bishop asked me again. And I answered and said, 'My Lord, my faith is grounded more stedfastly than to change in a moment ; it is no process of time can alter me, unless my faith were as the waves of the sea.' And so the bishop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be carried prisoner to the Marshalsea again.

"And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voice, that he would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were his good will ; and so then they refused my prayer, and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, 'Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth ;' and so I was brought to the Marshalsea, and lapped in iron bands. Therefore I pray unto God, that they unto whom this present writing shall come, may take example by my death and soldier-fare. So be it.

"By me, STEPHEN GRATWICK, condemned for God's everlasting truth."

Stephen Gratwick to the reader.

"Here, for want of time, I have left out many matters, because the Lord hath hastened the time, so that I have written but the briefness of the matter in probation of faith, and the reward of faith, the which the bishop of Rochester and I debated upon ; the which matter I would have been very glad to have set down in writing.

"Also much more talk there was, that the bishop of Winchester and I had concerning my worldly friends and personal estate ; for he played Satan with me. He carried me up to the mountains, and there told me, my learning was good, and my eloquence, and also my knowledge ; save that I did abuse it, said he. And then he fell to praising of my person, that it was comely, and worthy to serve a prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me answer unto such objections as he would lay against me, that I might fall into his diocese."

Thus Stephen Gratwick, this Christian martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the bishop of Win-

chester, (as ye have heard,) was burned with William Morant, and one King, in St. George's Fields, about the latter end of May.

Seven godly martyrs, five women and two men, burned at Maidstone, for the word of truth, and professing the sincere religion of Christ, June the eighteenth.

I showed a little before, how after the universal proclamation was sent and set forth by the king and queen in the month of February last, the storm of persecution began in all places to rise (whereof some part also is declared before): but yet in no place more than in the country and diocese of Canterbury, by reason of certain the aforesaid inquisitors, being now armed with authority, but especially by reason of Richard Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, who of their own nature were so furious and fiery against the harmless flock of Christ, that there was no need of any proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly saint lieth slain under the altar; as in divers places of this book well may appear.

And now to return to the said diocese of Canterbury again, in the next month following, being the month of June, the eighteenth day of the same, were seven Christian and true faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow: Joan Bradbridge of Staplehurst, Walter Appleby of Maidstone, Petronil his wife, Edmund Allin of Frittenden, Katharine his wife, John Manning's wife of Maidstone, and Elizabeth a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that suffered under the same ordinary in the foresaid diocese of Canterbury.

Now as touching their accusers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with the adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of Edmund Allin some intimation is given me, how his troubles came, and what was his cause and answers before the justices, as here consequently ye shall understand.

The story of Edmund Allin.

This Allin was a miller, of the parish of Frittenden in Kent, and in a dear year, when many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn better cheap by half than others did; and did not that only, but also fed them with the food of

life, reading to them the Scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests thereabout dwelling, by the procurement of them, namely, of John Tailor, parson of Frittenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, he was eftsoons complained of to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, knight; who, first sending for them, committed both him and his wife to ward; but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and so went over unto Calais, where, after that he had continued a certain space, he began to be troubled in conscience; and there meeting with one John Webbe, of the same parish of Frittenden, (who was likewise fled from the tyranny of Sir John Baker and parson Tailor,) said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; "for God," said he, "had something to do for him in England." And thus shortly he returned home again to the parish of Frittenden, where was a cruel priest, there parson, called John Tailor.

This parson Tailor, being informed by his brother sexton, that Edmund Allin the miller, and his wife, were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation, (as they term it,) even almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned him to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go unto their house, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as might be possible. Which promise he well performed; for he had not so soon made an end of *Ite, missa est*, and the vestments off his back, but by and by he was at the house; and there laying hand of the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the people: and so were he and his wife sent to Maidstone prison.—Witnessed by Richard Fletcher, vicar of Cranbrooke, and John Webbe of Frittenden.

They were not so soon in prison, but Master Baker immediately sent unto their house certain of his men, John Dove, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforesaid John Tailor, parson of Frittenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the house, where they found, in the bedstraw, a casket locked with a padlock; and so, cutting the wist thereof, opened it, and found therein a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold and partly in silver; which money after they had told, and put in the bag again, like good carvers for themselves, they carried it away with them.

Besides also they found there certain books, as Psalters, Bibles, and other writings; all which books, with the money, were delivered to the foresaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst; and after, in the reign of this queen, were by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of all their goods, were brought (as is aforesaid) before Sir John Baker the justice, to be examined; who, taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conspiracies to sow sedition and rebellion. And thus he began with him to reason.

Baker.—"Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy licence."

Martin Collins, Sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, "Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned."

Allin.—"And it may please your Honour to give me leave to answer in the cause of my faith; I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the son follow the Father's steps? Is not Christ our Master, and shall the scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our Redeemer, and shall not we praise his name, and serve him that hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, being but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? and yet notwithstanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah; neither had taken any outward priesthood: wherefore, if we be Christians, we must do the same."

Collins.—"And it shall like your Honour, what a knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ!"

Baker.—"Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself?"

Allin.—"Yea, that I have. Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and posterity. And so David teacheth in divers Psalms. And Solomon also preached to the people, as the book of the Preacher proveth very well, where he teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught

them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called the eighth preacher of righteousness, in the Second Epistle of Peter. Also in Numbers xi., where Moses had chosen seventy elders to help him to teach and rule the rest, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents; wherefore Joshua, being offended, complained to Moses that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moses answered, and wished that all the people could do the like. Why should I be long? Most of the priests were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron."

Collins.—"These are authorities of the Old Testament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knowest no school-points. Is not the law divided into the law ceremonial, moral, and judicial?"

Allin.—"I grant that the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews; and to the Colossians, where he saith, Let no man judge you in any part of the sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come; for Christ is the body."

Collins.—"And are not the judicials abrogated by Christ?"

Allin.—"They are confirmed both by Christ in Matthew v., and by Paul in 1 Tim. iv.: The law, saith he, is not set forth for the virtuous and godly; but for men-slayers, perjured, adulterers, and such-like."

Collins.—"Thou art a heretic. Wilt thou call the judicials of Moses again? Wilt thou have adultery punished with death? disobedient children to their parents to be stoned? Wilt thou have *legem talionis*? But thou art an ass. Why should I speak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? Shall we now smite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out."

Allin.—"If we had that law, we should neither have disobedient children, neither adulterers, neither false witness-bearers, neither ruffians."

Baker.—"Master Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why didst thou teach the people, whom thou saidst [thou] didst feed both bodily and spiritually, being no priest?"

Allin.—"Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to others. For as out of flint stones cometh forth that which is able to set all the world on fire, so out of Christians should spring the beams of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the Scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and ap-

parel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea, and commended, to practise his faculty and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer practise his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised of Christians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of these gifts, which he repeateth, (1 Cor. xiv.,) to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apostles. And the restraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man, preach in King Edward's days."

Collins.—"This villain (and it like your Honour) is mad. By my priesthood, I believe that he will say, that a priest hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a priest bind and loose?"

Allin.—"No, my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest: for every Christian, when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore saith Christ, Whosoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whose soever sins they forgive, they are forgiven; and whose soever they retain, they are retained. Neither hath the pope any keys save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and to salvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reason, St. Augustine and Origen, with others, are of this opinion."

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all the night; wherewith certain that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, willed Allin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel in the sixth chapter: Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped. Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day; and suddenly, before the sacring, went out; and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast; and lamented that he was

seduced by the place of Baruch, which his conscience gave him to be no Scripture, or else to have another meaning. And after this he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked why he did refuse to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Allin.—"It is an idol."

Collins.—"It is God's body."

Allin.—"It is not."

Collins.—"By the mass it is."

Allin.—"It is bread."

Collins.—"How provest thou that?"

Allin.—"When Christ sat at his supper, and gave them bread to eat."

Collins.—"Bread, knave?"

Allin.—"Yea, bread, which you call Christ's body. Sat he still at the table, or was he both in their mouths and at the table? If he were in their mouths and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else had a fantastical body; which is an absurdity to say it."

Baker.—"Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one."

Allin.—"Then had he more bodies than one, by your own placing of him."

Collins.—"Thou ignorant ass! the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be every where."

Allin.—"If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table and in their mouths, by your own reason."

Collins.—"A glorified body occupieth no place."

Allin.—"That which occupieth no place, is neither God, nor any thing else. But Christ's body, say you, occupieth no place: therefore it is neither God, nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, the person of the Son, the person of the Holy Ghost, the human nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our study in vain, our faith frustrate, and our hope without reward."

Collins.—"This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How knowest thou that it is the Scripture, but by the church? and so saith St. Augustine."

Allin.—"I cannot tell what St. Augustine saith, but I am persuaded, that it is Scripture by divers arguments: first, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me that of myself I am damned; and this damnation, Master Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation

of a man's sins, presumption. The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. This Spirit, saith St. Paul, certifieth my spirit, that I am the son of God, and that these are the Scriptures. The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other his works, (as David discourseth in Psalm xix.) declare that there is a God, and that these are the Scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God, and his power, majesty, and might; and because the Scripture teacheth nothing dissonant from this prescription of nature. And fourthly, because that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradise, saying, that the seed of the woman should break down the serpent's head. This seed is the gospel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and these words, The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head, gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word."

Baker.—"I heard say, that you spake against priests and bishops."

Allin.—"I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially bishops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds a piece, then would they apply their study: now they cannot for other affairs."

Collins.—"Who will then set his children to school?"

Allin.—"Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty, because that one bishop's living, divided into thirty or forty parts, would find so many as well learned men as the bishops be now, who have all this living; neither had Peter or Paul any such revenue."

Baker.—"Let us despatch him; he will mar all."

Collins.—"If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned men."

Baker.—"But our bishops would be angry, if that they knew it."

Allin.—"It were for a commonwealth to have such bishoprics divided, for the further increase of learning."

Baker.—"What sayest thou to the sacrament?"

Allin.—"As I said before."

Baker.—"Away with him."

And thus was he carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus much touching the particular story of Edward Allin and his wife; who, with the five other martyrs above named, being seven, (to wit, five women and two men,) were all together burned at Maidstone the year and month afore-mentioned, and the eighteenth day of the same month.

Another story of like cruelty, showed upon other seven martyrs, burnt at Canterbury; three men and four women.

Among such infinite seas of troubles in these most dangerous days, who can withhold himself from bitter tears, to see the madding rage of these pretended catholics, who, being never satisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, presume so highly to violate the precise law of God's commandments, in slaying the simple poor lambs of the glorious congregation of Jesus Christ, and that for the true testimony of a good conscience, in confessing the immaculate gospel of their salvation? What heart will not lament the murdering mischief of these men, who for want of work do so wreak their time on silly poor women, whose weak imbecility, the more strength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied; and not oppressed of men that be stronger, and especially of priests that should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who supernaturally hath endued from above such weak creatures with such manly stomach and fortitude, so constantly to withstand the uttermost extremity of these pitiless persecutors: as he did before strengthen the mother of the seven sons in the Maccabees, and as he hath done since with divers and sundry other godly women in these our latter days, partly before mentioned, and partly to be mentioned hereafter, as here presently may appear by the martyrdom of seven hereunder following, of the which were four women and three men, burnt together at Canterbury the nineteenth of the said month of June, in the year aforesaid, whose names are these: John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Pardue, Barbara Final, widow, Bradbridge's widow, Wilson's wife, Benden's wife.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to prosecute the several story of every one of these godly martyrs; so I cannot pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of Alice Benden during her imprisonment, according as I have received by the faithful relation of them which best were acquainted with her, and partly also of some doers in the matter, being her own natural brethren. The story is thus:

"First, Alice Benden was brought before one Master Roberts, of Cranbrooke, in said county, the fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1556, of whom she was demanded why she would not go to the church. And she answered, that she could not so do with a good and clear conscience, because there was much idolatry committed against the glory of God. For the which with many mocks



and taunts she was sent to prison, where she lay fourteen days; for on the twentieth day of October her

husband required his neighbours, the wealthy men of Staplehurst, to write to the bishop of Dover, who had the chief government of the tyrannical sword in Kent for those days, which they did, desiring him to send her home.

"Wherefore the bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the church. Whereunto she answered, 'If I would have so done, I need not have come hither.' 'Then wilt thou go home, and be shriven of thy parish priest?' And she said, No, that would she not.

"'Well,' said he, 'go thy ways home, and go to the church when thou wilt.' Whereunto she answered nothing; but a priest that stood by, said, 'She saith, she will, my Lord.' Wherefore he let her go, and she came forthwith home.

"On the Saturday following, her husband willed her to go to the church; which she both then and

elsewhen refused to do. Wherefore on the Sunday, fourteen days after, he, going to the church, came into the company of divers inhabitants of the same parish; among whom, through his fond talk and behaviour, he procured her to be sent to Sir John Guilford, who commanded her to prison again; yea, and the more to utter his own shame, he said her husband took money of the constable to carry her to prison, the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to prison himself. But she, having much more care of his honest and good report, than he had regard (as it is easy to see) of his own infamy, and no less ashamed of his so rude and unnatural doings, chose rather to commit herself willingly into the hands of her enemies, than that the world should witness against her husband of so facinorous a fact. Wherefore she went to the constable, desiring him to go with her. But he answered that he could not so do, but granted her his boy to go with her, with whom she went to prison, namely, the castle of Canterbury, according to the commandment given.

"Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that while she was in this prison, she practised with a prison-fellow of hers, the wife of one Potkin, to live both of them with twopence-halfpenny a day,

to try thereby how well they could sustain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they should be removed from thence to the bishop's prison, their livings should be but three farthings a-piece a day, and did indeed both so live for fourteen days ere she was from thence removed.

"The twenty-second day of January following, her husband went again to the bishop, desiring him to deliver his wife out of prison; but he said she was an obstinate heretic, and would not be reformed; and therefore said that he could not deliver her.

"Then said he, 'My Lord, she hath a brother, whose name is Roger Hall, that resorteth unto her. If your Lordship could keep him from her, she would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and persuadeth her not to return or relent.'

"This occasion was not so soon given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the bishop commanding her upon the same to a prison, called Monday's Hole, there also he gave a strait charge, that if at any time her brother came, he should be taken and apprehended. The prison was within a court where the prebend's chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the window enclosed with a pale, of height, by estimation, four feet and a half, and distant from the same three feet, so that she, looking from beneath, might only see such as stood at the pale. After this her brother sought often for her, with no less danger of life than diligence. But for the unknown situation of the place, it being also but rarely used for a prison, and the matter as closely kept as it was secretly done, he could never come to understand of her being there, until, through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he coming thither very early in the morning, her keeper being then gone to the church to ring, (for he was a bell-ringer,) chanced to hear her voice, as she poured out unto God her sorrowful complaints, saying the psalms of David. And then could he no otherwise relieve her, but by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking the same on a pole, and so reached it unto her; for neither with meat nor drink he could sustain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither; all the which time no creature was known to come at her, more than her keeper.

"Her lying in that prison was only upon a little short straw between a pair of stocks and a stone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, half-penny bread, and a farthing drink, neither could she get any more for her money. Wherefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread,

and used water for her drink. Thus did she lie nine weeks; during all which time she never changed her apparel, whereby she became at the last a most piteous and loathsome creature to behold.

"At her first coming into this place, she did grievously bewail with great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with herself, why her Lord God did with his so heavy justice suffer her to be sequestered from her loving fellows into so extreme misery.

"In these dolorous mournings did she continue, till on a night as she was in her sorrowful supplications, rehearsing this verse of the psalm, Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? and again, The right hand of the Most High can change all; she received comfort in the midst of her miseries, and after that continued very joyful until her delivery from the same.

"About the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1557, she was called before the bishop, who demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and go to the church or no, promising her great favour, if she would be reformed and do as they did.

"To whom she answered, 'I am thoroughly persuaded by the great extremity that you have already showed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I see,' saith she, 'that you seek my utter destruction;'—showing how lame she then was of cold taken, and for lack of food, whilst she lay in that painful prison; whereby she was not able to move herself without great pain.

"Then did the bishop deliver her from that filthy hole and sent her to Westgate, where, after she had been changed, and for a while been clean kept, her skin did wholly so peel and scale off, as if she had been with some mortal venom poisoned. Here she continued till the latter end of April; at which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the prison called the Castle; where she continued till the slaughter-day, which was the nineteenth day of June, when by terrible fire they took away her life.

"When she was at the stake, she cast her handkerchief unto one John Banks, requiring him to keep the same in memory of her, and from about her middle she took a white lace, which she gave to the keeper, desiring him to give the same to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him that it was the last band that she was bound with, except the chain. A shilling also of Philip and Mary she took forth, which her father had bowed and sent her when she was first sent to prison, desiring that her said brother should with obedient salutations render the same to her father again, and show him that it was

the first piece of money that he sent her after her troubles began, which (as she protested) she had kept, and now sent him to do him to understand, that she never lacked money while she was in prison."

With this Alice Benden were burned also the residue of the other blessed martyrs above named, being seven in number; who, being brought to the place where they should suffer for the Lord's cause at Canterbury, undressed themselves joyfully to the fire; and being ready thereto, they all (like the communion of saints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord with such zeal and affection as even the enemies of the cross of Christ could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they rose and went to the stake, where, being compassed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord; unto whose eternity the Son of God bring us all. Amen.

Bradbridge's wife, when she was condemned of the bishop to be burned, had two children, named Patience and Charity; who then said to the bishop, that if he would needs burn her, yet she trusted, that he would take and keep Patience and Charity; meaning her two children. "Nay," quoth the bishop, "by the faith of my body I will meddle with neither of them both."

The troubles and examinations of Matthew Plaise, weaver, of the parish of Stone, in the county of Kent.

Unto these holy martyrs of Kent above specified, whereof seven suffered at Maidstone, and seven at Canterbury, I thought not unmeet here also to be adjoined the examination of Matthew Plaise, a weaver, of the same county of Kent, and a faithful Christian: who being apprehended and imprisoned likewise, for the testimony of a good conscience, in the castle of Canterbury, was brought to examination before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield the archdeacon, as here is to be read and seen.

The examination and answers of Matthew Plaise, before Thornton, bishop of Dover; Harpsfield, archdeacon; Collins, commissary, and other inquisitors, anno 1557.

"First, when I came before the bishop, he asked me whether I were not of that diocese, and where I dwelt; for that was my first article. I answered, I was of the parish of Stone, in Kent, and subject unto the king and queen of England.

"Then he said, I was indicted by twelve men at Ashford, at the sessions, for heresy. I said, that was sooner said than proved.

"Then he said, it was the truth that he had spoken to me, for he had whereby to prove it. Then I desired him to let me hear it, and I would answer to it.

"But he said he would not do so, but I should answer to my article, yea or nay. I said, he could not; for I was not at Ashford, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. 'But now I perceive you go about to lay a net, to have my blood.

"After many words betwixt the bishop and me, the archdeacon said, 'Peace, peace, we do not desire thy blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no heretic;' with many flattering words: and said, yet I was suspected of heresy, and if I would be content to confess how I did believe as concerning those articles, they would gladly teach me.

"But I said, 'I do not think so, for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I did believe in the sacrament; and I recited unto him the text, and because I would not make unto him an exposition, he would teach me nothing. Yet I prayed him for my learning to write his mind: and if it were the truth, I would believe him. And this I did desire him for the love of God, but it would not be.'

"Then said he, it was not so, he durst swear upon a book. I said it would be so proved.

"Then he stood up, with a long process, and said, he would tell me the truth, and was sure that the same doctor did believe as he did. I asked him how he knew that, seeing St. Paul doth say, that no man knoweth what is in man, but the Spirit which dwelleth in him: 'but if you wist what Christ meant by these words, I require mercy and not sacrifice, you would not kill innocents.'

"The bishop began with me again, and charged me in the king and queen's name, and the lord cardinal's, to answer yea or nay to the articles that followed.

"Then I commanded, in His name that should come in flaming fire with his mighty angels to render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that believed not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which should be punished with everlasting damnation, that he should speak nothing but the truth grounded upon Christ and his apostles, and then I would answer him, or else not.

"Then he was very angry, and said, if I would not answer, he would condemn me indeed, unless I would answer every article. 'Well,' said I, 'if you do, you shall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourself a murderer.'

"Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the second article, which was, that I was a Christian man, and did believe in their mo-

ther the catholic church, and the determination thereof. I said, I was a Christian man indeed, and therefore they had nothing against me.

"Then said he, 'What sayest thou to the catholic church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years that this heresy hath sprung up here in this realm?' I said, 'No man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the catholic church of Christ.'

"Then said the bishop, 'Dost thou not believe the Creed?'

Plaise.—"Yes, verily, I believe my Creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with the rest of the Scriptures.'

"Then, saith he, 'thou dost confess that there is a catholic church; I am glad of that. But tell me, are the king and queen of that church, or no?'

"Well, said I, 'now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess Christ hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head thereof. And as touching the king and queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own; neither came I hither to judge, for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me.'

"Then said he, 'Is there no part of that church here in England?'

Plaise.—"Well, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my charge: I will tell you where. Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst among them.'

"Then the archdeacon stood up with his mocks, to put me out of comfort; and said to the people, that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived so long time, that half a dozen of us should have the truth in a corner, and that all they should be deceived; with such-like taunts and mocks, but would not suffer me to speak one word.

"Then he read the article of the sacrament, and said, I did deny the real presence to be in the sacrament after it was once consecrated; and that I said, Christ's body was in heaven, and no where else; and that the bread was nothing but a sign, token, or remembrance.

"Then I said, 'You have to show where and what my words were.' And hereof we talked a great while.

"At the last the bishop was so angry, that he charged me in the king's, queen's, and cardinal's name, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say yea or nay, he would condemn me.

"Then I said, 'Seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, wherefore should I so answer?'

"Then the archdeacon said, I was guilty; and said I was like a thief at the bar, which would not confess his fault, because his accusers were not present; with a great many words, and would not let me open my mouth against him.

"Then I saw whereabouts they went, granting to answer them by the word, or else I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning: 'I believe that Christ took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me.'

Archdeacon.—"Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?'

"I said, 'Christ was no dissembler, but he spake the very truth.'

Archdeacon.—"Thou hast very well said, we will make the best of thy words.' Then he praised me with many words, going about to prove it his body real and substantial, and said, 'Christ called himself bread. And this to prove: when Christ said, This is my body, the bread was his body indeed, [said he,] real and substantial; not so long and so big as it hung on the cross, as the Capernaïtes did think; but we eat it, as man's weak nature can eat Christ. Therefore when he had said, This is my body, the bread was his body in very deed.'

"Then I asked him, what Christ meant by these words, which is given for you.

"He said, 'Christ spake that by the bread also; but it was not written in Matthew, but Luke had those words.'

"Then I asked him, If Christ's body were made of bread, whether that was given for our redemption, or whether the bread was crucified for us, or not?

"Then he said, 'No, by St. Mary, I say not so.'

Plaise.—"You have said the truth indeed, and even as I believe.'

"Then he stood up with a great many of words, and said, that I did think it but bare bread still, as other bread is: but he was sure Christ called it his body, and then it was his body indeed; for he would believe Christ.

"When he had spoken his pleasure by me, thinking to have condemned me by their law, I said he had not judged right of me, for I had not so spoken, but did believe the words of Christ as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the word.

"Then he would hear what I did say it was. said, I did believe it was that he gave them.

"Then he asked me, what was that he gave them. I said, that which he brake.

"Then he asked me, what was that he brake. I said, that he took.

Archdeacon.—"What was it that he did take?"

"I said, 'The text saith he took bread.'

Archdeacon.—"Well then, thou sayest it was but bread that his disciples did eat, by thy reason.'

Plaise.—"Thus much I say: Look, what he gave them, they did eat in deed.'

Archdeacon.—"Why, then, was not that his body that they did eat?"

Plaise.—"It was that which he brake.'

"Well,' said he, 'I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou dost think it is but bread still, and that he was not able to make it his body.'

Plaise.—"That is your exposition upon my mind.'

"Then said he, 'What didst thou receive, when thou didst receive last?'

"I said, 'I do believe that I did eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood: for he saith, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.'

"Then he said, I had well answered, thinking to have had some advantage at my hand; and prayed me to tell him, how I did eat his flesh and drink his blood. Then I said, 'I must answer you by the word which Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.'

"Then he faced out the matter with sophistry, and said I did eat Christ, as that church was in his eye; with many such mocks, but would not let me answer one word.

"Then the commissary did ask me, if I did not remember St. Paul, which did rebuke the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lord's body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himself bread in John vi. 'So Paul saith. So oft as ye eat of this bread [meaning Christ's body] unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lord's body. For thus saith Christ, The bread that I will give you is my flesh. Now it is no bread, but it is his flesh.' And thus he alleged every scripture false, to make up the matter.

"Then I said, I did believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken them: for thus he saith, He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body.

Commissary.—"What is the cause that he eateth his own damnation?"

"I said, 'St. Paul declareth it plainly with these words, If ye had judged yourselves, ye should not have been judged of the Lord.'

"Then the archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not say that he called the bread his body, seeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, said, he called it his body.

"I said, 'You have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.'

"Then he said, 'In that they said it was his body, they did say the truth.'

"I asked, wherefore they were killed, seeing they said the truth.

"Then said the bishop, that he had all their answers, and that they did not believe as they said. For they said, Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body; 'but thou shalt answer me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or else I will anger thee.'

"Then I said I had answered him by the word, already, and did believe it also; therefore if he did condemn me for that, my life was not dear unto me, and I was sure he should not scape unpunished; for God will be revenged upon such murderers.

"Then the archdeacon entreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my soul might be saved;—with many more words. And desired me that I would believe him, for he would speak the truth: beginning how Christ fed five thousand people with four loaves, and how he turned the water into wine; even so Christ took bread and blessed it, and when he had done, he brake it and said, This is my body; and then he commanded them to eat it, and therefore it must needs be his body.

"Then I desired him to speak the text right, or else I would not believe him.

"Then he stood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him; and said, I was a stubborn fellow, and took scorn to be taught.

"I said, I ought to hold him accursed, if he taught doctrine contrary to Christ and his apostles.

"Then he asked me, whether I did believe that Christ did give that he took, or not? I said, 'I do believe as much as can be proved by the Scripture, and more I will not believe.'

"Then he began with Moses's rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seeing that this was by Moses, being but a man, how much more Christ, being both God and man, took one thing, and gave to his disciples another?

"I said, his comparison was nothing like, for

Moses's rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed; but in this sacrament no man can see either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

"Then said the bishop, that mine opinion and faith was like unto the Capernaïtes'. I said, theirs was more like their opinion, than mine.

"The archdeacon asked me, whether Christ took one thing, and gave another? I said, 'Look, what he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and other answer I will make none, contrary to the word.'

Then he said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued this fifteen hundred years; neither yet did say, as others had before, how Christ did call it his body.

"Then I said, 'When Cranmer, which was here bishop, was in authority, he said, that he did hold the truth, and commanded us to believe him; and he hath given his life for his opinion; and would you have me to believe you, because you say that you hold the truth? And that which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am sure is the truth indeed.'

"The bishop said, he had spoken the truth, and that I would not believe. I said, if he did not now speak the truth, I was sure he had spoken the truth; for he had preached before doctrine clean contrary unto this.

"Then were the rest of my articles read, which I answered; and in every article he had up this broaden god. And they sent for a candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me; but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure that time, blessed be his name for evermore, Amen.

"Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, because I would not desire a day of the bishop; and said I was a naughty, stubborn fellow; and said, It had been my duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day. Then I said, 'I have spoken the truth: and therefore I would ask him no day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.'

"Then said the commissary, 'Dost thou not think that thou mayest be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?' I said, 'Yea, I might be deceived, in that I was a man; but I was sure God's word could not be deceived.'

"Then he prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn, and said, They would be glad to teach me. And I said, I would be as glad to learn as any man.—And thus they rose up and went away, saying nothing."

What became of this Matthew Plaise after, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The history of ten true godly disciples and martyrs of Christ, burnt together in one fire at Lewes, anno 1557, June twenty-second.

In the town of Lewes were ten faithful servants of God put in one fire, the twenty-second day of June, whose names follow: Richard Woodman, George Stevens, W. Mainard, Alexander Hosman, his servant; Thomasin à Wood; Mainard's maid; Margery Moris; James Moris, her son; Dennis Burgis, Ashdon's wife, Grove's wife.

Of the which number Richard Woodman was the first; concerning whose apprehension, first by his enemies, and of his deliverance out of Bishop Bonner's hands; then of his second taking again by the procurement of his father, brother, kinsfolks, and friends; also of his sundry examinations and courageous answers before the bishops; and lastly of his condemnation, and of his letters sent to his faithful friends, here followeth to be declared by his own words and relation reported. Which Richard Woodman, by his occupation, was an iron-maker, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, and diocess of Chichester, of the age of thirty years and somewhat more.

The occasion of his first apprehension was this: There was one Fairebanke, who sometimes had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught, and set forth, in King Edward's days: and afterward, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, the said Fairebanke, turning head to tail, preached clean contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman, hearing him in the church of Warbleton so to preach contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconstancy, how before-time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and desired him to teach them the truth. For the which words he was apprehended, and brought before Master John Ashbornham, Master Tonston, and Master Culpepper, and Master Roberts, justices of peace in the county of Sussex, and by them committed to the King's Bench, where he continued from June, the space almost of a year and half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. Story into Bonner's coal-house, where he remained the space of a month before he came to examination.

At length, the same day when Master Philpot was burned, which was the eighteenth of December, he with four other prisoners was delivered and set



at liberty by Bonner himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought for again, and at last found

out and taken by means of his father, brother, and certain other his acquainted friends, and so was sent up again to London to Bishop Bonner, where he remained in the coal-house eight weeks. He was there six times examined, and twenty-six times before, so that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his first apprehension to his condemnation. Touching the whole discourse whereof, forasmuch as the matter is something strange, and will peradventure scarce find credit upon my narration, with them which deny all things that like them not to believe, ye shall hear himself speak and testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his own examinations by himself recorded, in order as followeth.

“Gentle reader, here you shall perceive how the Scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of his poor lambs. First, you shall un-

derstand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands, which was in the year of our Lord 1555, and the same day that Master Philpot was burned, which was the eighteenth of December, I lay in his coal-house eight weeks lacking but one day: and, before that, I was a year and a half almost in the King's Bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit, in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two sessions before I was sent to prison, and carried to two more sessions while I was in prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissioners; and then sent to London's coal-house, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I have wrote, the which examinations the bishop of Chichester now hath, for they were found in my house when I was taken; wherein is contained all the talk which I had before them aforementioned. Also there be in London that had copies of the same of me, when I was in the coal-house.

“And it pleased God to deliver me with four more out of the butchers' hands, requiring nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true catholic church that was builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the

head of the true church, the which all we affirmed that we were members of the true church, and purposed by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he willed us many times to speak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful an aid in his master the devil's business; for he had burnt good Master Philpot the same morning, in whose blood his heart was so drunken, (as I supposed,) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before, he promised us that we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered; yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he sought for some of us again, yea, and that earnestly. He waxed dry after his great drunkenness, wherefore he is like to have blood to drink in hell as he is worthy, if he repent it not with speed. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will!

"This have I written, chiefly to certify all people how we were delivered, because many carnal gospellers and papists have said, that it was prescribed that we should be so delivered, because they think that God is subject to man, and not man to God; for if they did, they would not blaspheme him as they do, or if they thought they should give account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered Israel out of Egypt? Daniel out of the lions' den? Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, out of the burning oven? with divers other such-like examples; yea, God is the same God that he was then. He is no older, nor less in power, as some count him in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

"After I was delivered, the papists said that I had consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad; the which was the least part of my thought, (I praise God therefore,) as they well perceived and knew the contrary within a while. For I went from parish to parish, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefest in all the country; and I angered them so, that they with the commissioners complained on me to my Lord Chamberlain that was then to the queen, Sir John Gage, showing him that I baptized children, and married folks, with many such lies, to bring me into their hands again. Then the commissioners sent out certain citations to bring me to the court. My Lord Chamberlain had directed out four or five warrants for me, that if I had come there, I should have been attached and sent to prison straightway; which was not God's will; for I had warning of their laying await for me, and came not there, but sent my deputy, and he brought me word that the bailiffs waited for me there; but they missed

of their prey for that time, whereupon they were displeased.

"Then, within three days after, my Lord sent three of his men to take me, whose names were Deane, Jeffrey, and Frances. I, being at plough with my folks, right in the way as they were coming to my house, least mistrusting them of all other, came to them and spake to them, asking them how they did. And they said, they arrested me in the king and queen's name, and that I must go with them to their master the lord chamberlain; which words made my flesh to tremble and quake, because of that sudden. But I answered them, that I would go with them. Yet I desired them, that they would go to my house with me, that I might break my fast, and put on some other gear; and they said, I should. Then I remembered myself, saying in my heart, 'Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think myself happy.' I remembered how I was contented gladly before to die in that quarrel, and so had continued ever since; and should I now fear to die? God forbid that I should; for then were all my labour in vain.

"So by and by I was persuaded, I praise God; considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loth to forego my wife and children, and goods: for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And as soon as I was persuaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as merry and glad and joyful, I praise God, as ever I was. This battle lasted not a quarter of an hour; but was sharper than death itself for the time, I dare say.

"So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to show me their warrant, thinking thereby I should have seen wherefore I was arrested, to the intent I might the better answer for myself, when I came before their master. And one of them answered, they had not their warrant there; which words made me astonished, and it was put in my mind by God, that I need not go with them, unless they had their warrant. Then said I to them, 'That is marvel, that you will come to take a man without a warrant. It seemeth to me, that you come of your own mind to get thank of your master; for indeed I heard say,' said I, 'that there were four or five warrants out for me, but they were called in again, because I had certified my Lord and the commissary, by a letter that I had sent to the commissary's court, that I was not faulty in that they laid to my charge, which was for baptizing of children, and marrying of folks; the which I never did, for I was never minister appointed to do any such thing: wherefore set your hearts at rest, I will not go with you,' said

I, 'unless you will carry me by force; and if you will, do so, at your own adventures.' And so I rose from the board, and stepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them if I could possibly, seeing God had made the way so open for me. I meant to play Peter's part with them, but God would not it should be so, but sent a fear amongst them, that as soon as I was gone into my chamber, ere ever I could come out again, they were gone out of my house.

"When I saw that, I knew it was God's doing, to set me at liberty once again. Yet I was compelled to speak to them, and said, 'If you have a warrant, I desire you for God's sake to show it me, and I will go with you with all my heart: if not, I desire you to depart in God's peace and the king's: for surely I will not go with you without the order of the law; for I have been too simple in such things already. For before I was sent to prison first, I went to the justices, to two sessions, without any warrant or commandment, but had word by one of their men, and I went justly to them; and they sent me to prison, and kept me there almost a year and three quarters, without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my cause gently debated. And it seemeth strange to me, that I should be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth, without the extremity of the law.'

"Then one of them answered me, and said, 'We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it.' Then I said, 'Fetch it, if you will; but if you come in my house before you have it, at your own adventure be it.' So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my house, whilst one of them fetched the constable and many more, thinking to have had me in my house, and to have taken me in my house, and carried me away with a licence; but I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithstanding they sought every corner of my house, but could not prevail. I mistrusted they would search it again that night, and kept me abroad; and indeed there came seven of his men and the constable, and searched my house. And when they saw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rend their coats, that I had escaped them so, knowing they should have such a check of their master. When I heard that they had sought so for me again, I, perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my wife told me all things.

"Then I supposed that they would lay all the country for me, and the sea-coast, because I should not go over, and then I thought that they would not mistrust that I would dare be nigh home. So I told my wife, that I would make my lodging in a

wood not past a flight-shot from my house; as I did indeed, even under a tree, and there had my Bible, my pen, and mine ink, and other necessities, and there continued six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought myself blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ. Then there came word into the country, that I was seen and spoken to in Flanders; whereupon they left laying in wait for me; for they had laid all the country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put in my mind they would.

"So when all was hushed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren; and at length I went beyond the sea both into Flanders and in France: but I thought every day seven years or ever I were at home again. So I came home again as soon as it was possible. I was there but three weeks; but as soon as I was come home, and it was once known among Baal's priests, they could not abide it, but procured out warrants against me, causing my house to be searched sometimes twice in a week.

"This continued from St. James's tide to the first Sunday in Lent. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, otherwhile I was at home a month or five weeks together, living there most commonly and openly, doing such works as I had to do; and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was full come: and then, by the voice of the country, and by manifest proofs, mine own brother, as concerning the flesh, delivered me into their hands, by that he knew that I was at home. For my father and he had as much of my goods in their hands, as I might have fifty-six pounds for, by the year, clear, and thereunto prayed. It was a lordship and an honour, and half an honour, that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the rest to remain to my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts, which grieved me sore; for it was two hundred pounds better than the debts came to: which caused me to speak to some of my friends, that they would speak to them to come to some reckoning with me, and to take all such money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me such writings and writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I would appoint them.

"So it was agreed betwixt my father and me, that I should have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning should be made and sent to me that same day that I was taken; my brother supposing that I should have put him out of most of all his occupying, that he was in; for it was all mine in a manner that he occupied, as all the country

can, and do well know. Whereon (as it is reported) he told one Cardillar, my next neighbour, and he told some of Master Gage's men, or to Master Gage himself. And so he sent to his brother, and his brother sent twelve of his men (he being sheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the bushes not far from my house, till about nine of the clock, even the hour that was appointed amongst themselves; for about the same time they thought to have had me within my house.

"They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl, one of my children, saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, 'Mother, mother, yonder cometh twenty men!' I, sitting in my bed, and making of shoe-thongs, heard the words, and suspecting straightway that I was betrayed, I stirred out of my bed, and whipt on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the doors or ever they had been come. My wife, being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and so barred the other: so the house was beset round straightway, and they bade open the doors, or else they would break them in pieces. Then I had no shift, but either I must show myself openly, or make some other remedy.

"So there was a place in my house that was never found, which was at the least, I dare say, twenty times, and sometimes almost of twenty men, searched at once, both by night and day; into which place I went. And as soon as I was in, my wife opened the door, whereby incontinent they came and asked for me; and she said I was not at home. Then they asked her wherefore she shut the door, if I were not at home. She said, because she had been made afraid divers times with such as came to search us; and therefore she shut the door. 'For it is reported,' saith she, 'that whosoever can take my husband, shall hang him or burn him straightway; and therefore I doubt they will serve me or my children so; for I think they may do so unto us, as well as to him,' she said. 'Well,' said they, 'we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we be the sheriff's men; let us have a candle. It is told us, there be many secret places in your house.' So she lighted a candle, and they sought up, and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over; and many of them were gone out of my house into the church-yard, and were talking with my father, and with some that he had brought with him.

"Now when they could not find me, one of them

went to him that gave them word that I was at home, and said, 'We cannot find him.' Then he asked them whether they had sought over a window that was in the hall (as it was known afterward); for that same place I had told him of myself. For many times when I came home, I would send for him to bear me company; yet, as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew. One looked up over the window, and spied a little loft, with three or four chests, and the way went in betwixt two of the chests, but there could no man perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it. 'Here is a place that we have not sought yet.' When she thought they would see it by one means or other, she said the way was into it out of a chamber they were in even now. So she sent them up, and cried, 'Away, away.' Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for myself that I could. The place was boarded over, and fast nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I must needs come amongst them all in the hall. Then I had no shift, but set my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noise; and they that were in the other chamber, seeking for the way into it, heard the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied me, and made an outcry. But yet I got out, and leaped down, having no shoes on. So I took down a lane that was full of sharp cinders, and they came running after, with a great cry, with their swords drawn, crying, 'Strike him, strike him!' which words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by a hundred foot: and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behind. And I turned about hastily to go my way, and stepped upon a sharp cinder, with one foot; and saving of it, I stepped into a great miry hole, and fell down withal; and ere ever I could arise and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the Wild, as he is counted in all Sussex. But if I had had on my shoes, they had been like to have gone away errandless, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to the which I had not a stone's cast. But it was not God's will; for if it had, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them.

"Then they took me and led me home again to put on my shoes, and such gear as I had need of. Then said John Fauconer, 'Now your master hath deceived you. You said you were an angel; and if you had been an angel, why did you not fly away from us?' Then said I, 'What be they that ever heard me say that I was angel? It is not the first

lie by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women; but if they had said, they had heard me say, that I do trust I am a saint, they had not said amiss.' 'What, do you think to be a saint?' 'Yea, that I do, and am already in God's sight, I trust in God; for he that is not a saint in God's sight already, is a devil. Therefore he that thinketh scorn to be a saint, let him be a devil.' And with that word they had brought me to mine own door; where met with me my father, and willed me to remember myself. To whom I answered, 'I praise God, I am well remembered whereabouts I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but woe unto him by whom I am betrayed! it had been good for that man that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me; for the father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death, as it is this day come to pass. Then said one, 'He doth accuse his father; a good child indeed!' 'I accuse him not, but say my mind: for there was no man knew me at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, the which I dare say would not hurt me for all the goods in this town.'

"There was one George Beching, that married one of my sisters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he said, 'Brother, I would you should not think that I was the cause of your taking.' To whom I answered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then said one of Lewes, that had been a gospeller, and stood from them when I was brought to a sessions to Lewes, and he said, 'I thought you would have been an honest man when you were at Lewes, and I offered Hussey the sheriff to be bound for you, that you should go home to your wife, and come to him again.' Then I remembered what he was, and said, 'Be you the pewterer?' And he said, 'Yea.' Then said I, 'It is happened to you according to the true proverb, as saith St. Peter, The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that is washed to wallow in the mire, and the end of all such will be worse than the beginning.' Then his mouth was stopped, so that he had nothing to say.

"All this while I stood at my door without; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my shoes and my clothes. Then they put on a harness about my arms, made of a dog's slip, which rejoiced my heart, that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father, and other of my friends, never thinking to see them more in this

world. For it was so thought of all the country, that I should not live six days after my taking; for they had so reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unless God would grant it. I know what God can do; but what he will do I know not: but I am sure he will work all things for the best, for them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to Fille about three of the clock."

And thus much touching the causes and effect of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us see his examinations, which follow in this order.

The first examination of Richard Woodman, before Dr. Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, Dr. Story, Dr. Cooke, and others; the fourteenth day of April, 1557.

First, you shall understand, that I was sent from the sheriffs to London, the twelfth day of April, in the year of our Lord 1557; and afterward, upon the fourteenth day of the same month, I was brought before the bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Story, and Dr. Cooke. So the sheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the bishop. Then the bishop asked me what my name was. "My name," quoth I, "is Richard Woodman."

Chichester.—"I am sorry for you, and so are all the worshipful men of your country; for it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good estimation in all the country, amongst the poor and rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon yourself, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled. Think not yourself wiser than all the realm. Be informed, and you shall have their favours all, as much as ever you had."

Woodman.—"You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended; and, if you will give me leave, I will show you."

Chichester.—"Yes, I pray you, say your mind."

Woodman.—"If it please you, you have charged me as though I made myself wiser than all the realm: God doth know, I stand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you say, I have been well esteemed both of the poor and rich, God doth know, I know not that I have given any just offence, either to rich or poor. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life also. My life, my wife, and my children, are all in God's hands; and I have them all as I had them not, I trust, according to St. Paul's words. But if I had ten thousand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all, than them, if I might be in choice, and not displease God."

Chichester.—"The sheriff took pains to come to me of love, he said, which he bare to you, as to himself; and said you were desirous to speak with me."

Woodman.—"I thought it meet to appeal to mine ordinary; for they go about to shed my blood unrighteously: for they have laid many unjust things to my charge. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by God's word, I stand to be reformed; and likewise if my blood shall be shed unrighteously, that it might be required at your hands, because you have taken upon you to be the physician of our country."

Story.—"Is not this a perverse fellow, to lay to your charge, that his blood shall be required at your hands? Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to death unjustly, that thy blood should be required? No, if he should condemn a hundred such heretics as thou art. I helped to rid a good sort of you; and I promise thee, I will help to rid thee too, the best that I can."

Then I would have answered him, but the bishop desired us both to give him place.

Chichester.—"Well, neighbour Woodman; I call you neighbour, because ye be one of my diocese; and you are sent to me, that I should give you spiritual counsel: for I am your spiritual pastor. Therefore hear what I shall say to you."

Woodman.—"First, I desire you to hear me a few words. You have said, you will give me spiritual counsel. Be you sure that you have the Spirit of God?"

Chichester.—"No, I am not sure of that."

Woodman.—"No! be you not sure of that?"

Chichester.—"No, by St. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so; I doubt of that."

Woodman.—"Then you be like the waves of the sea, as saith St. James, that be tossed about with the wind, and be unstable in all your ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand: yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will spew you out of his mouth, as saith St. John."

Then they were in a great fury, especially Dr. Story, saying, "What a perverse fellow is this! He hath the devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the devil. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all such heretics to boast themselves."

Chichester.—"Yea surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me."

I seeing their blindness and blasphemy, it made my heart melt, and mine eyes gush out with tears, saying, "The Jews said to Christ, he had the devil, and was mad; as you have said here by me. But I know the servant is not above his Master. And

God forbid that I should learn of him, that confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God."

Chichester.—"Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?"

Woodman.—"I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God."

Chichester.—"You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles, the which is great presumption."

Woodman.—"I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he said, he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, (making thereof no doubts,) in 1 Cor. vii."

Chichester.—"It is not so; you belie the text."

Woodman.—"If it be not so, let me be burned to-morrow."

Story.—"Thou shalt not be burned to-morrow; but thou shalt be burned within these six days, I promise thee."

Chichester.—"If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand places more."

Then one looked in a Latin Testament, and another in a Greek Testament, and they said, it was in them both, that Paul supposed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

Chichester.—"Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but I am not sure."

Woodman.—"If that place be wrong translated, and so many places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ, It cannot be avoided, but offences must be given; but woe unto them by whom they come! I may say, Woe unto false translators! for cursed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you belie not the translators. I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong translated, I can prove by places enough, that Paul had the Spirit of God; as I myself, and all God's elect, have."

Chichester.—"How prove you that?"

Woodman.—"No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer; and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and blood-shedding, as Paul and all the apostles did, and as all faithful people ought to do; which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; so is there no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus. For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a castaway, as he saith in the same text. And again, We have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear any more; but we have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The same Spirit certifieth our spi-

rits, that we are the sons of God. Here are proofs enough, that Paul was sure that he had the Spirit of God. Also St. John saith, He that believeth not that Christ is come in the flesh, is an antichrist, and denieth both the Father and the Son : which is sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Beside all this, He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. So is it impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. O good God ! what more injury can be done unto thee, than to mistrust that we have received thy Holy Spirit by thy gift ? Thus may all men see their blindness, and whose servants they be, as they do declare themselves, both by their words and deeds."

Story.—"O, my Lord, what a heretic is this same ! Why hear you him ? Send him to prison, to his fellows in the Marshalsea, and they shall be despatched within these twelve days."

When I heard him say so, I rejoiced greatly in my heart, desiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind. For I looked surely to have gone to the bishop of London's coal-house, or Lollards' Tower, yea, I thought myself happy, if I might have gone to Lollards' Tower : but it pleased God to put it in the hearts of them to send me to the Marshalsea amongst our brethren, and my old prison-fellows : so mercifully hath God dealt with me, in easing of my burden that I looked for. So when they perceived that I feared not imprisonment, but rather rejoiced, as they well perceived, then said the bishop, "Methinks he is not afraid of the prison."

Woodman.—"No, I praise the living God."

Story.—"This is a heretic indeed ! He hath the right terms of all heretics ; 'the living God : ' I pray you be there dead gods, that you say the living God ?"

Woodman.—"Be you angry with me, because I speak the words which are written in the Bible ?"

Story.—"Bible-babble, bible-babble ! What speakest thou of the Bible ? There is no such word written in all the Bible."

Woodman.—"Then I am much to blame, if it be not so written : Behold, for the offences that you have done, you shall be carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, and there ye shall be seven generations. And when you be there, you shall see gods of gold, of silver, of wood, and of stone, borne before you and behind you upon men's shoulders, to cast out a fear among the heathen. When you shall see all these abominations, then say you in your heart, It is the living God that ought to be worshipped. Here I prove my saying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Also David saith in the Psalms, My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts

of the Lord : my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God : with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for speaking the truth."

Chichester.—"I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you ; but such is the speech of all heretics."

Story.—"My Lord, I will tell you how you shall know a heretic by his words, because I have been more used to them than you have been ; that is, they will say, 'the Lord,' and 'we praise God,' and 'the living God : ' by these words you shall know a heretic."

Woodman.—"All these words are written for our learning, and we are commanded of the prophets to use them daily, as this : The Lord's name be praised from the rising up of the sun, unto the going down of the same. Also, As many as fear the Lord, say always, The Lord be praised."

Story.—"My Lord, send him to prison, you shall do no good with him. I will go to church, and leave you here. This is an old heretic. Wast thou never before me ere now ?"

Woodman.—"Yes, forsooth, that I have."

Story.—"Yea, I trow so ; and I sent thee to the bishop of London, and he released thee ; and thou promisedst him to be an honest man, and that thou wouldst be of the true catholic church ; which thou hast not fulfilled."

Woodman.—"I promised him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man shall be able to prove the contrary."

Story.—"Well, it will be tried well enough. My Lord, I will take my leave, I fear me you shall do this man no good."

Chichester.—"I would not have you to use such speeches as you do, as 'the Lord be praised,' and 'the living God,' with such-like words. Can you not say as well, 'our Lord,' or 'our God,' as otherwise ?"

Woodman.—"I marvel why you should reprove me there-for, seeing they be the words of God. I do not refuse to say 'our God,' or 'our Lord,' when I talk of the Scripture where it is written. If I should, it must follow, that I denied the words of God, and must needs be a heretic ; but I do not. Wherefore, I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It seemeth to me, that you mistrust that I believe not as you do."

Chichester.—"Yea, that is my meaning indeed."

Woodman.—"I believe in the living God : if you do not so, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it please you to examine me upon any particular matter, now, or at any other time, I will make you answer thereto, by God's help."

Chichester.—"Though you believe in God, I

can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can show you by your hand-writing. You have denied the catholic church; wherefore he that erreth from the church, it cannot be said that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the church, from the which ye have erred. I can show you perilous things of your writing, if it should be known; but ye shall not be hurt for me, if you will come to any good order. But I promise you I would not for three thousand pounds some had so much against me, as I can show against you of your own hand-writing, which you cannot deny."

Woodman.—"I will not deny my hand, by God's help; for I know well, I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written against me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not; but my hand cannot well be counterfeited; there be enough that know my hand."

Chichester.—"Do you know it yourself, if you see it?"

Woodman.—"Yea, that I do."

Then he arose and fetched a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me come see. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

Chichester.—"How say you? Is it not your own writing?"

Woodman.—"Yes, surely it is."

Chichester.—"How say you to this, is not this your hand also?"

I looked, and it was. And I said, "Yes, verily is it."

Chichester.—"Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare say."

Woodman.—"Yea, I know it very well. Here is a great deal, the which I had thought had been in my house, but I thank God that it is here; for in this you shall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talk that was betwixt the commissioners and me, when I was before them five times, and also before the bishop of London divers times: and I am sure, neither you nor they shall find any words false therein written. And I think the sheriff's men, when they searched my house for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them: but I never knew it before now. But I am not sorry for it, but am rather glad: for herein you may see all the wrong that I have received at their hands; and how long I was in prison; and how I was tossed up and down; and how I was delivered at length; and by this you may try whether it be so or not. I dare say they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would have turned me to displeasure; but in very deed all things work for the best, to them that fear God."

Chichester.—"Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perilous gear, here is sedition. This was set up upon the church door; you know it well enough."

Woodman.—"Indeed I wrote it to the priest, and to others that took upon them to fetch my child out of my house without my leave, and used it at their pleasure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conscience compelled me to show them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the Scriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly."

Chichester.—"Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is such gear coupled together, I promise you, as I never saw the like. But I promise you, I will make the best of it. And I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part on you. Cast not yourself away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor that lack your occupying. Mean to follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. St. Paul saith, Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide. Remember you are called to another vocation; for God's sake, walk therein. It is not your office, to do as you have done. You might do as much good (by the report of worshipful men) as any man might do in all the country, by your example; and if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out, as you are."

Woodman.—"I would not that you should say, that I am out of the church of God; for I am not, but do allow the church of God according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true church, that be out, by any means that I could use, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I love all people as myself. And whereas you say I have been a preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching, I cannot deny; for it becometh every man to teach and instruct his household in the fear of God, and all others as far as he can, that desire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the Scripture, and leaving my vocation, (as you say,) I left not my vocation in reading the Scripture; for I trust I followed my vocation the better there-for. And the greatest cause that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was, because the preachers and teachers were so changeable."

Chichester.—"No? Did you not preach at a fair?"

Woodman.—"No, surely; but it was so reported. I was at a fair, indeed. Whilst I was in prison, I had leave of the council to go home to pay my debts; and then I went to a fair to sell cattle, and there met with me divers poor men that I had set a-work, and of love asked me how I did, and how I could away with imprisonment. And I showed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their trust in him; and this they called preaching. And, since that, it hath been reported that I have baptized children, and married folks, the which I never did; for I was never minister. Wherefore if I had so done, I had done contrary to the order of the apostles, as God forbid I should."

Chichester.—"I am well apaid, if you be faultless in those things; for I have heard say the contrary."

Woodman.—"I have showed you the truth, and that no man living shall be able to prove the contrary."

Chichester.—"You said, you do not disallow the true catholic church?"

Woodman.—"No, that I do not."

Chichester.—"Why do you not then go to the church? You come not there, it is informed me."

Woodman.—"I trust I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not at the church where the most do resort: for if I should, I should offend, and be offended. For at the last time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. Wherefore, for conscience' sake, I would not come there. For I was sent to prison for my coming there, and now I am sent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleased any way with me, for they seek my life. Wherefore look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be a house of defence against mine enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my blood shall be required at your hands. If you can find any just cause in me worthy of death by God's word, you may condemn me yourself, and not offend God. Wherefore look to it; the matter is weighty; deliver me not into their hands, and think so to be discharged."

Chichester.—"I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter; for I have not full authority as yet of mine office; but I will send for you and talk with you, if I wist I should do you any good."

Woodman.—"I would be glad to talk with you, and to show you my mind in any thing that you shall demand of me, now, or at any other time."

So then he desired the sheriff's men to tarry dinner with him; "that this man," said he, "may dine

with me also: for it is possible that he may have no great store of meat whither he shall go."

So we tarried dinner with him, and had no further talk, neither how to prove where the true church of God is, nor of the sacraments, nor of any other thing pertaining to me-ward, not for the space of two hours or more: but he entered in talk with me, how I understood many scriptures; and for bishops' and priests' marriages; and whether Paul had a wife or not. To whom I answered, "It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages; but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will serve." So when he had talked with me of divers scriptures, he liked my talk well. He asked me how I said by St. Paul, whether he were married or not? To whom I answered, "I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married."

Chichester.—"How prove you that?"

Woodman.—"I will prove it well enough, by God's help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apostles had."

Chichester.—"Why, had the apostles wives?"

Woodman.—"Yes, all, saving Paul and Barnabas, as I understand it. For these are Paul's words in 1 Cor. ix.: Am I not an apostle? Am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ? are not ye my work in the Lord? And if I be not an apostle to others, yet to you I am an apostle: for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord. Mine answer to them that ask me, is this: Have we not power to eat and to drink? either have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other apostles have, and as the brethren of the Lord? Either have not Barnabas and I power thus to do? So this text proveth that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declareth that the rest had wives, and that they had power likewise so to have, but they found no need thereof. But Paul declareth in 1 Cor. vii., that he that hath no power over his own flesh, may marry: for it is better to marry than to burn. Wherefore to avoid fornication, saith he, let every man have his wife. He saith, Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband. By this place of Scripture I understand, that bishops and priests may have wives, because they are men; rather than burn, or commit fornication. But I think verily, he that can abstain, having power of his own will, doth best; but if he marry he sinneth not."

So then he debated the Scriptures with me divers ways, that a bishop or a priest ought not to have a wife. But I proved by divers scriptures, both in the old law, and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men the which was spoken

generally to all men. "Wherefore," said I, "every man may have a woman, and sin not, in honest matrimony; as well bishops and deacons, as other men, which you call priests, if they be true ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that order that bishops and deacons were, in Paul's time. For Paul declareth to Timothy, 1 Tim. iii., that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, and how they should be honestly apparelled, and how they should bring up their children; and likewise the deacons. This," said I, "proveth most plainly, that both bishops and deacons had wives in the apostles' time;" the which he could not deny. But then he alleged, that no bishop nor priest might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office, but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpose, for his life and for his learning, he might keep his wife, and bring up his children, according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy; or else might they have no wives.

Then said I, "I think Paul's meaning in that place was, that a man that hath had two wives, might not be made a bishop nor a deacon, if he had never so much learning. But that place maketh not that a bishop or a deacon may not marry after they be made bishops and deacons: for I am sure that Paul was in the state of a bishop, when he said, he had power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other apostles had. Here Paul declareth that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a bishop; which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God. Thus have I showed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the marriages of bishops and priests, as I understand the Scriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I have little to do withal; but as you required me to say my mind in that matter, so I have done."

Chichester.—"Marry, I am glad that you have said as you have done. Many do affirm boldly, that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by God's word; and if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you shall do well: therefore, gentle goodman Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and my body, and so would (I dare say) all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me."

Woodman.—"Why, my Lord, I take God to record (whom I trust to serve) that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace, as any man in all the world, if I might. And I stand to learn, and am

contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is so, I have talked with a dozen priests at the least, since I was delivered out of prison, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have asked them: and therefore they have complained on me to the sheriff and justices; making tales and lies on me, to turn me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England, I think; the more it is to be lamented."

Chichester.—"I promise you, I do much lament it myself: for I hear say no less but it is true, that you say. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot; but I will do the best that I can, when I come into the country, and I will be glad to talk with you some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see, I am very tender now, as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner; our dinner is ready. I caused you not to tarry for any great cheer that you shall have, nor would I you should think that I go about to win you with my meat: but you be welcome with all my heart. Come, sit down."

I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him a merchantman, one of the sheriff's men, and I, and no more; and we had good cheer, God be praised therefor. We had no talk of the Scriptures all the dinner while; but when dinner was done, the bishop said, "Now call Master Story's man. For the commissioners have committed you to prison; but I will send for you or ever it be long; and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it."

Woodman.—"If it please you to send for me, I would be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it please your Lordship to examine me upon any particular matter, I will show you my mind therein, by God's grace, without dissimulation. But I pray you, let me have nothing to do with Master Story, for he is a man without reason, methinketh."

Chichester.—"Well, or ever you go, how say you to the seven sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be the willingest to send for you again."

Woodman.—"I know not seven sacraments."

Chichester.—"Then what shall I talk with you? How many do you know?"

Woodman.—"I know but two; one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the supper of the Lord. But if you can justly prove by God's word, that there be more than two, I stand to be reformed."

Chichester.—"If I prove not seven by God's word, then believe me not." And so he bade me farewell.

Then the sheriff's two men, and one of Dr. Story's men, carried me to Dr. Cooke's house, which Dr. Cooke commanded them to carry me to the sheriff's prison in Southwark, saying, "He shall be called before us again shortly, and all his fellows; and we shall despatch them from troubling the country any more."

And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I now am merry, (God be praised there-for,) looking for judgment of my flesh: for they intend to despatch me shortly, if God will give them leave; but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cause to God only, and I am sure there shall not one hair of my head perish without my heavenly Father's will, although I bide never so much trouble. Job perished not for all his trouble, although God gave the devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as God hath suffered his members to trouble and try me divers and many ways, I praise God. They shall all as little prevail against my faith (I have no mistrust) as the devil prevailed against Job, whatsoever they do with my goods, life, or body. For he that kept Job in all his trouble, neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect; that whether we live or die, it shall be to the praise and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lord's will, and if we die, we die to the Lord's will: so, whether we live or die, we are the Lord's, blessed be his name there-for.

Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, to whom this my writing shall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you; for they can but kill the body: but fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer; for the sheriff, with divers other gentlemen and priests, whilst I was at the sheriff's house, said to me, that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people did in times past upon St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, or such-like. Wherefore said they, "Look well on it; you have a great thing to answer for." To the which I answered; "I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for heresy;" as I am sure he will not. For he hath set my sins as far from me, as it is from the east to the west: so that I am sure they shall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call heresy, we serve God withal. And I am sure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to

them, they should win a great many likewise; and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I trust in God, and am sure, they never shall, by God's grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times. For I am so linked to Christ in a chain by faith, that it is impossible for men to loose us asunder, neither for life nor death, I praise my Lord God there-for. And no doubt their full intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid; which death of my body were best of all for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praised there-for. I know what he *can* do; but what he *will* do, I know not. But if death be offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing of God, I trust in God I shall not offend my brethren in receiving of death, but shall be rather an occasion of the strengthening of their faith, by choosing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Christ hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, and comfort of our brethren. And whereas the bishop saith, he will prove seven sacraments, be you out of doubt he shall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other arguments with me already.

Thus fare ye well, from the Marshalsea, where I now am, as a sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised there-for.

The second examination of Richard Woodman, before the bishop of Chichester, and two of his chaplains; and Dr. Story at the last came to us, the twenty-seventh day of April.

First, I was sent for to the Marshalsea by Dr. Story, and was carried to his house besides St. Nicholas' Shambles; and when I had spoken to him, he sent me to the bishop of Chichester, and said he would come to him himself straightway. And when we were in the bishop's hall, we had not tarried long but the bishop sent for me: and when I came before him I did my duty to him as much as I could.

Then said the bishop, "You be welcome: how do you now?"

Woodman.—"Well, I praise God, thanking your Lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at my last departing from you."

Chichester.—"Well, goodman Woodman, I have sent for you of love and good-will that I bear to you, to talk with you; and I would have you tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the last time that I talked with you, our talk was so long, that I fell into a great drought thereby, and have been the worse in my body ever since. Wherefore I pray you show me your mind briefly in those par-

ticular matters that I shall demand of you, according to your promise that you made when you were with me the last time. How say you, will you?"

Woodman.—"Yea, forsooth; I will answer to any thing that you shall demand of me (by God's help) as well as I can."

Chichester.—"How say you by the seven sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. How say you now to it? will you deny all saving two?"

Woodman.—"I say now, as I said then. You said there be seven sacraments; and I said, I knew but two; but if you could approve seven by God's word, when I came before you again, I must needs grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by God's word, I should not believe them. And now I am come to see how well you can prove them." Herewith he was moved and all his chaplains.

Chichester.—"By God and my troth, I ween he thinketh I cannot prove them. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony?"

Woodman.—"Why, my Lord, St. Paul saith to Timothy, a bishop should be faultless, and you use much swearing, which is a great fault in a bishop of all others, that should be an example to the flock." Then he and his prelates were in a great rage with me, because I reproved him for his swearing.

Chichester.—"What! I perceive this man is worse than he was the last day; what! he taketh upon him to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do?"

Priest.—"So methinketh, my Lord; he is a stout fellow indeed, as we have seen."

Woodman.—"Yea, I am stout, because I do that I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace: for I should bear your sin, the which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly."

Chichester.—"Where find you, that you are commanded to reprove me."

Woodman.—"If thou see thy brother sin, reprove him: if he repent, thou hast won thy brother. But you repent it not, methinketh, but rather go about to maintain the same. Christ saith, He that breaketh one of the least of my commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; and you go about to teach men so, so far as I see."

Priest.—"Why, my Lord, this man is past cure. I see no hope in him."

Chichester.—"No, so methinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go, call Master Story: let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marshalsea, and now he is worse than

he was before. I had some hope in him the other day; but now I see none."

Woodman.—"No, I praise God, my faith hangeth upon no men, but upon God."

Priest.—"Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worse for them; but I fear me they be the worse for him. I know this man of old, before mine old Lord."

Woodman.—"Well, my Lord, look well to it; will you deliver me to other men to shed my blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? Nay, you cannot be so discharged."

Chichester.—"I have nothing to do with you; but of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you."

Woodman.—"Why, I do not deny but I will do so, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to others to kill me; and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you."

Chichester.—"I am not consecrated yet: wherefore my Lord Cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my Lord of London: for you are now in his diocese."

Woodman.—"Yea, my Lord, is the matter even so? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Ask me what you will, but I will show you nothing of my mind. I promise you I will not answer in particular matters, and so you to accuse me to others, and they to kill me."

Chichester.—"I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind in the sacraments; and if you understand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to show you my mind, how I understand them. For I would you should do as well as mine own self."

Woodman.—"If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and show you my mind; otherwise I would be loth."

Chichester.—"Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm, for if I meant to do you harm, I could lay your own handwriting against you; but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony? is it a sacrament or no? How think you by it?"

Woodman.—"I think it is a holy institution, ordained of God in paradise, and so to continue to the world's end."

Chichester.—"Lo, now you shall see how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the rest. Come hither. You can read Latin, I am sure."

Woodman.—"Yea, I can read Latin, but I understand very little."

Chichester.—"Come to me; you shall see that Paul calleth it a holy sacrament: for these be the words, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall be joined to his wife; and two shall be made one flesh. This is a great sacrament."

Woodman.—"I remember such a saying, but St. Paul calleth it not a sacrament; but he saith, It is a great mystery."

Chichester.—"Where saith he so?"

Woodman.—"I am not sure in what text it is, but I am sure these be St. Paul's words; and that he calleth it not a sacrament in all his writings."

Chichester.—"What! the last day ye were full of Scriptures; 'here it is written,' and 'there it is written.' What! we can rehearse the Scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither; I will show you the place, I think, that you mean."

I looked, and it was written, *sacramentum*: "I know," said I, "it is 'a great mystery,' in the English translation."

Chichester.—"I permit it to be 'a mystery.' What is a mystery?"

Woodman.—"A mystery is (I take it) unseen; for he saith, he speaketh betwixt Christ and the congregation. So the great mystery that he speaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that be married, which is hid in Christ; the which we see not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the congregation, which is the outward marriage, we see; but the inward marriage of the heart we see not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a mystery. And therefore if it be a sacrament, it is invisible to us: it is not seen, as other sacraments be."

Chichester.—"Nay, I tell you it is a visible sacrament, seen as the others be: for is not the marriage seen? is not the man and woman seen?"

Woodman.—"My Lord, I pray you, what is a sacrament?"

Chichester.—"It is the sign of a holy thing."

Woodman.—"Methinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itself." Then his chaplains would have interrupted me, but I desired my Lord I might say out my mind in the matter. So, with much ado, he bade me say what I could.

"There need not to be a sign of a thing, where the thing is itself. Matrimony is a holy thing itself, and is ended outwardly, and such need no more signs but themselves: wherefore it cannot be a sacrament, as others be."

Chichester.—"Lo, how much you speak against yourself. And for an example, I come by a hosier,

and there hangeth a pair of hose, the which be hose, and be a sign of hose that be to sell within."

Priest.—"How say you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home indeed."

Woodman.—"He hath hit me perilously, I tell you, with sophistry, to blind mine eyes withal. I marvel you be not all ashamed of it. I can answer that to all your shames, if I might be justly heard, I tell you plainly."

Priest.—"What, you be angry methinks."

Woodman.—"I am not angry; but I am earnest, I tell you, to see your blindness and folly. I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is God's word, to prove my matter true by; and you will prove your matter true by a pair of hose. And as well can you prove it by that, as by God's word?"

Priest.—"Why, is there nothing true, but that is written in the Bible?"

Woodman.—"St. Paul saith to the Galatians, If an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than may be proved by God's word, hold him accursed: and so do I, I tell you plainly."

Priest.—"Here is a Testament in my hand: if I hurl him in the fire and burn him, have I burned God's word, or not? I will buy a new one for sixteen-pence."

Woodman.—"I say, you have burned God's word, and I believe he that will burn a Testament willingly, would burn God himself, if he were here, if he could: for he and his word are all one."

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Woodman.—"Laugh on," quoth I. "Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with speed."

Then the bishop began to cloak the priest's folly, saying, "Why, if my counting-house were full of books, and if my house should be on fire by chance, and be so burned, were God's word burned?"

Woodman.—"No, my Lord, because they were burned against your will; but yet if you should burn them willingly, or think it well, and not be sorry for it, you burn God's word, as well as he. For he that is not sorry for a shrewd turn, doth allow it to be good."

Chichester.—"Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. We have an altar, whereof you may not eat. What meaneth St. Paul thereby?"

Woodman.—"There is no man so foolish to eat stones, I trow."

Chichester.—"What mockers and scorners be you, to say no man will be so foolish to eat stones! it is a plain mock."

Woodman.—"Why, my Lord, you said I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor understanding.

Wherefore it becometh you to make things more plain to me, and not to ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much."

Chichester.—"I dare say, you know what it meaneth well enough. The most fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do."

There stood some of his men not far off, talking together beside a window. He called one of them by his name.

Chichester.—"Come hither. I say to thee, Thou shalt not eat of this table. What do I mean thereby?"

The man.—"Forsooth, my Lord, you would not have me eat of this table;" laying his hand thereupon.

With this answer he made all them in the house to fall on laughing; and I could not hold it in, but burst out with laughter, and said, "He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I."

Chichester.—"He meaneth well enough, if you would understand him.—Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to thee, Thou shalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?"

The man.—"Forsooth you would not have me eat this table."

These words made them all laugh: wherewith the bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better, and said, "He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is set upon this table. How sayest thou? dost thou not mean so?"

The man.—"Yes forsooth, my Lord, that was my meaning indeed."

Woodman.—"Yea, my Lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can say so too; and so could I have done, (as little wit as I have,) if you had said, Paul meant that no man might eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the priests."

Chichester.—"Yea, I perceive you understand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you list to cavil with me."

Woodman.—"Why, my Lord, do you think I understand such dark places of the Scripture, without learning? You said even now, I had no knowledge nor learning; wherefore I answered you, as you judged of me."

Chichester.—"Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How say you by the sacrament of the altar?"

Woodman.—"You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

Chichester.—"I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say."

Woodman.—"You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?"

Chichester.—"I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church. What! is it so strange to you?"

Woodman.—"It is strange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of stone."

Chichester.—"It is that altar that I mean."

Woodman.—"I understand not the altar so."

Chichester.—"No, I think so indeed; and that is the cause that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the altar then?"

Woodman.—"If you will give me leave till I have done, I will show you how I understand the altar, and where it is."

Chichester.—"Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind, as much as you will."

Woodman.—"It is written in Matthew xviii., That whosoever two or three be gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst among them: and whatsoever they ask the Father upon earth, it shall be granted them in heaven. Agreeing to the fifth of Matthew, saying, When thou comest to offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift." The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bade them let me alone.

Chichester.—"You shall hear a pretty conclusion anon."

Woodman.—"I pray you let me make an end, and then find fault with me, if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of Scripture, I prove that Christ is the true altar, whereon every Christian man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, whosoever the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the altar: so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity. If we be not, we must leave there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth; and then come and offer the gift. Some will say, How shall I agree with my adversary, when he is not nigh by a hundred miles? may I not pray till I have spoken with him? To all such I answered, If thou presume to pray among the faithful, wishing any evil to any man, woman, or child, thou askest vengeance upon thyself; for no such asketh any thing else of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thy adversary, that is, make thy life agreeable to God's word. Say in thy heart without dissimulation, that thou askest God and all the world forgiveness from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer on the altar, where the people of God be gather-

ed together. Thus have I showed you my mind, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I understand it."

Chichester.—"Do you understand the offering and the altar so? I never heard any man understand it so; no, not Luther the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned."

Woodman.—"If he were a heretic, I think he understood it not so indeed; but I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so."

Chichester.—"Oh! what vain-glory is in you, as though you understood all things, and other men nothing. Hear me: I will show you the true understanding, both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. We have an altar, said Paul, that ye may not eat of: meaning thereby, that no man might eat of that which was offered on the altar, but the priest. For in Paul's time, all the living that the priest had, the people came and offered it on the altar, money, or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembered that they had any thing against their brother, then they left their offering upon the altar, and went and were reconciled to their brother: and they came again and offered their gift, and the priest had it. This is the true understanding of the place that you have rehearsed: wherefore you be deceived."

Woodman.—"My Lord, that was the use in the old law. Christ was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Paul's words, the sacrifice was offered in Paul's time; yet that maketh not that it was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore it seemeth to me, that you be deceived."

Chichester.—"Who shall be judges betwixt us in this matter?"

Woodman.—"The twelfth of John declareth who shall be judge in the last day."

Chichester.—"You mean the word shall judge the word. How can that be?"

Woodman.—"St. Peter saith, The Scripture hath no private interpretation: but one scripture must be understood by another."

Chichester.—"You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another way; and who shall be judges betwixt us then?"

Woodman.—"The true church of God is able to discuss all doubts; to whom I refer it."

Chichester.—"I am glad you say so, if you will say so indeed."

Woodman.—"My Lord, I never meant otherwise."

Chichester.—"The church of God doth allow the sacrament of the altar."

Woodman.—"What do you offer now upon the altar?"

Chichester.—"We offer up, in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ, to pacify the wrath of God the Father;" and therewith they all put off their caps to the abominable idol.

Woodman.—"St. Paul saith to the Hebrews, We are sanctified by offering of the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross once for all: and every priest is daily ministering, and oftentimes offereth one manner of offering, which can never take away sins; and that is the offering that you use to offer. As far as I can see, you be priests after the order of Aaron, that offered up sacrifice for their own sins, and the sins of the people."

Chichester.—"Nay, Aaron's sacrifice was with blood, which signifieth the death of Christ, the which was ended upon the cross by his bloodshedding: but we are priests after the order of Melchizedech, the which offereth bread to the king in remembrance, and signifieth the giving of Christ's body in bread and wine at the last supper, the which he gave to his disciples, and commanded it to be used to the end of the world. This is the sacrifice that we offer, according to his word."

Woodman.—"Methinketh you have made the matter very plain to me, that as Christ was the end of all sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the sacraments, willing them to be used in the remembrance of him, to the world's end."

Chichester.—"What, in remembrance of him, and not himself, as his word saith, Take, eat, this is my body! It is not the sign only, but the thing itself. How say you? Is it not his body, after the words be spoken by the priest? How say you? Go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you."

Woodman.—"My Lord, if you will answer me to one sacrament, I will answer you to another."

Chichester.—"Yes, I am very well contented with that."

Woodman.—"If you say the words of baptism over the water, and there be no child there, is there true baptism?"

Chichester.—"No, there must be the water, the word, and the child; and then it is baptism."

Woodman.—"Very well. Then if a child be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly baptized."

Chichester.—"No: the child must be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost; or else it is not truly baptized."

Woodman.—"Then there may be nothing added nor taken away from the sacraments: may there?"

Chichester.—"No," said the bishop.

Woodman.—"Now, my Lord, I will answer to you, if it please you."

Chichester.—"Well, how say you, Take, eat; this is my body: is it not Christ's body, as soon as the words be said?"

Woodman.—"My Lord, I will answer you by your own words, that you answered me, which is true: the water, the word, and the child, all these together make baptism; the bread, wine, and the word make the sacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Christ's body, but to the faithful receiver: for he said, Take, eat, this my body. He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And St. Augustine saith, 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.' And St. John saith, He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him: wherefore it is impossible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true faith."

Priest.—"Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body, and not his word, by your saying. I pray you what did Judas eat?"

Woodman.—"Judas did eat the sacrament of Christ, and the devil withal."

Priest.—"He ate the body of Christ unworthily, as St. Paul saith."

Woodman.—"Nay, St. Paul saith no such thing. He speaketh not of eating of his body unworthily, but of the sacrament unworthily. For he saith, Whosoever eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body; and not because he eateth the Lord's body. If Judas had ate Christ's body, it must needs follow, that Judas is saved. For Christ saith in John vi., Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up again at the last day."

Priest.—"My Lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mind."

Chichester.—"I see it is but folly to talk with you: it is but lost labour. How say you? do you not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the very body of Christ really? Make me a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you."

Woodman.—"I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true sacrament. I do believe that if I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood-shedding, and so receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and man, mystically by faith: this is my belief."

Chichester.—"Why, then it is no body with-

out faith! God's word is of no force, as you count it."

Woodman.—"My Lord, I have told you my mind without dissimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the Scriptures; and if you will do so, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you shall not say nay, to that I have said, yourself."

Then they made a great laughing, and said, "This is a heretic indeed; it is time he were burned:" which words moved my spirit, and I said to them, "Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves. For that you call heresy, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in hell, and have blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, This was the man that we jested on, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honour: but now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished. These words shall you say, being in hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my blood: wherefore look to it, I give you counsel."

Priest.—"What! you be angry, methinks. Now I will say more to you than I thought to have done. You were at Bexhill a twelvemonth ago, and sent for the parson and talked with him in the churchyard, and would not go into the church; for you said, it was the idol's temple. Yea, I was with mine old Lord, when he came to the King's Bench to you; and you said many stout words to him."

Woodman.—"That I said, I said; and whereas you said, I was angry, I take God to my record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God, with cheerfulness."

Priest.—"The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough! think you that you have the Spirit of God?"

Woodman.—"I believe surely that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God there-for: and you be deceivers, mockers, and scorners before God, and be the children of hell, all the sort of you, as far as I can see."

And therewith came in Dr. Story, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the bishop in Latin, saying at the length, "I can say nothing to him, but he is a heretic. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him."

Woodman.—"Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged yourself."

Story.—"What! be you a preaching? you shall preach at a stake shortly with your fellows. My Lord, trouble yourself no more with him."

With these words, one brought word that the abbot of Westminster was come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Then said Dr. Story to my keeper, "Carry him to the Marshalsea again, and let him keep close; and let nobody come to speak with him." And so they departed.

Then one of the priests began to flatter with me, and said, "For God's sake remember yourself. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the Scriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It were great pity you should do amiss."

Woodman.—"What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well; and but even now you said I was a heretic and despised me. If I be a heretic, I can have no good wit as you have confessed. But I think your own conscience doth accuse you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will."

Priest.—"I call it a good wit, because you are expert in all questions."

Woodman.—"You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with God's word." Then one cried, "Away, away, here come strangers!" So we departed, and I came again to the Marshalsea, with my keeper.

The third examination of Richard Woodman, (copied with his own hand.) before Dr Langdale, parson of Buxsted, in Sussex, and chaplain to my Lord Montague, and Master James Gage, at my Lord Montague's house, beside St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, the twelfth day of May.

The twelfth day of May the marshal came to the Marshalsea, and sent for me to speak with him. When I came before him, and had done my duty, he asked my name, and what countryman I was. I showed him both. Then he asked me, when I was abroad in the city. To whom I answered, "If it shall please your Mastership, I was abroad in the city on Monday was sevennight."

Marshal.—"What made you abroad?"

Woodman.—"The bishop of Chichester sent for me, to talk with me at home, at his house beside St. Nicholas' Shambles."

Marshal.—"Were you abroad no otherwise than so?"

Woodman.—"No forsooth; I was never abroad since I was sent hither, but then; for I have nothing to do abroad, unless they send for me."

Marshal.—"This is a marvellous matter. I promise you I was not so rebuked these seven years, as I was for you within these three days. It is re-

ported that you were abroad in the city at certain taverns, and spake seditious words both in the taverns and streets, as you went."

Woodman.—"Sir, the truth is, I was in never a house nor tavern whiles I was abroad, but in the bishop's house, as my keeper can, and will (I am sure) testify: nor did I ever talk with any man in the streets as I came, but with my keeper, saving with one man, indeed, of the parish of Framfield, in Sussex, where Master James Gage dwelleth. His name is Robert Smith, being one of my worst enemies; who stood in a wain as we came by, and was unlading of cheese (methought) but a little way from the Marshalsea. Indeed I bade him God speed, and asked him how he did: and he said, Well, he thanked me. And he asked me, how I did: and I said, Well, I praise God: and that was all the talk that we had. And these words were spoken as I came by him. I promise you, sir, I stood not still while I spake them, as my keeper can tell: and I think these words were not seditious words, but might be spoken well enough, (I think,) or else it were very strait."

Marshal.—"Then is it to be thought, that that man reported otherwise than it was. I am glad it is as you say. Well, make you ready: for you must go forth straightway, where you shall be examined of that and of other things, where you shall answer for yourself. Go make haste, for I will tarry till you be ready."

So I departed from him, and went to my prison-fellows, and took my leave of them, desiring them to pray for me; for I thought verily to come no more to them: for I supposed I should have gone before the council, because the marshal said, he would tarry for me himself. And especially because he said, it was reported that I had spoken seditious words, it made me think it is possible that there may be some false things imagined upon me, to bring me to my end. I remember what Christ said, The servant is not above his lord. Seeing the Jews brought false witness against Christ, I thought they would do much more, or at the least do so to me, if God would suffer them; which made me cast the worst. But I was, and am sure, (I praise my Lord God,) that all the world is not able to accuse me justly of any such thing. Which thing considered, made me merry and joyful: and I was surely certified, that they could do no more against me, than God would give them leave. And so I bade my prison-fellows farewell, and went into the porter's lodge to the marshal; and he delivered me to one of his own men, and to one of my Lord Montague's men, and bade me go with them: and they carried me to my Lord Montague's place in Southwark, not

far from St. Mary Overy's; and brought me into a chamber in Lord Montague's house; and there was one Dr. Langdale, chaplain to my Lord. My keepers said to the doctor, "This is the man that we went for."

Langdale.—"Is your name Woodman?"

Woodman.—"Yea, forsooth, that is my name."

Then he began with a great circumstance, and said, "I am sorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but stand so much in your own conceit, displeasing your father and others, judging that all the realm doth evil, save a few that do as you do:" with many such words, which be too long to rehearse, but I will declare the substance of them.

Langdale.—"What think you of them that died long ago—your grandfathers, with their fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all others that use the same that they did throughout all Christendom, unless it be in Germany, and here in England a few years, and in Denmark; and yet they are returned again. Thus we are sure this is the truth; and I would you should do well. Your father is an honest man, and one of my parish, and hath wept to me divers times, because you would not be ruled; and he loveth you well, and so doth all the country, both rich and poor, if it were not for those evil opinions that you hold, with many such-like tales of Robin Hood."

Woodman.—"I pray you give me leave to speak a few words to you."

Langdale.—"Yes, say your mind."

Woodman.—"You have told a great tale, and a long, as it were against me, (as you think,) saying, I hold this and that; I judge my father and my grandfather, and almost all the world, without it be a few that be of our sect. But I judge no man. But the twelfth of John declareth who it is that judgeth, and shall judge in the last day. The father shall not bear the son's offences, nor the son the father's offences: but that soul that sinneth shall die, as saith the prophet. And again, We may not follow a multitude to do evil, as saith the prophet; for the most go the wrong way. And Christ saith in Luke xii., that his flock is a little flock. Here be places enow to discharge me, although I do not as the most do. But can any man say that I do not as I ought to do? Where be my accusers?"

Langdale.—"What! you be full of Scriptures methinks, and call for your accusers, as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me. For I mean no more hurt to you, than I do to myself, I take God to be my record."

Woodman.—"I cannot tell: it is hard trusting

of fair words. When a man cannot trust his father nor brother, nor others that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him: a man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards them that he never saw before, saying, Be as wise as serpents, and as innocent as doves: Beware of men, for they go about to betray you. And it maketh me to suspect you much, because you blame me for answering with the Scriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vantage of me, if I should speak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, because I have been deceived already by them I trusted most. Wherefore blame me not, though I answer circumspectly. It shall not be said, by God's help, that I will run wilfully into mine enemies' hands; and yet I praise God, my life is not dear to myself, but it is dear with God: wherefore I will do the uttermost that I can to keep it."

Langdale.—"You be afraid where no fear is; for I was desired of Master Sheriff and his brother, and of other of your friends, to talk with you; and they told me, that you were desirous to talk with me. And now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were sent to prison for nothing: for you call for your accusers, as though there were no man to accuse you. But if there were no man to accuse you, your own hand-writing did accuse you enough, that you set upon the church-door, (if you be remembered,) and other letters that you let fall abroad, some at one place and some at another. Wherefore you need not to call for your accusers. Your own hand will accuse you enough, I warrant you; it is kept safe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were so much against me."

Woodman.—"I will not deny mine own hand, by God's help; for it cannot be lightly counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a letter to the priest and others of the parish, declaring to them their folly and presumption to come into my house without my love or leave, and fetch out my child, and use it at their pleasures; which moved me to write my mind to them: and because I could not tell how to convey it to them, I set it on the church-door. Which letter my Lord of Chichester hath, for he showed it me when I was before him: wherein contained nothing but the very Scriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will answer to it by the help of God, to all their shames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you said I did; neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honest neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will answer them with Christ's words, in

Matt. xviii., 'Woe unto themselves, because they gave me the occasion.

"And whereas you said I was desirous to speak with you; and that Master Sheriff and his brother, and other of my friends, willed me to talk with you; and that I fare now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were sent to prison for nothing; the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am sent to prison, than the least child in this town knoweth. And as for me, I desired not Master Sheriff to speak with you; but indeed he desired me that I would speak with you, and utter my faith to you. For he supposed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refused to talk with you at the first; for I remembered not that you were the parson at Buxted: wherefore I said to him, I would not utter my faith to any but the bishop. I said, He is mine ordinary: wherefore I appeal unto him. I am commanded by St. Peter, to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath authority: wherefore I will talk with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore send me to him, if you will; or else there shall no man know my faith, I tell you plainly. These words then made the sheriff angry, and he went his way. And when he was gone from me, I remembered that it was you, that he would have me to talk with. And then I remembered that I had made a promise to my father, and Goodman Day of Uckfield, not past a fortnight before I was taken, that whensever you came into the country, I would speak with you by God's help, because they praised you so much, that ye were learned, and they would fain hear us talk.

"So all these things called to remembrance, I desired my keeper, which was the sheriff's man, to show his master, that I would fain speak with him, for I had remembered things that were not in my mind before, when I spake to him. So he went to his master, and showed him the matter; and he came to me. And then I told him my mind, and what promise I had made: and he said, he would send for you on the morrow, as he did. And the messenger brought word, you could not come; you preached before the queen, he said. Whereupon the sheriff came up himself, and spake to the bishop that he should come down, but he was sick. So when he came home again, he sent me to the bishop, and I have talked with him twice already; and I am sure he can find no fault in me, if he say justly; and yet I know not wherefore I was sent to prison. For I was not guilty of that which was laid to my charge, that I had baptized children, the which I never did, as God knoweth: wherefore I have wrong to be thus handled."

Dr. Langdale.—"Indeed it hath been reported, that you have christened children; and that you christened your own child. But since, I heard say, you would not have the child christened; which is a damnable way, if you deny baptism. And they said your child was not christened in a fortnight or three weeks after it was born, and the chiefest of the parish were fain to fetch it out of your house against your will. Wherefore you wrote railing words against the priest and them for their goodwill; the which declareth that you allow not baptizing of children. And if the child had died, it had been damned, because it was not christened; and you should have been damned, because you were the let thereof."

Woodman.—"What abominable lies have you told! Be you not ashamed to speak such words as you have done? First you say, I christened mine own child; and by and by you said, I denied baptizing of children, and that my child was a fortnight or three weeks old ere it was baptized. What abominable lies be these! I neither baptized my child myself, neither held against the baptizing of it, but did most gladly allow it; for it was baptized as soon as it was born, and I was glad thereof. Therefore you you be to blame to report so of me."

Langdale.—"I pray you, who baptized it? some unthrift of your providing?"

Woodman.—"Nay surely, the midwife baptized it."

Langdale.—"But it was your mind, that it should be so."

Woodman.—"Nay sure, I was not nigh home by almost twenty miles, nor heard that my wife was brought to bed four days after the child was christened. For it was not like to live; and therefore the midwife baptized it."

Langdale.—"Would you have had it to church to have been christened, if it had not been christened?"

Woodman.—"That is no matter, what I would have done. I am sure you cannot deny but it is sufficiently done, if the midwife do it; and I hold not against the doing of it, neither did I it myself, as you said I did."

Langdale.—"Wherefore were you displeased with them that fetched it to church?"

Woodman.—"First tell me whether the child were not truly baptized by the midwife?"

Langdale.—"Yes, it was truly baptized, if she baptized it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Woodman.—"Yes, that I am sure she did; and you grant that was sufficient. And the cause that I blamed them for, was because they did more to it

than need was, by your own saying. Yea, they fetched it out of my house without my leave: the which was not well done."

Langdale.—"They had it to church, to confirm that was done."

Woodman.—"Yea, but that was more than needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. But let that matter pass. But I would you should not say, that I hold against baptizing of children: for I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be most necessary, if it be truly used. But methought you spake words even now, that were uncomely to be spoken: if a child die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward sign of baptism?"

Langdale.—"Yea, that they be."

Woodman.—"How prove you that?"

Langdale.—"Go, saith Christ, and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned. These be the words of Christ, which are my warrant."

Woodman.—"Then by your saying, baptism bringeth faith, and all that be baptized in the water shall be saved, shall they? how say you?"

Langdale.—"Yea, that they shall: if they die before they come to discretion, they shall be saved, every one of them: and all that be not baptized, shall be damned, every one of them."

Then my spirit was moved with him to reprove him sharply, because I had manifest scriptures fresh in my mind against his saying. Then said I, "O Lord God! how dare you speak such blasphemy against God and his word, as you do? How dare you for your life take upon you to preach, and teach the people, and understand not what you say? For I protest before God, you understand not the Scriptures, but as far as natural reason can comprehend. For if you did, you would be ashamed to speak as you do."

Langdale.—"Wherein have I spoken amiss? Take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you despair. I dare say you cannot tell what you say. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?"

Woodman.—"Because you blasphemeth God: and as for despairing, take heed to yourself, for I cannot see but you be out of your wit already; and as for me, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and what you have said: the which shall turn to your shame, if you will talk the Scriptures with me."

So when he perceived that I spake earnestly, and challenged him to talk by the word, his colour began to change, and his flesh began to tremble and quake. And I said, "Prove your sayings true, if

you can: for I will prove them false, by God's help. You said, 'All children or others, that be not baptized with water, shall be damned.' I dare not say so for all the good in the world. And you brought in the saying of Christ for your warrant. In Mark xvi. it is written, Whoso believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; which words be very true: and whoso believeth not shall be damned; which words be very true also. He saith, He that believeth not shall be damned. Yea, St. John saith, He that believeth not is condemned already, because he believeth not. But neither of these two scriptures, nor any other scripture in all the New Testament, saith that he that is not *baptized* shall be damned, or is damned already. But if he *believe* not he shall be damned, and is damned already, as is aforesaid."

Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge, that I was an Anabaptist. But I would give him no place to speak, but said, "Let me make an end, and then say what you can. You shall have as much to do, by God's help, with this matter, as ever you had to answer thing in your life. You know, (I am sure,) it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a man's mouth; nor is it the order of reasoning, as you know that, better than I can tell you." Then Dr. Langdale bade me say on.

Woodman.—"My saying was, that they that believe not, shall be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not say for all the goods under heaven, that all they that receive no material baptism by the water shall be damned, as you have said: yet I would you should not gather of these words, that I deny baptism, as you were about to lay to my charge, ere ever I had half told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any man, so rash in judgment to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it seem to the simple, that the outward washing of the water were the cause of faith."

Langdale.—"Why, is it not so? will you deny it? How say you? will you deny it? I say, the child hath no faith before it is baptized; and therefore the baptizing bringeth the faith. How say you to it? make me a plain answer to this question."

Woodman.—"Now I perceive you go about nothing else, but to take vantage of my words: but, by God's help, I will answer you so, that you shall well see your sayings untrue. And yet I will not speak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the mouth of the prophets and apostles: and then ask them whether they will deny it. You said, that faith cometh by baptism, had by the use of material water. I must be so bold to ask you, whether Jacob was baptized, before he had faith. St. Paul saith in Romans ix., Ere ever the

children were born, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of God, which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of works, but by the grace of the caller, the elder shall serve the younger : Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated. How think you, Had this child faith or ever he were born, or no? answer to this, if you can !”

Langdale.—“What? you speak of the old law. Jacob was not christened, but circumcised. I speak of baptism, and you are gone from baptizing, to the time of circumcision : answer me to the baptizing. And methinks, by your talk, you deny original sin, and free-will, by the words that you brought in of St. Paul : for if children can be saved without baptism, then it must needs follow, that children have no original sin, the which is put away in the baptizing. But I think you know not what original sin is, nor free-will neither, methinks, by your talk.”

Woodman.—“Yes, I praise God, I think I can tell them all better than you can ; methinks even by your words. First, I pray you, what free-will hath man to do good of himself? Tell me this first, and then I will answer to all your other questions that you have objected against me.”

Langdale.—“I say, that all men have as much free-will now, as Adam had before his fall.”

Woodman.—“I pray you how prove you that?”

Langdale.—“Thus I prove it, that as sin entered into the world, and by the means of one that sinned, all men became sinners, the which was by Adam : so by the obedience of one man, righteousness came upon all men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before their fall ; the which was by Jesus Christ.”

Woodman.—“O Lord ! what an overthrow have you given yourself here in original sin, and yet cannot see it ! for in proving that we have free-will, you have denied quite original sin. For here you have declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall, and I am sure that Adam had no original sin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the sting of it, God making him answer, and saying, My grace is sufficient for thee. These words, with divers others, prove original sin in us ; but not that it shall hurt God’s elect people, but that his grace is sufficient for all his. But you say in one place, it is not without baptism ; and in another place, you put it away quite, by the death of Christ ; and in very deed you have spoken truer in the matter than you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are baptized in the blood of Christ that he shed on the cross, and in the water that he sweat for pain,

and putting away of our sins at his death. And yet I say with David, in Psalm li., In sin was I born, and in sin hath my mother conceived me : but in no such sin that shall be imputed, because I am born of God by faith, as St. John saith. Therefore I am blessed, as saith the prophet, because the Lord imputeth not my sin, and not because I have no sin ; but because God hath not imputed my sins. Not of our own deserving, but of his free mercy he hath saved us.

“Where is now your free-will become, that you speak of? If we have free-will, then our salvation cometh of our own selves, and not of God ; the which is a great blasphemy against God and his word. For St. James saith, Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no variableness, neither is he changed into darkness. Of his own will he begat us. For the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, as saith St. John ; but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth : even so is it with every one that is born of God. For St. Paul saith, It is God that worketh in us the will, and also the deed, even of good will. Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and lighteth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed ; methinks all the rest of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unless it be wickedness. So methinks here be places enow, to prove that a man hath no free-will to do good of himself ; with a hundred places more that I could recite, if time did serve. And as for original sin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in man ; which you cannot deny, unless you deny the word of God. Now, if you will suffer me, I will prove my saying of Jacob and Esau, that I brought in to prove that faith was before baptism, and you refused it, because (you said) Jacob was not baptized. If you will give me leave, you shall see what I can say therein : for methinks you think my talk long.” This I said, because I saw he was sore offended at my sayings.

Langdale.—“Say what you can ; for it availeth me to say nothing to you. For I was desired to send for you, to teach you, and there will no words of mine take place in you ; but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.”

Woodman.—“I take not upon me to teach you, but to answer to such things as you lay to my charge ; and I speak not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy Ghost, written by the prophets and apostles. Will you give me leave to answer briefly in that matter, that you may report to others what I hold?” And he said he was contented.

But I think it was for nothing but to have caught vantage of my words.

Woodman.—"First, if you be remembered, you said that if my child had died without baptism, if I had been the cause that it had not been baptized, the child should have been damned, and I too. How say you?"

Langdale.—"Yea, that you should."

Woodman.—"That is most untrue; for the prophet saith, The father shall not bear the child's offences, nor the child the father's offences: but the soul that sinneth shall die. What could the child have done withal, if it had died without baptism? the child could not do withal. How say you unto this? And I am sure, that which I brought in, in the old law, to prove that faith is before baptism, is not disagreeable unto the word: for circumcision was a figure of baptism. And that I may bring to prove baptism by, as well as St. Peter did; for he brought in Noah's flood, which was a long time before Jacob and Esau, to prove baptism, saying, While the ark was a preparing, wherein few (that is to say, eight souls) were saved by water; like as baptism also now saveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the flesh, but that there is a good conscience consenting to God. Here Peter proveth, that water had not saved Noah and the other seven, no more than it saved all the rest, if it had not been for their faith, which faith now saveth us; not in putting away of the filthy soil of the flesh, by the washing of the water, but by a good conscience consenting unto God. But you said, If they be baptized with the water, if they die before they come to years of discretion, they be all saved; the which St. Peter is clean against, unless you grant that children have faith before they be baptized. Now I ask you, what consent of conscience the children have, being infants? For you say they believe not before they be baptized: ergo, then, they consent not to be baptized, because they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none shall be saved, although they be baptized. I would fain see how you can answer this."

Langdale.—"You are the most perverse man that ever I knew. You wot not what you say. The children are baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, and that is the good conscience that St. Peter speaketh of; and the christening is the keeping of the law, that St. Paul speaketh of, saying, Neither is circumcision any thing worth, nor uncircumcision any thing worth, but keeping of the law is altogether. Like as the circumcision was the keeping of the old law, so is baptism the keeping of the new law."

Woodman.—"Ah! methought if you would talk

with me, you should be fain to bring in the old law to maintain your sayings by; for all that you refused it, when I brought it in. But yet it serveth not for your purpose, so much as you think for. For here you have confessed, that neither circumcision availeth, nor uncircumcision, the which you yourself have coupled with baptism, proving that none of them both prevaileth, but keeping of the law is altogether; the which law is kept (you say) by the outward signs: the which is nothing so; for Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness; and this was before he was circumcised. So the children believe before they be either circumcised or baptized, according to my first saying of Jacob and Esau, Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated. These words declare that Jacob had faith in his mother's womb; also John Baptist was sanctified in his mother's womb, and therefore it was counted to them for righteousness. And I am sure, if they had died before they had either received circumcision or baptism as concerning the outward deed, they should have been saved; for God's gifts and callings are such, that he cannot repent him of them. But, by your saying, he doth both repent and change; for you say, keeping of the outward law is altogether. But a bad excuse is as good as none at all. And whereas you said the children be baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, they being all unbelievers, in what faith is that child baptized then? In none at all, by your own saying." Which words made him stamp and stare.

Langdale.—"What! then you would count that there were very few believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment against the people. Belike you think there be none that believe well, unless they be of your mind. Indeed, then Christ's flock were a very little flock."

Woodman.—"Indeed these be Christ's words in Luke xii., the which we may see to be very true. Yea, you said, if there were not one amongst three, that were very few. But there is not one amongst three hundred, for any thing that I can see: for if there were, there would not be so many that would seek their neighbours' goods and lives as there be."

Langdale.—"Is the flock of Christ such a little flock as you speak of? You may call it a great flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?"

Woodman.—"A pretty question, I promise you, it is that you ask me: as though I did make myself equal with God. No, no, you shall catch no such vantage of my words, nor do I know how many there be: but I will tell you as nigh as I can; for therefore you look, I am sure, that I should enter into judgment."

Langdale.—"Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, seeing you be so cunning."

Woodman.—"You shall see my judgment in it by and by. First the prophet saith, Follow not a multitude to do evil, for the most go the wrong way. For the most go the wrong way: there is one point to know them. Then Christ saith in Matthew vii., Broad is the way, and wide is the gate, that leadeth unto destruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. And in Luke xii. it is written, (which words were spoken of Christ,) Come, you little flock, it is my Father's will to give you a kingdom. The third point is this: in Mark ii. and Matthew iii., You, saith Christ, shall know the tree by the fruits. A good tree bringeth forth good fruits, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruits: so by fruits I know them; for every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire, (into hell I think Christ meant,) and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the people that shall be saved is but a small company in comparison of the rest. But if that be not enough for the proof thereof, I have twenty ways more to prove it by, and you were never the nearer of your purpose."

Langdale.—"What a naughty man are you! you would make the patientest man in the world angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with frumps, and mocks, and despising and judging of men. It was time such a fellow were taken indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole country. I think he is blest of God that took you; for you are not meet to be in a commonwealth." With divers other such-like words that I cannot recite, they came out so thick, with stamping, and staring, and chafing, as though he had been out of his wit.

I held my peace until he had made an end of his tormentor's talk, and then I spake: "Wherein have I said amiss? or have I not answered you unto every question that you have demanded of me? What fault can you find in one word that I have said? I dare say you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus against me, having no cause so to do."

Langdale.—"No, no, you have not answered me to original sin; you deny original sin."

With these words came in at the door Master James Gage; and I think he stood at the door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. Langdale saw him; for his face was to the door-ward, and my face was from it.

Gage.—"Ah, Woodman! methinks Master Doctor and you cannot agree."

Woodman.—"Yes, sir, methinks we agree very well."

Langdale.—"Without doubt, sir, he is the naughtiest man that ever I talked with in all my life; for he will have his own way in all things."

Gage.—"Woodman, leave that pride. Do not trust so much to your own wit. Harken to this man; this is a learned man, I tell you. He is known to be learned; for else he should not be allowed to preach before the queen's Majesty: and I dare say, he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do any thing, but that he will do himself; and I dare say, he will not go to the devil to bring thee thither. How say you, Master Doctor? Thou mightest think us mad, if we would hurt ourselves to hurt thee. No, I promise thee, my brother, neither I, nor any gentleman in the country, I think of my conscience, but would thou shouldst do as well as their own bodies and souls, as a great many of them have said to thy face, whilst thou wast at my brother's, and which thou canst not deny."

Woodman.—"Sir, I can say none otherwise but I was gently entreated at your brother's, both with meat and drink and gentle words, both of you and him, and divers other gentlemen; and I am sure neither you nor they can say, that you found me unreasonable at any time. For I said, I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me; and so I am, as God knoweth. And here, Master Doctor (I think) can say no otherwise; for I dare say he can find no fault in the talk that we have had."

Langdale.—"No marry? I can find nothing else in you. I promise you, Master Gage, if you had been here, you would have said so yourself. He took me up indeed, and said, he marvelled how I durst preach. For he said, I understood not the Scripture, but as far as natural reason comprehended: as though he understood all, and I nothing." With divers other such-like words he made a great complaint to him on me, and said to Master James Gage, "He would make you believe, that I could find no fault in him. Yes, I wis: he denieth original sin; meaning thereby that he is without sin."

Gage.—"Yea; doth he so? by St. Mary that is a great matter. Woodman! leave that pride. That pride will come to naught. Can ye live without sin?"

Woodman.—"Sir, now I perceive he will soon lie on me behind my back, when he will not stick to lie before my face. He saith, I denied original sin; and it was he himself, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For as he went about to prove, that man hath free-will, he said, we were set as free

by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall : which words prove plainly, that we have no original sin. And I took him withal, and said, Had Adam original sin before his fall? And then he could not tell what to say, but cavilled with words, and said he meant not so; and therefore I marvel he is not ashamed to make such lies to my face." These words made them both astonished.

Gage.—"Master Doctor, he said even now, you could find no fault in all his talk. I will bid you ask him a question, and I will warrant you, you shall find fault enough. I pray you ask him, how he believeth in the sacrament of the altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof."

Woodman.—"Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by God's help.

Langdale.—"Well, how say you to the sacrament of the altar?"

Woodman.—"I say, I know no such sacrament, unless Christ be the altar that you mean."

Gage.—"Lo, I told you, you should soon find fault in him, if you came to that point with him. You should have begun with that first, and never have talked with him about other things. What! know you not the sacrament of the altar?"

Woodman.—"No, sure; I know no such, unless Christ be the altar that you mean; for Christ is the altar of all goodness. And if you mean Christ to be the altar of the sacrament you speak of, you shall soon hear my mind and belief therein."

Langdale.—"Well, we mean Christ to be the altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almost dinner-time."

Gage.—"I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner."

Woodman.—"Yes, you shall soon hear my mind therein, by God's help. I do believe, that whosoever I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, being truly ministered according to Christ's institution, I believing that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he was crucified on the cross, and shed his blood for the remission of my sins, and so take and eat the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance; that then I do receive wholly Christ, God and man, mystically by faith. This is my belief of the sacrament, the which no man is able to disprove."

Gage.—"By St. Mary, I can find no fault in this. How say you, Master Doctor?"

Langdale.—"Sir, you see not so much in it as I do: for he goeth craftily to work, I tell you, as I have heard. For though he hath granted that the faithful receiver receiveth the body of Christ, God and man, yet he hath not granted that it is the body

of Christ before it be received, as you shall see by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How say you? Is it the body of Christ as soon as the words be spoken by the priest, or not? for these words will try him more than all the rest."

Woodman.—"Doth the word say that it is his body before it is received? if it do, I will say so too."

Gage.—"Why, then we shall agree well enough if you will be tried by the word."

Woodman.—"Yes forsooth, that I will; God forbid else."

Gage.—"Why, the word saith, it is his body before it is eaten."

Woodman.—"Those words would I fain hear; but I am sure they be not in the Bible."

Langdale.—"No! that you shall see by and by, Master Gage," quoth he, and turned to Luke xxii., and there he read, "When supper was done, Christ took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body." Then they spake both at once, "Here he saith, it is his body."

Woodman.—"Master Gage, I do not deny but he called it his body; but not before eating, as I said before: wherefore I pray you mark the words. Christ said, Take, eat: I pray you, sir, mark these words that he said, Take and eat; and then he said, it was his body. So you see, eating goeth before: for he said, Eat, this is my body. So according to the very word, I do believe it is his body." Which words made them both astonished.

Langdale.—"Why then, by your saying, Judas ate not the body of Christ. How say you? did he not?"

Woodman.—"Nay, I ask you. Did he?"

Langdale.—"I ask you."

Woodman.—"And I ask you."

Langdale.—"And I ask you."

Woodman.—"Marry, I ask you. And I bid you answer, if you dare, for your life. For whatsoever you answer, unless you say as I have said, you will damn your own soul. For Master Gage, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body; and it lamenteth my heart to see how you be deceived with them: they be deceivers all the sort of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must prove Judas to be saved, or else he must prove that it is no body before it be received in faith, as you shall well perceive, by God's help, if he dare answer the question."

Gage.—"Yes, I dare say he dareth. What! you need not to threaten him so."

Woodman.—"Then let him answer, if he can." Then he said, he knew what I would say to him;

therefore he was much in doubt to answer the question.

Langdale.—"Master Gage, I will tell you in your ear what words he will answer me, or ever I speak to him."

Then he told Master Gage a tale in his ear, and said, "I have told Master Gage what you will say."

Gage.—"Yea, and I will tell the truth for both parties."

Woodman.—"Well, how say you? did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?"

Langdale.—"Yea, I say Judas did eat the body of Christ."

Woodman.—"Then it must needs follow, that Judas hath everlasting life; for Christ saith in John vi., Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. If Judas did eat Christ's body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his flesh, and drink his blood, and then is Judas saved, by Christ's own words. Therefore now you are compelled to say that it was not Christ's body, or else that Judas is saved."

Gage.—"Surely these be the very words that Master Doctor told me in mine ear, that you would say to him."

Woodman.—"Well, let us see how well he can avoid this argument."

Langdale.—"Judas is damned, and yet he ate the body of Christ: but he ate it unworthily; and therefore he is damned."

Woodman.—"Where find you that Judas did eat the body of Christ unworthily?"

Langdale.—"They be St. Paul's words, I Cor. xi."

Woodman.—"Master Gage, I desire you for God's sake mark my words well, what I say. If St. Paul speak any such words there, or in any other place; if there be any such words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any man ate the body of Christ unworthily, then say, that I am the falsest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. But indeed, these be the words of St. Paul, Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body; that is, because he presumeth to eat the sacrament of the Lord's body without faith, making no difference betwixt the sacrament, and other bread and drink. And that is St. Paul's meaning; and not that any man doth or can eat the body of Christ unworthily. For whosoever eateth the body of Christ, hath everlasting life, as is afore said in John vi." With these words one came for them to dinner in all haste.

Gage.—"I am sorry, I would fain hear more of this talk; but we shall have another day well enough."

Langdale.—"Nay, Master Gage, I will never talk with him more; for he is the unreasonable man that ever I talked with in all my life."

Then Master Gage put off his cap, and desired him that he would not refuse to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For he said, "We will seek all the means possible to make him an honest man, and to keep him from burning, if we could: for if my brother and I had not been, he had been burned ere this time." Then there was great courtesy betwixt them.

Langdale.—"Sir, for your sake, and for my master your brother's sake, and for his father's sake, and other of his friends' sakes, that have spoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the best to him that I can; but for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth."

Gage.—"Woodman, you hear what Master Doctor saith. When will you come again?"

Woodman.—"Even when you will send for me; for I am a prisoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I should desire to come, it should cost me money, and I have none to give. But, if you send for me, it shall cost me none."

Gage.—"Well, I will send for you on Friday or Saturday, at the furthest; for to-morrow I must ride forth of town, and I would fain hear your talk."

Woodman.—"Sir, I would be very glad you should hear our talk alway; and I trust in God you shall hear me say nothing, but the word of God shall be my warrant."

So Master Gage took his leave, and went his way to his lodging, which was right in my way as I went unto prison-ward again. And when he came without my Lord Montague's gates, there we met one Hood of Bursted, a smith. Then said Master Gage, "Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Hood hath brought me in remembrance of as soon as I saw him; for he heard when the tale was told me;" so he added, "Hood, did not you hear when Smith of Framfield told me, that he saw Woodman abroad in the city, at liberty?"

Hood.—"Yea, forsooth, that I did."

Gage.—"Yea, surely, and I was very glad; for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwise afterward again, that you had leave of the keeper to go abroad and speak openly in the streets, as you went up and down."

Woodman.—"Indeed so the marshal told me to-day. But indeed I was never abroad since I came to prison, but when I was sent for, and indeed

the same time I was abroad with my keeper, coming from the bishop. And as I was coming, even not far from the Marshalsea, I saw goodman Smith stand in a wain, unlading of cheese, and I asked him how he did, even as I went by, and never staid for the matter, and thereupon it did rise." So I departed from them, with my keeper, to the Marshalsea again, where I now am merry, I praise God there-for, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

The fourth examination of Richard Woodman, had before the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and a certain doctor, with divers other priests and gentlemen, the twenty-fifth day of May.

I was fetched from the Marshalsea to the said bishops and priests, sitting in St. George's church in Southwark, by one of the marshal's men and one of the sheriff's men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then said the bishop of Winchester, "What is your name?"

Woodman.—"My name is Richard Woodman, forsooth."

Winchester.—"Ah Woodman! you were taken and apprehended for heresy about three years ago, and were sent to prison in the King's Bench, and there remained a long time. Mine old Lord of Chichester, being a learned famous man, well known in this realm of England, and almost throughout all Christendom, I think, came to prison to you; and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, travailling and persuading with you many times (because he was your ordinary) to pluck you from your heresies that you held; but he could by no means advertise you. Whereupon you were delivered to the commissioners; and they could do no good with you neither. Then they sent you unto my Lord of London. My Lord of London calling you before him divers times, labour was made unto him of your friends, that you might be released, my Lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honest man, because he had heard so of you in times past, yea, and you yourself promising him, that you would go home and recant your heresies that you held, delivered you; sending also a letter of your recantation to the commissary, that he should see it done. But as soon as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever you were, and would never fulfil your promise, but have hid yourself in the woods, bushes, dens, and caves; and thus have you continued ever since, till it was now of late. Then the sheriff of that shire, (being a worshipful man,) hearing thereof, sent certain of his men, and took you in a wood, and so carried

you to his house. I cannot tell his name. What is your sheriff's name?"

Woodman.—"Forsooth, his name is Sir Edward Gage."

Winchester.—"Well, you were apprehended for heresy; and being at Master Gage's three weeks or more, ye were gently entreated there; he and other gentlemen persuading with you divers times, little prevailed. Then you appealed to the bishop of Chichester that now is. The sheriff, like a worshipful man, sent you to him, and he hath travailed with you, and others also, and can do no good with you; whereupon we have sent for you."

Then I spake to him; for I thought he would be long before he would make an end. I thought he was a year in telling of those lies that he had told there against me already. Yea, I kept silence from good words, but it was great pain and grief unto me, as David said. At length the fire was so kindled within my heart, that I could not choose but speak with my tongue; for I feared lest any of the company should have departed or ever I had answered to his lies, and so the gospel to have been slandered by my long silence-keeping. So I spake, I praise God there-for, and said, "My Lord, I pray you let me now answer for myself, for it is time."

Winchester.—"I permit you to answer to these things that I have said."

Woodman.—"I thank God there-for. And I think myself happy (as Paul said, when he was brought before King Agrippa) that I may this day answer for myself. My Lord! I promise you there is never a word of your sayings true, that you have alleged against me."

Winchester.—"I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never did see you before this day; but I am sure it is not all lies that I have said, as you report."

Woodman.—"Yes, my Lord, there is never a true word of that you have said. And further, whereas you said you never saw me before this day, you have both heard me, and seen me, I dare say, before this day."

Winchester.—"I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you played the malapert fellow; but I cannot tell that I saw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the sheriff's men?"

Woodman.—"No sure, I was taken beside my house, I being in my house when they came: wherefore that is not true."

Winchester.—"Were not you at the sheriff's three weeks?"

Woodman.—"Yes, that I was, a month just, and was gently entreated of him, I can say no other-

wise ; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words."

Winchester.—"Ah ! I am well apaid ; it is not all lies then, as it chanced. For I spake but of three weeks, and you confess a month yourself."

Woodman.—"Yet your tale is never the truer for that. For you said, I was there three weeks for heresy, the which is not so. For I was not apprehended for heresy at the first, neither did mine old Lord of Chichester travail with me to pull me from heresy, as you said ; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth ; neither was I sent to the commissioners, nor to the bishop of London, for heresy ; neither was I delivered to him for any such thing, nor promised him to recant, as you said I did. Wherefore I marvel you be not ashamed to tell so many lies, being a bishop, that should be an ensample to others."

Winchester.—"Lo, what an arrogant heretic this same is ! He will deny God ; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God."

Woodman.—"My Lord, judge not lest you be judged yourself. For as you have judged me, you shall be judged ; if you repent not. And if I have set my hand to any recantation, let it be seen to my shame, before this audience ; for I will never deny mine own hand, by God's help."

Winchester.—"It is not here now, but I think it will be had well enough ; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried ?"

Woodman.—"Even by my Lord of London ; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter that I was sent to prison for. For it was upon the breach of a statute, as Master Sheriff here can tell ; for he was sheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was tossed up and down from sessions to sessions. And because I would not consent that I had offended therein, they sent me to prison again. Then my Lord of Chichester, being mine ordinary, and I being his tenant, came to me, to persuade with me that I should have consented to them, and to find myself in fault, where I was in none. To the which I would not agree, but I desired him that he would see me released of my wrong ; but he said he could not, but willed me or my friends to speak to the commissioners for me, because it was a temporal matter. And when I came before them, they sent me to my Lord of London ; and my Lord of London was certified by the hands of almost thirty men, both esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, the chiefest in all the country where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter that I was sent to prison for. Whereupon he delivered me, not willing me to recant heresies, for I held none, (as God knoweth,) neither do I now ; nor do I know wherefore I was

sent to prison, no more than any man here knoweth ; for I was taken away from my work."

Winchester.—"No ? wherefore appealed you then to my Lord of Chichester, if it were not for heresy ?"

Woodman.—"Because there was laid to my charge that I had baptized children, and married folks ; the which I never did, for I was no where minister. Wherefore I appealed to mine ordinary, to purge myself thereof ; as I have. Wherefore, if any man have any thing against me, let him speak ; for I came not hither to accuse myself, neither will I."

Winchester.—"Master Sheriff, can you tell upon what breach of the statute he was sent to prison first ?"

The sheriff.—"Yea, forsooth, my Lord ; that I can."

Woodman.—"My Lord, if you will give me leave, I will show you the whole matter."

Winchester.—"Nay, Master Sheriff, I pray you tell the matter, seeing you know it."

The sheriff.—"My Lord, it was for speaking to a curate in the pulpit, as I remember."

Winchester.—"Ah, like enough, that he would not stick to reprove a curate : for did you not see how he fashioned himself to speak to me in the pulpit on Sunday ? He played the malapert fellow with me ; and therefore it was no great marvel though he played that part with another."

Woodman.—"Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure : for we spake for no other cause, but to purge ourselves of those heresies that you laid to our charge. For these were your words : ' Good people ! these men that be brought before us, being here, deny Christ to be God, and the Holy Ghost to be God,' (pointing to us with your left hand,) the which might seem to the whole audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore, to clear ourselves thereof, we spake and said, we held no such thing. And you said, you would cut out our tongues. But I am sure you have no such law."

Winchester.—"Yes, that we have, if you blaspheme ; and as it chanced, I found such amongst you."

Woodman.—"Indeed, after we spake, you declared who they were, but not before ; for you spake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged ourselves."

Winchester.—"But I pray you, how can you purge yourself for speaking to the curate, that it is not heresy ?"

Woodman.—"Forsooth these be the words of the statute : ' Whosoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's

Majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months' imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter-sessions, there (being sorry for the same) to be released, upon his good abearing one whole year.' But I had not so offended, as it was well proved: for he that I spake to, was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach, by your own law; and therefore I brake not the statute, though I spake to him."

Winchester.—"I am glad, I perceive this man speaketh against priests' marriages; he is not contented with priests that have wives. He is an honest man than I took him for, Master Sheriff: have him away! I am glad he loveth not priests' marriages."

Then I would have answered to his sayings, but he would in no wise hear me, but bade the sheriff have me away. So the sheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me speak; but going out of the chancel door, I said, "I would show him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave; but seeing he will not, if he will let me go so, they shall see whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God." So I was sent to the Marshalsea again, where I am now merry, I praise God there-for, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our brethren that heard our talk, that the bishop said when I was gone, that they would take me whilst I was somewhat good: which words seemed to many of the people that were there, that I spake against priests' marriages; but I did not, but did only answer to such questions as he asked me, as you shall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were these: "How can you purge yourself from heresy, for talking to the curate in the pulpit, and not offend the statute?" said the bishop; meaning thereby, I think, to have taken vantage of my words; but it was not God's will that he should at that time. For I answered him by the words of the statute, which words be as hereafter followeth, (that is,) "Whosoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's Majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months' imprisonment." But I proved that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach, by their own law, because he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no priest may say mass, nor preach with the mass, but he must first be separated from his wife. That is, because honest marriages be good and commendable, and theirs naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

Now I give you all to understand, that I did not reprove this priest because he had a wife, but because he taught false doctrine, which grieved my soul, because he had been a fervent preacher against the mass, and all the idolatry thereof, seven years before, and then came and held with it again; for the which cause I reprov'd him in the pulpit. And the words that I spake to him, are written in divers of my examinations at my first imprisonment for that same. But in very deed, I knew not of the statute when I reprov'd him. But because I was sent to prison upon the breach of it, I bought a statute book; and when I had perused it, I perceived I had not offended, by their own law; and therefore still, when I was called to answer, I answered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in prison a year and almost three quarters, or ever I was released. I was at mine answer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow bishops' and priests' marriages, let them look in my first examination before the bishop of Chichester that now is, during this my imprisonment, and there they shall find what I have said in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that same day; but we may all see, that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is full come, I trust in God I shall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preserver, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore, Amen.

The fifth examination of Richard Woodman, had before the bishop of Winchester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, with a fat-headed priest, and others, whose names I know not, with certain also of the commissioners, at St. Mary Overy's church in Southwark, in the presence of three hundred people at the least, the fifteenth day of June, anno 1557.

Winchester.—"Woodman, you were before us the last day, and would not be known in any wise that you were sent to prison for heresy; and called for your accusers, and stood stoutly in defending of yourself. And, in your departing, I had thought you had spoken against priests' marriages, thinking by your words we should have found you an honest man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told such a fair tale for yourself, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge: for you said it was all lies that I told against you. But since, I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to show; by the which I have proved, that you reprov'd not the

priest for lacking of authority, and because he had not put away his wife, but because you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reprove him because he was not lawfully authorized; but I have proved the contrary since."

Woodman.—"I told you not, that I did either reprove him for lack of authority, or because I liked not his preaching; but I told you wherefore I was first sent to prison. For you said I was sent to prison for heresy; and made a long tale against me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your sayings true, but was all lies; as it was indeed. For I never was sent to prison for heresy, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heaven and earth to witness. But I told you I was sent to prison upon the breach of a statute, which was for speaking to a priest in the pulpit; and for that cause the justices of that country had thought I had offended the statute, and called me before them; and would have had me to have been bound to my good abearing; and because I refused it, they sent me to prison. And these be the words of the statute, as I told you the last day: 'If any man do interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's Majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that then every party that so offendeth, shall suffer three months' imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter-sessions; and there being sorry for the same, and also bound for his good abearing one whole year, to be released, or else to remain to prison again.' And when I was in prison I bought a statute-book, which when I had perused over, I found by the words thereof, that I had not offended, because he was not lawfully authorized, as the bishop of London was certified by the hands almost of thirty men, both esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, the chiefest in all that country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the statute took no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my Lord of London, seeing me have so much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and released me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the sheriff have me away; you said, you were glad I held against priests' marriages, because I answered to the question you asked me."

The fat priest.—"My Lord, do you not hear what he saith by my Lord of London? He saith he is a good man in that he released him; but he meaneth that he is good in nothing else."

Woodman.—"What! can you tell what I mean? Let every man say as he findeth; he did justly to me in that matter. I say, if he be not good in any thing else, as you say, he shall answer for it, and not I: for I have nothing to do with other men's matters."

Winchester.—"Well, how say you? how liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us."

Woodman.—"That is no matter how I liked it. Howsoever I liked it, I offended not the statute. Wherefore you have nothing to say to me for that, I am sure."

Winchester.—"Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand-writing. I am sure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?"

Woodman.—"It is mine own handiwork indeed, the which, by God's help, I will never deny, nor ever did yet, I praise God there-for."

Winchester.—"And here is good gear I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it. These be the words before the commissioners: 'How say you? Do not you believe that, as soon as the words be spoken by the priest, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but only the very body of Christ, both flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary?' These were the words of the commissioners. And then thou saidst, thou durst not say otherwise than the Scripture saith. 'I cannot find,' say you, 'that it is the body of Christ before it is received by faith,' bringing in Luke xxii., saying, 'Christ said, Take, eat, this is my body, so I cannot prove it is his body before it is eaten.' Then said the commissioners, 'Did not Judas eat Christ's body?' 'And if you can prove that Judas is saved,' said you, 'I must grant that he ate his body. For Christ saith in John vi., Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day; which words prove,' said you, 'that if Judas ate the body of Christ, he must needs be saved.' How say you now? did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?"

Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his diocess, to condemn me with. Though I should confound him never so much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I answered and said, "I will answer you to no such thing, for I am none of your diocess; wherefore I will not answer to you."

Winchester.—"Thou art within my diocess, and thou hast offended within my diocess; and therefore I will have to do with thee."

Woodman.—"Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your diocess, I have not offended in your diocess: if I have, show me wherein."

Winchester.—"Marry, here is thine own hand-writing, the which thou affirmedst in my diocess."

Woodman.—"I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but that proveth never the more that I have offended in your diocess; for that doth but

declare what talk there was betwixt the commissioners and me; the which you have nothing to do withal."

Winchester.—"No? hold him a book! And thou shalt swear whether thou holdest it now, or not, and whether thou wrotest it not in my diocess, as I think thou didst. Lay thy hand on the book!"

Woodman.—"I will not be sworn for you; for I am not of your diocess; and therefore you have nothing to do with me. And as for the writing of the same, I never wrote [one] word of it in your diocess."

Langdale.—"No! did you not? My Lord, let me see; I will find where you wrote it."

Then he took it and looked on it, and anon he found that I was sent for out of the King's Bench, to come before the commissioners.

Langdale.—"My Lord, here you may see it was in the King's Bench, the which is in your diocess."

Woodman.—"Although I were fetched out of the King's Bench, that proveth not that I wrote it there; nor did I, I promise you truly."

The fat priest.—"Where wrote you it then?"

Woodman.—"Nay, I owe you not so much service as to tell you: find it out as well as you can; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood."

Winchester.—"It is no great matter where it was written: it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You shall hear more of it. Here the commissioners asked you, whether Judas did eat any more than bare bread, and you answered that he ate more than bare bread. Whereupon they sent you away back to the King's Bench again, and asked you not, What more? for the which cause (as you have written here) you had a hell burning in your conscience. For you had thought they would have sent a discharge to the King's Bench: 'and so let me go,' said you, 'and register my name in their books, that I had granted that Judas did eat the body of Christ; and so the gospel should have been slandered by me. For the which cause I was in such case, I could scanty eat, drink, or sleep for that space; as all my prison-fellows can testify. If all you, I say, that go to the church of Satan, and there hear the detestable doctrine, that they spit and spew out in their churches and pulpits, to the great dishonour of God; if all you, I say, that come there, had such a hell burning in your conscience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my conscience more plainly, I dare say you would come there no more.' All this is your writing; is it not? How say you?"

Woodman.—"I do not deny but it was mine own deed."

Winchester.—"And I pray you, where is there such spitting and spewing out of false doctrine as you speak of?"

Woodman.—"In the synagogue of Satan, where God is dishonoured with false doctrine."

Winchester.—"And I pray you, where is one of them?"

Woodman.—"Nay, that judge yourself; I came not hither to be a judge."

Winchester.—"Well, here you have affirmed, that Judas, your master, ate more than bread; but yet he ate not the body of Christ, as you have declared by your words. For you had a hell burning in your conscience, because you were in doubt that the commissioners understood by your words, that Judas had eaten the body of Christ, because you said, he ate more than bare bread. Therefore thou hadst a great sort of devils in thee; for in hell be many devils: and therefore the devil and Judas is thy master, by thine own words."

Woodman.—"Nay, I defy Judas and the devil, and his servants; for they be your masters, and you serve them, for any thing that I can see; I tell you truth."

Winchester.—"Nay, they be thy masters. For the devil is master where hell is, and thou saidst thou hadst a burning hell in thee. I pray thee tell me, how thou canst avoid it, but that the devil was in thee, by thine own saying?"

Woodman.—"The hell that I had, was the loving correction of God toward me, to call me to repentance, that I should not offend God and his people in leaving things so dark, as I left that. For the which cause my conscience bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the sting of it, when I have broken the commandments of God by any means, as all God's people do, I dare say; and it is the loving-kindness of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your conscience is never troubled, how wickedly soever you do: for if it were, it should not be so strange to you as you make it, which declareth plainly whose servant you be."

Winchester.—"What a naughty fellow is this! This is such a perverse villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a book, I will make him swear, to answer directly to such things as I will demand of him; and if he will not answer, I will condemn him."

Woodman.—"Call you me a fellow! I am such a fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to hell, if you consent to the shedding of my blood, and you shall have blood to drink, as saith St. John in his

Revelation, the ninth chapter. And being in hell, you shall be compelled to say, for pain of conscience, This is the man that we have had in derision, and thought his life madness, and his end to be without honour; but now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished. This shall you say in hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you shall find in the fifth chapter of the Book of Wisdom: and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counsel."

Winchester.—"Wisdom! what speakest thou of wisdom? thou never hadst it; for thou art as very a fool as ever I heard speak."

Woodman.—"Do you not know, that the foolish things of this world must confound the wise things? Wherefore it grieveth me not to be called a fool at your hands."

Winchester.—"Nay, thou art none of those fools; thou art an obstinate fool, and a heretic. Lay hand on the book, and answer to such things as I will lay against thee."

Woodman.—"I will lay hand on the book for none of you all. You be not my bishop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you."

Winchester.—"I will have to do with you. This man is without law, he careth not for the king nor queen, I dare say; for he will not obey their laws. Let me see the king's commission. I will see whether he will obey that, or not."

Woodman.—"I would you loved the king and queen's Majesty no worse than I do, if it pleased God: you would not do as you do then."

Winchester.—"Hold him a book; he is a rank heretic. Thou shalt answer to such things as I will demand of thee."

Woodman.—"I take heaven and earth to record I am no heretic, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to prison, no more than any man here can tell." And therewith I looked round about on the people, and said to the bishop, "If you have any just cause against me worthy of death, lay it against me, and let me have it; for I refuse not to die (I praise God) for the truth's sake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cause, let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children to see them kept, and other poor folk that I would set awork by the help of God. I have set on work a hundred persons ere this, all the year together, and was unjustly taken from them: but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will."

Winchester.—"Do you not see how he looketh about for help? But I would see any man show thee a cheerful countenance, and especially you that be of my diocese. If any of you bid God strengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or

show him a cheerful countenance, you shall be excommunicated, and shall not be received in again, till you have done open penance; and therefore beware of it!"

Woodman.—"I look for no help of men, for God is on my side, I praise him there-for; and therefore I need not to care who be against me, neither do I care."

Then they cried, "Away with him, and bring us another." So I was carried again to the Marshalsea, where I am now merry, (I praise God there-for,) as a sheep appointed to be slain.—But for lack of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefest of it.

The sixth and last examination of Richard Woodman, written and copied with his own hand.

Be it known unto all men by this present writing, that I Richard Woodman, sometime of the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, was condemned for God's everlasting truth, anno 1557, July the sixteenth, by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, there sitting with him the same time the bishop of Chichester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Master Roper, with a fat-headed priest, I cannot tell his name. All these consented to the shedding of my blood, upon this occasion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the sacrament with a sop, and the devil withal; and because I would not be sworn upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as he would declare to me; and because I would not believe that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of consecration, and that the body of Christ could not be received of any but of the faithful, for these articles I was condemned, as hereafter shall follow more at large, by the help of God.

First, the bishop of Winchester said when I came before him, "You were before us on Monday last past; and there you affirmed certain heresies. How say you now? Do you hold them still, or will you revoke them?"

Woodman.—"I held no heresies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth."

Winchester.—"No? did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? which is no heresy, unless you tell what more than bread."

Woodman.—"Is it heresy to say, Judas received no more than bread? I said, he received more than bare bread, for he received the same sacrament that was prepared to show forth the Lord's death; and because he presumed to eat without faith, he ate the devil withal, as the words

of Christ declare ; after he ate the sop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny."

Winchester.—"Hold him a book. I will have you answer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Christ or no."

Woodman.—"I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocess ; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you."

Winchester.—"No ? you be in my diocess ; and you be of my diocess, because you have offended in my diocess."

Woodman.—"I am not of your diocess, although I am in your diocess, and I was brought into your diocess against my will : and I have not offended in your diocess : if I have, tell me wherein."

Winchester.—"Here, in your own hand-writing, the which is heresy. These be the words : 'I cannot find,' say you, 'that it is the body of Christ to any, before it is received in faith.' How say you ? is not this your own hand-writing ?"

Woodman.—"Yea, I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing. But when or where was it written, or where were the words spoken ?"

Winchester.—"Before the commissioners, and here is one of them. Master Roper ! the words were spoken before you : were they not ?"

Roper.—"Yes indeed, that they were. Woodman, I am sure you will not deny them ; for you have written the words even as you spake them."

Woodman.—"No sir, indeed I will not deny but that I spake them, and I am glad that you have seen it : for you may see by that, whether I lie, or not."

Roper.—"Indeed the words be written word by word as ye spake them."

Winchester.—"Well, here you affirm, that it is your own deed. How say you now ? will you be sorry for it, and become an honest man ?"

Woodman.—"My Lord, I trust no man can say, but that I am an honest man ; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lord of London discharged me of all matters that were laid against me, when I was released of him."

Winchester.—"You were released, and it might fortune it was not laid to your charge then ; therefore we lay it to your charge now, because you be suspected to be a heretic : and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon suspicion."

Woodman.—"Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I have in God ; and I am contented so to do, if it please my bishop to hear me."

Chichester.—"Yes, I pray you let us hear it."

Woodman.—"I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and of earth, and of all things visible and invisible ; and in one Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour, very God, and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my salvation."

Winchester.—"And how believe you in the blessed sacrament of the altar ?" And with that word they all put off their caps to that abominable idol.

Woodman.—"I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions ; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood."

Winchester.—"No ? Hold him a book. If he refuse to swear, he is an Anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated."

Woodman.—"I will not swear for you, excommunicate me if you will ; for you be not meet to take an oath ; for you laid heresies to my charge in yonder pulpit, the which you are not able to prove : wherefore you be not meet to take an oath of any man. And as for me, I am not of your diocess, nor will have any thing to do with you."

Winchester.—"I will have to do with thee, and I say thou art a strong heretic."

Woodman.—"Yea, all truth is heresy with you ; but I am content to show you my mind, how I believe on the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering : for that you look for, I am sure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold myself of it. I will not meddle of any other man's belief on it."

Harpfield.—"Why ? I am sure all men's faith ought to be alike."

Woodman.—"Yea, I grant you so, that all true Christians' faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for myself."

Harpfield.—"Well, let us hear what you say to it."

Woodman.—"I do believe, that when I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, if it be truly ministered according to Christ's institution, I coming in faith, as I trust in God I will, whensoever I come to receive it, I believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my sins, and that I shall be saved by his death and blood-shedding, and so receive the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and man, mystically by faith : this is my belief on the sacrament."

Then they spake all at once, saying, "Mystically by faith!"

The fat priest.—"What a fool art thou: 'mystically by faith!' Thou canst not tell what 'mystically' is?"

Woodman.—"If I be a fool, so take me. But God hath chosen such fools of this world, to confound such wise things as you are."

The fat priest.—"I pray thee, what is 'mystically'?"

Woodman.—"I take 'mystically' to be the faith that is in us; that the world seeth not, but God only."

Winchester.—"He cannot tell me what he saith. Answer to the sacrament of the altar, whether it be not the body of Christ before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Christ to whomsoever [he be that] receiveth it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate thee."

Woodman.—"I have said as much as I will say. Excommunicate me if you will: I am none of your diocess. The bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary. Let him do it, if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands."

Chichester.—"I am not consecrated yet; I told you when you were with me."

Woodman.—"No indeed! your kine bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it chanceth now;" meaning thereby he had not his bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to naught; and said I was out of my wits, because I spake fervently to every man's question; all the which I cannot remember, but I said, "So Festus said to Paul, when he spake the words of soberness and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourselves. You will go to hell, all the sort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with speed."

Then my keeper, and the sheriff's deputy Fuller, rebuked me, because I spake so sharply to them. And I said, "I pray you let me alone; I must answer for my life." Then there was much ado that I should keep silence, and so I held my peace.

Then spake the bishop of Winchester and the archdeacon of Canterbury, saying, "We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to save thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee."

Woodman.—"To save my soul! Nay, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already: I praise God there-for. There can no man save my soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that hath saved my soul, before the foundation of the world was laid."

The fat priest.—"What a heresy is that, my Lord! here is another heresy! He saith his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy soul saved before it was?"

Woodman.—"Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in Ephesians i., and there you shall find it, where Paul saith, Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, by Christ, according as he hath chosen us in himself before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him, through love; and thereto were we predestinated. These be the words of Paul, and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that saveth; and not you, or any man else."

The fat priest.—"What! faith without works? St. James saith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free-will to do good works."

Woodman.—"I would not that any of you should think that I disallow good works: for a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God, as saith St. Paul to the Philippians, chap. ii., It is God that worketh in us both the will and also the deed, even of good will."

Winchester.—"Make an end: answer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury: he is made your ordinary by my Lord Cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuse it not; for the danger is great, if you do. Wherefore we desire you to show yourself a subject in this matter."

Then they spake all, and said, "Lo! my Lord desireth you gently to answer to him, and so we do all. For if you refuse to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinal may put whom he will in the bishop's office, until he is consecrated."

Woodman.—"I know not so much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it, (if I can prove it to be as you say,) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demand of me, without any flattering."

Priest.—"My Lord, and all we, tell thee it is true; and therefore answer to him."

Woodman.—"I will believe none of you all, for you be turncoats and changelings, and be wavering-minded, as saith St. James; you be neither hot nor cold, as saith St. John, therefore God will spew you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth."

Winchester.—"What! be we turncoats and changelings; what meanest thou by that?"

Woodman.—"I mean, that in King Edward's time, you taught the doctrine that was set forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turncoats and changelings, as I may well enough:" which words made the most part of them to quake.

Winchester.—"Nay, not all, as it chanced."

Woodman.—"No! I pray where were you then?"

Winchester.—"I was in the Tower, as the lieutenant will bear me record."

Woodman.—"If you were in the Tower, it was not there-for, I dare say; it was for some other matter."

Then they all took heart of grace, and said, "My Lord, he cometh to examine you, we think: if he will not answer to the articles, you were best to excommunicate him."

Winchester.—"He is the naughtiest varlet-heretic that ever I knew. I will read the sentence against him."

Then they spake all at once, and I answered them as fast as I could. But I cannot remember it all, the words came out so thick. I spared them not, I praise God there-for; for I spake freely.

Then they that stood by rebuked me, and said, "You cannot tell to whom you speak, I think."

Woodman.—"No! think you so? They be but men. I am sure I have spoken to as good as they be, and better than they will ever be, for any thing that I can see, if they repent not with speed."

Winchester.—"Give ear; for I will read sentence against you."

Woodman.—"Will you so? wherefore will you? You have no just cause to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not; and I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God's sake, if I had a hundred lives."

Winchester.—"For God's sake? nay, for the devil's sake! Thou sayest thou art not afraid to die: no more was Judas that hanged himself, as thou wilt kill thyself wilfully, because thou wilt not be ruled."

Woodman.—"Nay, I defy the devil, Judas, and all their members. And Judas's flesh was not afraid, but his spirit and conscience were afraid, and therefore [he] despaired and hung himself. But I praise God, I feel no loathsomeness in my flesh to die, but a joyful conscience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my flesh is subdued to it, I praise God; and therefore I am not afraid of death."

Chichester.—"Woodman, for God's sake be

ruled. You know what you said to me at my house. I could say more, if I would."

Woodman.—"Say what you can; the most fault that you found in me was, because I praised the living God, and because I said, I praise God, and the Lord: which you ought to be ashamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written."

Winchester.—"Well, how say you? will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? tell me plainly."

Woodman.—"My Lord, if you, or any of you all, can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of the which matter I desire all this people to be witness."

Priest.—"Will you so? then we shall agree well enough. St. Paul saith so."

Woodman.—"I pray you where saith he so? rehearse the words."

Priest.—"In 1 Cor. xi. he saith, 'Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body.'"

Woodman.—"Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them." They were contented. Then said I, "These be the words even that you said, (good people, hearken well to them,) Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily. He saith not, Whoso eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily: but he saith, Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, (which is the sacrament,) eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference between the sacrament which representeth the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people! you may all see they are not able to prove their sayings true. Wherefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do."

Winchester.—"Thou art a rank heretic indeed Art thou an expounder? Now I will read sentence against thee."

Woodman.—"Judge not, lest you be judged for as you have judged me, you be yourself." Then he read the sentence. "Why," said I, "will you read the sentence against me, and cannot tell wherefore?"

Winchester.—"Thou art a heretic, and therefore thou shalt be excommunicated."

Woodman.—"I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witness; I defy all heretics; and you condemn me, you will be damned, if you re-
per

not. But God give you grace to repent all, if it be his will."

And so he read forth the sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me! When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, "Away! away with him!" So I was carried to the Marshalsea again, where I am, and shall be as long as it shall please God. And I praise God most heartily, that ever he hath elected and predestinated me to come to so high dignity as to bear rebuke for his name's sake; his name be praised there-for, for ever and ever. Amen.

And thus have you the examinations of this blessed Woodman, or rather *Goodman*; wherein may appear as well the great grace and wisdom of God in that man, as also the gross ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adversaries, especially of Dr. White, bishop of Winchester. Now followeth likewise the effect of his letter.

A godly letter of Richard Woodman, written to a Christian woman, Mistress Roberts of Hankhurst.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, by the operation and working of the Holy Ghost, be multiplied plenteously upon you, dear sister Roberts, that you may the more joyfully bear the cross of Christ that ye are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and consolation, and to all our brethren and sisters that are round about you, both now and ever. Amen.

"In my most humble wise I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and sisters in those parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certifying you, that I and all my brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praise God there-for, looking daily to be dissolved from these our mortal bodies, according to the good pleasure of our heavenly Father; praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have showed unto God's elect people, in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of God's good will and favour towards you, and to all others that hear thereof: for blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare alway what the tree is; for a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, bring forth good things.

"Wherefore, dear sister, it is not as many affirm in these days, (the more it is to be lamented,) that say God asketh but a man's heart; which is the greatest injury that can be devised against God

and his word. For St. James saith, Show me thy faith by thy deeds, and I will show thee my faith by my deeds; saying, the devils have faith, and tremble for fear, and yet shall be but devils still, because their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our faith be made manifest to the whole world by our deeds; and in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, as St. Paul saith, let our light shine as in a dark place.

"O dear hearts! now is the gospel of God overwhelmed with many black and troublesome clouds of persecution, for the which cause very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the gospel, for fear of losing of the treasures of this world, which are but vain and shall perish. Let not us therefore be like unto them which light their candle, and put it under a bushel; but let us set our candle upon a candlestick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the house; that is to say, let all the people of the household of God see our good works, in suffering all things patiently that shall be laid upon us for the gospel's sake, if it be death itself. For Christ died for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps; and as he hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, to the comfort of our brethren.

"How is it, then, that some will say that their faith is good; and yet they do all the deeds of antichrist the devil, and be not ashamed to allege certain scriptures to maintain their wickedness? St. Paul saith, to believe with the heart justifieth, and to confess with the mouth maketh a man safe. O good God! here may all men see, that no man or woman can have a true faith, unless they have deeds also; and he that doubteth, is like the waves of the sea tossed about of the wind, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hands. May not a man judge all such to be like those which St. John speaketh of, that be neither hot nor cold; and therefore God will (he saith) spew them out of his mouth? If we judge evil of such, have not they given us occasion? Had it not been better for them to have had a millstone tied about their necks, and to have been cast into the sea, than they should give such offences to God's elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the synagogues of Satan, and there to receive the mark of the beast: in that they see and hear God blasphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow their doings to be good? And these do not only defile themselves, but also be an occasion to confirm the papists in their papistry, and so be an occasion of our weak

brother's falling, the which will be all required at their hands; which will be too heavy a burden for them to bear, if they repent it not with speed. For they that know their Master's will, and do it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Oh! do not we perceive, that now is the acceptable time that Christ speaketh of? yea, even now is the axe put to the roots of the trees, so that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits now, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire.

"Now is the Lord come with his fan in his hand, to try the wheat from the chaff. The wheat will he gather into his barn, and the chaff he will burn, as is aforesaid. Now is the time come, that we must go meet the Bridegroom with oil in our lamps. We are also bidden to the feast; let us make no excuses. Yea, our Master hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with vantage. Yea, now is the Lord come, to see if there be any fruit upon his trees: so that if the Lord come and find none, he will serve us as he did the wild fig tree; that is, never fruit shall grow on him more. Also, if we go to meet the Bridegroom without oil in our lamps, and should go to buy, the doubt is, we should be served as were the foolish virgins; that was, God said to them, Depart, I know you not. Or if we should make excuses to come to the feast, others shall be bidden in our rooms. If we occupy not our talents well, they shall be taken from us and given to others, and all such unprofitable servants shall be cast into prison in hell, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

"O good God! what a sort of fearful sayings are here contained! what Christian heart will not hearken diligently hereto! O may not all people well perceive now, that this is the time that our Master Christ speaketh of, that the father should be against the son, and the son against the father, and one brother against another, that the brother shall deliver the brother to death: yea, and that the wicked shall say all manner of wicked sayings against us for his name's sake? the which I have well found by experience, I praise God there-for, that hath given me strength to bear it: for I think there can be no evil devised, but it hath been imagined against me, and that of my familiar friends, as David saith. But I praise my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their sayings true, but that they go about to find fault in them that God hath chosen, because they themselves list not to take up their cross and follow Christ; and therefore they speak evil of the thing that they know not, the which shall give account for it before Him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

"But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counsel of St. John, saying, My sheep will hear my voice; strangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye should not believe strangers; counting them strangers that go about to subvert the gospel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well or ever you give credit to them, according to St. John's counsel, in his Epistle, saying, "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will speak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore, dear sister, be of good cheer, and give no credit to such people, whatsoever ye hear them say. For I have no mistrust by God's help, but that all the world shall see and know that my blood shall not be dear in mine own sight, whensoever it shall please God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I do earnestly believe, that God which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace, and will alway, to bear this easy yoke and light burden; the which I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

"For when I have been in prison, wearing one-while bolts, otherwhile shackles, otherwhile lying on the bare ground; sometime sitting in the stocks; sometime bound with cords, that all my body hath been swollen; much like to be overcome for the pain that hath been in my flesh; sometime fain to lie without in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro; few, I say, that durst keep my company for fear of the rulers; sometime brought before the justices, sheriffs, lords, doctors, and bishops; sometime called dog, sometime devil, heretic, whore-monger, traitor, thief, deceiver, with divers other such like; yea, and even they that did eat of my bread, that should have been most my friends by nature, have betrayed me. Yet, for all this, I praise my Lord God that hath separated me from my mother's womb, all this that hath happened unto me hath been easy, light, and most delectable and joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed; for I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings true. But that way that they call heresy, I serve my Lord God; and at all times, before whomsoever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wisdom, where-against all my adversaries have not been able to resist, I praise God there-for.

"Wherefore, dear sister, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and sisters; and take no thought what you shall say, for it shall be given you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all other of God's elect shall well find, when the time is full come. And

whereas I and many others have hoped, that this persecution would have been at an end ere this time, now I perceive, God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, that no man should rejoice in himself, but he that rejoiceth shall rejoice in God. Wherefore if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear hath painfulness, but a perfect love casteth out all fear; which love I have no mistrust but God hath poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world shall be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ; but by him I trust you shall enter into new Jerusalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen."

After these examinations thus had and commenced between Richard Woodman and the bishops, he was (as is afore told) judged by sentence of condemnation, and so deprived of his life.

With Woodman also were burnt nine others; to wit, five men and four women, which were taken not past two or three days before their judgment; the names of all which being also before expressed, here again follow in this order: Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Mainard, Alexander Hosman, his servant, Thomasin à Wood, his maid, Margery Moris, James Moris, her son, Dennis Burgis, Ashdon's wife, Grove's wife. These persons here above-named, and blessed martyrs, were put to death at Lewes the twenty-second of June. Of the which number the eight last were apprehended (as is said) either the same day, or the second or third day before, and so with the said Woodman and Stevens were together committed to the fire; in which space no writ could come down from London to the justices, for their burning. Wherefore what is to be said to such justices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the laws of this realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found also of other justices, who, without any lawful writ of discharge or order of law, have unlawfully and disorderly burnt the servants of Christ, (whose blood the law both may and also ought to revenge,) especially at Salisbury, and at Canterbury, and Guernsey. But concerning these matters, though man's law do wink, or rather sleep, at them, yet they shall be sure God's law will find such murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

One Ambrose, a confessor, who died in Maidstone prison.

After these ten above-named, burnt at Lewes, about the same time and month one Ambrose died in Maidstone prison, who else should have been burnt in the like cause and quarrel as the others were.

The condemnation and martyrdom of Richard Lush.

In the registers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to King Philip and Queen Mary, of one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burnt for the cause of heresy, whose affirmations in the said certificate be expressed in tenor and effect as followeth:—

"First, For denying the verity of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. Item, For denying auricular confession to be made to the priest.

"3. Item, For affirming only to be three sacraments; to wit, of baptism, of the supper, and of matrimony.

"4. Item, For refusing to call the Lord's supper by the name of the sacrament of the altar.

"5. Item, For denying purgatory; and that prayer and alms profit not the dead.

"6. Item, That images are not to be suffered in the church; and that all that kneel to images at the church be idolaters.

"7. Item, That they which were burnt of late for religion, died God's servants and good martyrs.

"8. Item, For condemning the single life of priests, and other votaries.

"9. Item, For denying the universal and catholic church; meaning belike the church of Rome."

For these assertions, as there are expressed, he was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, and also a certificate directed by the bishop aforesaid, to the king and queen: whereby we have apparently to understand, that the said Richard Lush, thus condemned by Bishop Bourn, was there burnt and executed, unless peradventure in the mean season he died, or was made away in the prison; whereof I have no certainty to express.

A note of John Hullier, minister and martyr, burnt at Cambridge.

Concerning the story of John Hullier, martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full declaration of the death and martyrdom of that good man, because the story is but rawly and imperfectly touched before; for the more perfecting thereof, I



thought there-
unto to add
that, which
since hath
come to my
hand, as fol-
loweth.

First, John Hullier was brought up at Eton College; and after, according to the foundation of that house, for that he was ripe for the university, he was elected scholar in the King's College, where also, not tarrying full three years of probation before he was fellow of the college, he after a little season was one of the ten conducts in the King's College, which was anno 1539.

Then at length, in process of time, he came to be curate of Babraham, three miles from Cambridge, and so went afterward to Lynn; where he, having divers conflicts with the papists, was from thence carried to Ely, to Dr. Thirleby, then bishop there; who, after divers examinations, sent him to Cambridge castle, where he remained but a while. From thence he was conveyed to the town prison, commonly called the Tolbooth, lying there almost a quarter of a year, while at length he was cited to

appear at Great St. Mary's on Palm Sunday eve, before divers doctors, both divines and lawyers, amongst whom was chiefest Dr. Shaxton; also Dr. Young, Dr. Segewick, Dr. Scot, Mitch, and others; where after examination had, for that he would not recant, he was first condemned, the sentence being read by Dr. Fuller.

Then consequently he was degraded after their popish manner, with scraping crown and hands. When they had degraded him, he said cheerfully, "This is the joyfulest day that ever I saw; and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this paltry."

In the mean time, whilst it was doing, one standing by asked Hullier what book he had in his hand; who answered, "A Testament:" whereat this man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the secular powers, Brasey being mayor, who, carrying him to prison again, took from him all his books, writings, and papers.

On Maundy-Thursdaiy coming to the stake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himself, one spake to him, saying, "The Lord strengthen thee:" whereat a sergeant, named Brisley, stayed and bade him

hold his tongue, or else he should repent it. Nevertheless Hullier answered and said either thus or very like, (the effect was all one,) "Friend, I trust that as God hath hitherto begun, so also he will strengthen me, and finish his work upon me. I am bidden to a Maundy, whither I trust to go, and there to be shortly. God hath laid the foundation, as I by his aid will end it."

Then going to a stool, (prepared for him to sit on,) to have his hosen plucked off, he desired the people to pray for him again, and also to bear witness that he died in the right faith, and that he would seal it with his blood; certifying them, that he died in a just cause, and for the testimony of the verity and truth, and that there was no other rock but Jesus Christ to build upon, under whose banner he fought, and whose soldier he was; and yet speaking, he turned himself about toward the east, and exhorted the people there likewise.

Now it chanced on a bank to stand three arch-papists, George Boyes, Henry Barley, and Gray, all three of Trinity College. This Boyes was one of the proctors of the university that year; to whom Master Gray spake, saying, "Hear ye not, Master Proctor, what blasphemy this fellow uttereth? Surely it is evil done to suffer him." At whose words, this Boyes spake with a loud voice: "Master Mayor! what mean ye? If ye suffer him thus to talk at liberty, I tell ye the council shall hear of it, and we take you not to be the queen's friend. He is a pernicious person, and may do more harm than you wot of." Whereat simple Hullier, as meek as a lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no answer, but made him ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himself to the stake, and with chains being bound, was beset with reed and wood, standing in a pitch-barrel; and the fire being set to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earnestly to call upon God. Nevertheless his friends, perceiving the fire to be ill-kindled, caused the sergeants to turn it, and fire it to that place where the wind might blow it to his face.

That done, there was a company of books which were cast into the fire; and by chance a communion-book fell between his hands, who received it joyfully, opened it, and read so long till the force of the flame and smoke caused him that he could see no more. And then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to heaven, and the book betwixt his arms next his heart, thanking God for sending him it. And at that time, the day being a very fair day and a hot, yet the wind was somewhat up, and it caused the fire to be the fiercer; and when all the people thought he had been dead, he sud-

denly uttered these words, "Lord Jesus! receive my spirit;" dying very meekly.

The place where he was burned, is called Jesus Green, not far from Jesus College. Seagar gave him certain gunpowder, but little to the purpose; for he was dead before it took fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a tear was shed for him; which the papists seeing, cried, "he was not to be prayed for; and being but a damned man, it could profit him nothing." Nevertheless they continued praying; whereat the papists fell into such a rage, that they menaced them with terrible threatenings to ward.

His flesh being consumed, his bones stood upright even as if they had been alive. Of the people, some took what they could get of him, as pieces of bones. One had his heart, the which was distributed so far as it would go; one took the scalp, and looked for the tongue, but it was consumed except the very root. —One rounded him in the ear, and desired him to be constant to the end; at which he spake nothing, but showed a joyful countenance, and so continued both constant and joyful to the end.

A note of Thomas Read.

Thomas Read, (who was burnt at Lewes, as it appeareth above,) before he was in prison, determined with himself to go to church. The night following he saw a vision, a company of tall young men in white, very pleasant to behold: to whom he would have joined himself, but it would not be. Then he looked on himself, and he was full of spots: and therewith waked, and took hold, and stood to the truth; God be thanked there-for! And so constantly was burned with his fellows, as is above specified.

The burning of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, at Norwich.

In the month of July, next ensued the martyrdom of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling in the town of Lynn, a godly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary enforced religion then set forth, came from Lynn to Norwich, where he, standing in the press, and hearing of the people, coming out the same time from their popish service ended in the church, began to ask them coming out of the church, where he might go to have the communion. At which words, divers much marvelling to hear and see his boldness, one that was an evil-disposed papist hearing the same, said, that if he would needs go to a communion, he would go bring him thither where he should be sped of his purpose. Whereupon, shortly after, he

was brought to the chancellor of Norwich, whose name was Dunning, who, after a few words, and small talk passed with this examinee, committed him to ward.

In the mean while as he was in examination, he had in his shoe his confession, written in a certain paper, whereof a piece appearing above his shoe, was spied and taken out. The chancellor asking if he would stand to the confession of the same faith therein contained, he constantly affirmed the same; whereupon, as is said, he was committed. Thus the said Simon being in the bishop's house, under custody of the keeper there, called Master Felow, how it happened it is not certain, whether by gentleness of the keeper, (who was somewhat gentle that ways,) or by leave given of the bishop, or else whether he had condescended of a purpose to their articles, he was dismissed, and went home to his house at Lynn; where he continued a certain space, while he had disposed and set there all things in order.

That done, he returned again to the bishop's house to his prison and keeper, till the time. At length he, constantly abiding in his professed purpose, and defence of God's truth, was, by the said bishop and his chancellor, condemned and committed to the fire about the thirteenth day of July.

With this Simon Miller also was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper, (as is aforesaid,) a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's parish, in Norwich, where she had before recanted; and being unquiet for the same, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the last she came into the said St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popish service; and there standing in the same, said she revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily sorry that ever she did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. These, or such-like words, she spake in the church.

Then cried one Bacon of the said parish, laying his arms abroad, saying, "Master Sheriff! will you suffer this?" and repeating the same, urged him to go from the church to her house, at whose knocking she came down, and was taken and sent to prison.

The sheriff (named Master Thomas Sutton) and she had been servants together before in one house, and for the friendship he bare unto her, and the more for the gospel's sake, he was very loth to do it, but that he was enforced by those other persons before specified, much against his own conscience, which he now earnestly repenteth.

This good woman being condemned, and at the stake with Simon Miller, to be burnt, when the

fire came unto her, she a little shrank thereat, with a voice crying, "Hah!" When the said Simon Miller heard the same, he put his hand behind him toward her, and willed her to be strong and of good cheer: "for, good sister," said he, "we shall have a joyful and a sweet supper:" whereat she, being as it seemed thereby strengthened, stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which before most happily she had begun. So, in fine, she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her soul into the hands of Almighty God.

The martyrdom of ten faithful and blessed martyrs, five men and five women, burnt at Colchester, five in the forenoon, and five in the afternoon, for the testimony and witness of Christ Jesus and his glorious gospel.



It is no new thing in those whom we call prelates and priests of the church, to be raisers-up of persecution against Christ and his poor flock; so it is

much to be marvelled, or rather lamented, that noble persons, and men of honour and worship, would be made such ministers, to serve the affections of these tyrants, as commonly, as well in all the sorrowful days of the late Queen Mary, as namely in this present story is to be marked.

And first thou rememberest, gentle reader, how mention was made a little before of twenty-two, which were sent up prisoners together from Colchester to London by the earl of Oxford, the Lord Darcy, Master Tyrrel of St. Osyth's, and other commissioners and justices, &c.; the which twenty-two, as is aforesaid, through a gentle submission put unto them, were afterward released and delivered.

In the number of these foresaid twenty-two, was one William Mount, of Much Bentley, in Essex, husbandman, with Alice his wife, and Rose Allin, maid, the daughter of the said Alice Mount; which coming home again to their house at Much Bentley aforesaid, refrained themselves from the unsavoury service of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women, which gave themselves diligently to reading, invoking and calling upon the name of God through Christ; whereby they so fretted the wicked priest of the town, called Sir Thomas Tye, and others like unto

him, that casting their heads together, they made a pestilent supplication to the Lord Darcy, in the name of the whole parish, the tenor whereof hereafter followeth.

“Pleaseth it your honourable Lordship to be advertised, that we confess, whilst your good Lordship lay here in the country, the people were stayed in good order, to our great comfort. But, since your Lordship’s departure, they have made digression from good order in some places, and namely in the parish of Much Bentley, by reason of three seditious persons, William Mount and his wife, and Rose, her daughter, who, by their colourable submission, (as it doth appear,) were dismissed and sent down from the bishop of London; and since their coming home they have not only in their own persons showed manifest signs and tokens of disobedience, in not coming to the church, nor yet observing other good orders, but also most maliciously and seditiously have seduced many from coming to the church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking also those that frequent the church, and calling them church owls, and blasphemously calling the blessed sacrament of the altar a blind god, with divers such-like blasphemies. In consideration whereof, may it please your Honour (for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good Lordship beareth to justice, and the common peace and quietness of the king and queen’s Majesties’ loving subjects) to award out your warrant for the said William Mount, his wife, and Rose, her daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good Lordship, we trust the rest will fear to offend, (their ringleaders of sedition being apprehended,) to the quietness of their obedient subjects.

“Your daily orators, the parishioners of Much Bentley, Thomas Tye, priest, John Carter, Thomas Candler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, William Harris, John Richard, with others.”

This being done, the said Sir Thomas Tye be-thought with himself, where the persecuted did resort. For, in the beginning of Queen Mary’s reign, for a twelvemonth and more he came not to the church, but frequented the company of godly men and women, which abstained from the same; and as they thought, he laboured to keep a good conscience: but the sequel showed him to be a false brother.

Now, as I said, he, partly knowing the places of refuge for honest men, did further inquire of other men about the same: and, being thereof sufficiently (as he thought) instructed to his purpose, immediately about the time the supplication above speci-

fied was exhibited to the said Lord Darcy, wrote secretly a letter to Bonner, bishop of London, wherein he maketh his account how he had bestowed his time, and complained of divers honest men, among which was the said William Mount and his company; the tenor of which letter hereafter followeth.

“Right honourable Lord, after my bounden duty done in most humble wise, these shall be to signify unto your Lordship the state of our parts, concerning religion. And first, since the coming down of the twenty-two rank heretics dismissed from you, the detestable sort of schismatics were never so bold since the king and queen’s Majesties’ reign, as they are now at this present. In Much Bentley, where your Lordship is patron of the church, since William Mount, and Alice, his wife, with Rose Allin, her daughter, came home, they do not only absent themselves from the church and service of God, but do daily allure many other away from the same, which before did outwardly show signs and tokens of obedience.

“They assemble together upon the sabbath day in the time of divine service, sometimes in one house, sometimes in another, and there keep their privy conventicles, and schools of heresy. The jurats say, the lords’ commission is out, and they are discharged of their oath. The questmen in your archdeacon’s visitation alleged, that forasmuch as they were once presented, and now sent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your officers say, (namely, Master Boswell,) that the council sent them not home without a great consideration. I pray God some of your officers prove not favourers of heretics. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester.

“The ministers of the church are hemmed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting are not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife, both in town and country, in as ample and large manner, as though there had no honourable lords and commissioners been sent for reformation thereof. The occasion riseth partly by reason of John Love, of Colchester heath, a perverse place; which John Love was twice indicted of heresy; and thereupon fled with his wife and household, and his goods seized within the town of Colchester, to the king and queen’s Majesties’ use. Nevertheless the said John is come home again, and nothing said or done to him. Whereupon the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the no little discomfort of good and catholic people, which daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and restoration of his

church again: which thing shall come the sooner to pass, through the travail and pains of such honourable lords and reverend fathers as your Lordship is, unto whom I wish long life and continuance, with increase of much honour. From Colchester, the eighteenth of December.

“Your humble beadsman,
THOMAS TYE, priest.

“The second Sunday after the feast of the blessed Trinity, I heard Master Feckenham preach at Paul's Cross; the next day after I departed out of London towards Much Wakering. The third Sunday after Trinity I preached at Much Wakering. The fourth Sunday I preached at Harwich, and reconciled, there, twelve persons to the unity of the church. The fifth Sunday I preached at Great Wakering; the sixth Sunday at Great Wakering; the seventh Sunday at Langenhoe; the eighth Sunday at Peldon; the ninth Sunday at Great Wakering; the tenth Sunday the aches took me; the eleventh Sunday I preached at Much Bentley.”

Here followeth a mischievous information of a wicked priest to Bonner against good men.

The principal teachers of heretical doctrine in London, by Stephen Morris's confession.

“The first, Master Laurence of Barnhall, John Barry, his servant; and John Jeffrey, brother-in-law to Master Laurence: these three do lie and abide, when they be in London, at an alehouse in Cornhill, over against the conduit: the man's name is John Dudman. These three are the greatest, and do most harm in persuading the people.

“Robert Coles and his wife, John Ledley and his wife, William Punt, a bachelor: these three do lie at the sign of the Bell in Gracechurch Street, in a common inn. And two of them, namely, John Ledley and Robert Coles, are great counsellors, and do resort much unto the King's Bench, unto the prisoners, about matters of religion. The other, namely, William Punt, is and hath been a great writer of devilish and erroneous books of certain men's doings; and doth convey them over, and causeth them there to be imprinted, to the great hurt of ignorant people; as it is to be proved. For upon Palm Sunday last, he had in his bosom a certain book against the sect of the Anabaptists, and, as he was arriving upon the Thames towards Gray's, there he did read it; and had shipped at that present, by report, and as due proof is to be had by these two men, Robert Coles and John Ledley, (for they were his council in conveying them over,) to the value of a barrel-full of books. These I do know; for I partly know

all their doings in that viage. And the said Robert and John went over at the same time, about questions of religion, to the learned men that were over, to know their counsel in those matters, and so to turn back again upon the same. Thus much I know to be their doings.

“John Kempe and Henry Hart: these two do lie at the bridge-foot, in a cutler's house whose name is Curle; and namely, Henry Hart is the principal of all those that are called free-will men: for so they are termed of the Predestinators. And he hath drawn out thirteen articles to be observed amongst his company, and, as far as I do learn, there come none into their brotherhood except he be sworn. The other is a great traveller abroad into Kent, and what his doctrine is I am not able to say.

“Master Pulleyne, otherwise called Smith, Simon Harlestone, and William, a Scot. These three were preachers in King Edward's days, and their most abiding is at Colchester in Essex; and most commonly they do lie at the King's Head in Colchester. And these two, namely, Master Pulleyne and the Scot, do often travel over to the duchess of Suffolk, (for they were her chaplains,) and what their doings are there I know not. And as for Simon Harlestone, his abiding is always at a place in Essex called Dedham, four miles from Colchester, at one Harris's house, a tucker, and he is a great persuader of the people, and they do mightily build upon his doctrine. If these, or any other, do resort unto London, at the ale-house in Cornhill there will be news of them, for there is much resort unto that house.”

When Judasly this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, within a while after the storms began to arise against those poor persecuted, William Mount and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themselves from the heat thereof. And continuing so a little space, at last, the seventh day of March, anno 1557, being the first Sunday in Lent, and by two of the clock in the morning, one Master Edmund Tyrrel (who came of the house of those Tyrrels which murdered King Edward the Fifth and his brother) took with him the bailiff of the hundred, called William Simuel, dwelling in Colchester, and the two constables of Much Bentley aforesaid, named John Baker and William Harris, with divers others a great number; and besetting the house of the said William Mount round about, called to them at length to open the door: which being done, Master Tyrrel with certain of his company went into the chamber where the said father Mount and his wife

lay, willing them to rise: "for," said he, "you must go with us to Colchester castle." Mother Mount, hearing that, being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink; for she was (she said) very ill at ease.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Rose Allin, maid, took a stone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother: and as she came back again through the house, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counsel, and advertise them to be better catholic people.

Rose.—"Sir, they have a better instructor than I; for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err."

"Why," said Master Tyrrel, "art thou still in

that mind, thou naughty housewife? Marry, it is time to look upon such heretics indeed."

Rose.—"Sir, with that which you call heresy, do I worship my Lord God; I tell you troth."

Tyrrel.—"Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake."

Rose.—"No, sir, not for company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if so I be compelled; and I hope in his mercies, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it."

So he, turning to his company, said, "Sirs, this gossip will burn: do you not think it?" "Marry, sir," quoth one, "prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by."

Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross-wise over the back thereof



so long, till the very sinews cracked asunder. Witness hereof William Candler, then dwelling in Much Bentley,

Bright of Romford, with Ann Starkey, her maid, to whom Rose Allin also both declared the same; and the said Mistress Bright also ministered salve for the curing thereof, as she lay in her house at Romford, going up towards London with other prisoners. In which time of his tyranny, he said often to her, "Why, whore! wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore! wilt thou not cry?" Unto which always she answered, that she had no cause,

who was there present and saw it. Also Mistress

she thanked God, but rather to rejoice. He had (she said) more cause to weep than she, if he considered the matter well. In the end, when the sinews (as I said) brake, that all the house heard them, he then thrust her from him violently, and said, "Ah! strong whore; thou shameless beast! thou beastly whore!" &c., with such-like vile words.

But she, quietly suffering his rage for the time, at the last said, "Sir, have ye done what ye will do?" And he said, "Yea, and if thou think it be not well, then mend it."

"Mend it!" said Rose; "nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn to the head also. For he that set you a-work, shall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you." And so she went and carried her mother drink, as she was commanded.

Furthermore, after the searching of the house for more company, at the last they found one John Thurston and Margaret his wife there also, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester castle immediately.

And this said Rose Allin being prisoner, told a friend of hers this cruel act of the said Tyrrel; and showing him the manner thereof, she said, "While my one hand," quoth she, "was a burning, I, having a pot in my other hand, might have laid him on the face with it, if I had would; for no man held my hand to let me therein. But, I thank God," quoth she, "with all my heart, I did it not."

Also being asked of another, how she could abide the painful burning of her hand, she said, at first it was some grief to her, but afterward, the longer she burned, the less she felt, or well near none at all.

And because Master Tyrrel shall not go alone in this kind of cruelty, you shall hear another like example of a blind harper's hand burnt by Bishop Bonner, as is testified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, sometime gentleman to the said bishop, who declared before credible witness as followeth. How the said Bishop Bonner, having this blind harper before him, spake thus unto him: that such blind abjects which follow a sort of heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the first that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man said, that if every joint of him were burnt, yet he trusted in the Lord not to fly. Then Bonner, signifying privily to certain of his men about him what they should do, they brought to him a burning coal; which coal being put into the poor man's hand, they closed it fast again, and so was his hand piteously burnt. Amongst the doers whereof was the said Master

Valentine Dingley, witness and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in the story of Titus Livius of King Porsena, who, after the burning of the right hand of Mucius Scævola, which came purposely to kill him, being only contented therewith, sent him home to Rome again. But thus to burn the hands of poor men and women which never meant any harm unto them, and yet not contented with that, but also to consume their whole bodies without any just cause, we find no example of such barbarous tyranny, neither in Titus Livius, neither in any other story amongst the heathen.

But to return to our Colchester martyrs again, as touching William Mount and his wife, and burning of their daughter Rose Allin's hand, sufficient hath been declared. With the said William Mount and his family, was joined also in the same prison at Colchester another faithful brother, named John Johnson, alias Alike, of Thorpe, in the county of Essex, labourer, of the age of four and thirty years, having no wife alive, but three young children, who also were with them indicted of heresy, and so all these four lay together in Colchester castle.

The other six prisoners lay in Mote hall, in the said town of Colchester, whose names were: first, William Bongeor, of the parish of St. Nicholas, in Colchester, glazier, of the age of sixty years.

2. Thomas Benold, of Colchester, tallow-chandler.

3. William Purcas, of Bocking, in the county of Essex, fuller, a young man, of the age of twenty years.

4. Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, dwelling in Colchester, widow, of the age of forty years.

5. Helen Ewring, the wife of John Ewring, miller, dwelling in Colchester, of the age of forty-five years or thereabouts, who was one of the twenty-two prisoners mentioned before, sent up in bands from Colchester to London; and after being delivered with the rest, repaired home to Colchester again to her husband, where notwithstanding she enjoyed her liberty not very long; for shortly after her return, met with her one Robert Mainard, then bailiff of Colchester, a special enemy to God's gospel, who, spying her, came to her, and kissed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom she considerably answered again, and said, that it was but a Judas' kiss: "for in the end," quoth she, "I know you will betray me;" as indeed it came to pass, for immediately after that talk she was apprehended by him again, and there lodged with the rest in the town prison, (as is aforesaid,) called the Mote hall; where she remained till her death.

6. The sixth of this company was Elizabeth

Folkes, a young maid, and servant in Colchester, of the age of twenty years. These six were imprisoned in the town prison of Colchester, called Mote hall, as the other four, above specified, were in the castle.

In the time of the persecution of those persons above named, were certain constant faithful brethren and sisters examined in Mote hall, in Colchester, by Sir John Kingston, commissary, Master Roper, and one Master Boswell, the bishop's scribe, the twenty-ninth day of October, anno 1556; whose depositions the said Boswell penned after his manner, and, in a letter close-sealed, sent them to Bonner, bishop of London, the twenty-fourth day of the said month, in the year aforesaid. The tenor of which letter hereafter followeth, with their depositions and answers that stood faithfully unto the same, as they were written to the bishop, verbatim. The others I leave, and think it sufficient that the letter speaketh, for oppressing the book with such frivolous matter.

"My duty and my most humble commendations premised unto your honourable good Lordship, certifying the same, that Master Kingston, Master Roper, and I, according to your Lordship's letters, dated the fifth of October, have been at Colchester, and there taken the names, dwelling-places, and opinions, of certain wretched heretics, as by their depositions here enclosed appear; which heretics were delivered to Master Kingston by indenture, which he keepeth, as he saith, for his indemnity. If your Lordship's letters had not come in time, he had sent them up to London, for, when my servant came to him with the letters, he was then setting them forward; whereupon the king and queen's Majesties' honourable council wrote unto your Lordship, in their letters dated the first of October, that there were delivered to your Lordship's officers twenty-three persons, obstinately persisting in detestable heresies, Master Kingston desired me to certify your Lordship, that he received but twelve since the twenty-ninth of September last; of which number he hath reconciled six, namely, Elizabeth Wood, Christian Hare, Rose Fletcher, Joan Kent, Agnes Stanley, and Margaret Simson, so that there are no more remaining but six, whose names and depositions are here enclosed, of whom I suppose there are but three, namely, Purcas, Downes, and Johnson, that will persist in their obstinacy. The other three are delivered after a sort, mentioned in their said depositions, and I suppose they will be reconciled.

"It may please your good Lordship to be advertised, that I do see by experience, that the sworn inquest for heresies do, most commonly, indict the

simple, ignorant, and wretched heretics, and do let the arch-heretics go; which is one great cause that moveth the rude multitude to murmur, when they see the simple wretches (not knowing what heresy is) to burn. I wish, if it may be, that this common disease might be cured amongst the jurats of Essex; but, I fear me, it will not be, so long as some of them be, as they are, infected with the like disease. My duty had been, and my mind was, to have come unto your Lordship myself with these things, but being prevented with an ague, (daring not, as yet, to take upon me so great a journey,) I do send them by Master Staunton, your Lordship's receiver; trusting that he will safely deliver them. And, upon further knowledge of your Lordship's pleasure, all things shall be accomplished and done accordingly, to the best of my little power: as knoweth Almighty God, who send your Lordship prosperous health and long life, with increase of honour to his pleasure. Amen. From Maldon, this twenty-fourth day of October, anno 1556.

"Your Lordship's poor officer and daily bead-man,
JOHN BOSWELL."

Divers examinations these good men had at sundry times before divers justices, priests, and officers, as Master Roper, John Kingston, commissary, John Boswell, priest, and Bonner's scribe, and others more, whereof the said Boswell made relation to Bishop Bonner, certifying him of their depositions, as is here to be read.

The depositions, word for word, as Boswell wrote them to Bonner.

"Robert Purcas, of Bocking, in the county of Essex, where he was born, single man, a fuller by his occupation, lettered, twenty years of age, indicted of heresy, being examined saith: that he was not confessed of a long time, nor will he be confessed to any priest. He saith that priests have no power to remit sin. He will not come to the church, nor will he hear mass; for all that is idolatry. He saith he did receive the supper of the Lord, (otherwise called the sacrament of the altar,) in King Edward's time, as it was then set forth; but since that time, he hath not and will not receive it, except it be ministered to him as it was then. He saith that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, as it is now ministered, and they that do worship it are idolaters: for it is but bread and wine only. This fellow is obstinate, and a glorious prating heretic.

"Agnes Downes, alias May, alias Smith, alias Silverside, the relict of one Silverside, married priest, deceased, dwelling in Colchester, sixty years of age, and above, indicted for heresy, being ex-

amined saith: that the supper of the Lord (otherwise called the sacrament of the altar) is but bread and wine before it is received; and when it is received in faith, and ministered by a worthy minister, (as they be but few,) then it is Christ's flesh and his blood spiritually, and no otherwise. She saith that the sacrament is an idol, and ought not to be worshipped with knocking, kneeling, nor holding up of hands; for all that is idolatry. She will not come to the church; she will not hear mass; she will not be confessed of any priest; she saith that none can remit sin but only God; she is a froward, obstinate heretic, and willing to burn her old rotten bones.

"John Johnson, alias Aliker, of Thorpe, in the soken and county of Essex, labourer, where he was born; having no wife, but three young children; thirty-four years of age, and can read a little; indicted of heresy, being examined saith: that he will not come to the church, nor will he hear mass; he will not confess his sins to a priest; he saith that no priest can remit sin; he saith that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and can be but bread and wine, as well after the consecration as before: he saith that to hear mass, or to worship the sacrament, is idolatry. All this he heard, as he saith, one Trodgon preach, and he believeth that the said Trodgon is a true prophet, and his sayings true. This is a very simple obstinate heretic, and a stout foolish daw, without reason.

"Elizabeth Folkes, servant with one Nicholas Clere, of Colchester, clothier, maid; born, as she saith, in Stoke Neyland, in Suffolk, being of the age of twenty years, presented, but not indicted, of heresy, being examined saith: that she will not come to the church; she will not hear mass; she will not confess her sins to any priest; she saith that the sacrament of the altar is no better than bread and wine; she saith that no priest hath power to remit sin; she is a tall, well-favoured young wench, and willing to be reformed: whereupon, at the request of certain of her friends, she is delivered, and committed to the safe keeping of one Henry Ashby, of Colchester, a good catholic man; who hath taken upon him to reconcile her accordingly, or else to feed her with barley bread until she be reconciled."

Here hast thou, good reader, the depositions which the said Boswell sent to Bishop Bonner, as is aforesaid. Now, forasmuch as occasion compelleth me to be brief, for sundry considerations, I will therefore return again to the order of our time, anno 1557; and so go forward with the said persecuted in Colchester, with others their poor prison-fellows, to the number of ten, who, last of all, were examined again in Mote hall, the twenty-fourth day of June,

by Dr. Chedsey, John Kingston, commissary, with other priests, and Boswell the scribe, in the presence of the two bailiffs of Colchester, Robert Brown and Robert Mainard, with divers other justices both of the town and country, and other gentlemen a great sort; at which time and place, and before the said persons, they had sentence of condemnation read against them, chiefly for not affirming the real presence in the sacrament of their altar. The effect of their words therein was this, or such-like, as here followeth.

First, the Lord's faithful prisoners in Mote hall.

William Bongeor of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester, glazier, said, that the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and so remaineth bread; and for the consecration it is not the holier, but rather the worse. To this he did stand, as also against all the rest of their papistical doctrine: and so had sentence read against him.

Thomas Benold of Colchester, tallow-chandler, affirmed the like in effect that the said William Bongeor did; and so had sentence also read against him.

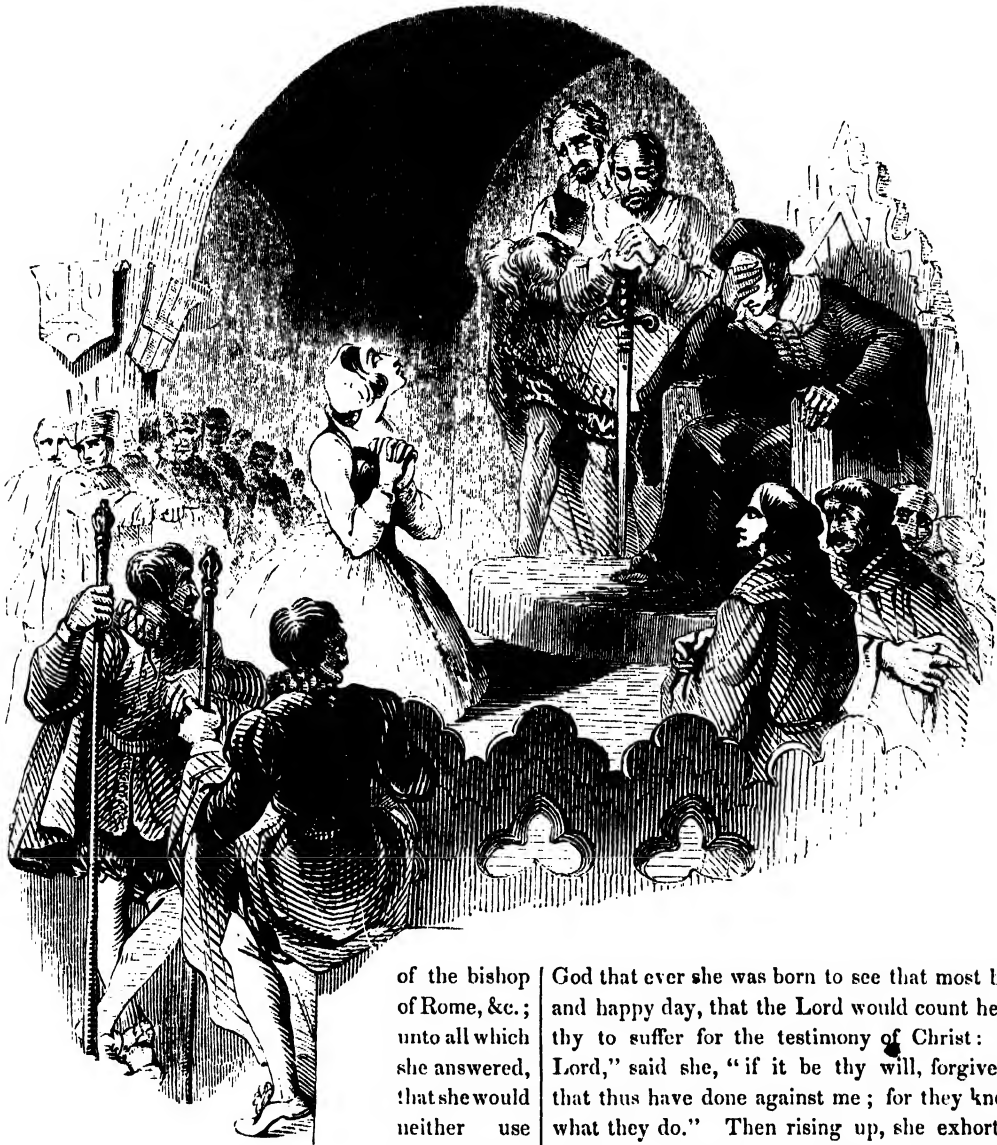
W. Purcas of Bocking said, that when he received the sacrament, he received bread in a holy use, that preacheth the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood, and against other their popish matters: and so also had sentence read against him.

Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, said, that she loved no consecration. For the bread and wine is rather worse than better thereby, she said. This good old woman answered them with such sound judgment and boldness, to every thing they asked her, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially to see the patience of such a reverend old age, against the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this she also stood, and had sentence read against her in like manner.

Helen Ewring answered the like in effect as the others did, clearly denying all the laws set forth by the pope, with her whole heart. This good woman was somewhat thick of hearing, but yet quick in understanding the Lord's matters, his name therefore be praised! Against her also there was sentence read.

Elizabeth Folkes, the young maiden, being examined whether she believed the presence of Christ's body to be in the sacrament substantially and really, or no: answered that she believed that it was a substantial lie, and a real lie. At which words the priests and others chafed very much, and asked her again, whether after the consecration there remain-

ed not the body of Christ in the sacrament. And she answered, that before consecration and after, it is but bread; and that man blesseth without God's word, is cursed and abominable by the word, &c. Then they examined her of confession to the priest, of going to church to hear mass, of the authority



of the bishop of Rome, &c.; unto all which she answered, that she would neither use nor frequent any of them all, by the

grace of God, but utterly detest and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery.

Then read they the sentence of condemnation against her; in which time Dr. Chedsey wept, that the tears trickled down his cheeks. So the sentence being read, she kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto heaven, with fervent prayer in an audible voice, praising

God that ever she was born to see that most blessed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ: "and, Lord," said she, "if it be thy will, forgive them that thus have done against me; for they know not what they do." Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the bench to repentance, especially those who brought her to prison, as Robert Mainard the bailiff, and such like; which Mainard commonly, when he sat in judgment upon life and death, would sit sleeping on the bench many times, so careful was his mind on his office.

Further, she willed halting gossellers to beware of blood, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in the end she told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very bar would

be a witness against them at the day of judgment, that they had there that day shed innocent blood.

This Elizabeth Folkes, the day before she was condemned, was examined only upon this article, Whether she believed that there was a catholic church of Christ or no. Unto which she answered, "Yea." Then was she immediately, by Boswell's means, (the scribe,) delivered unto her uncle Holt of the same town of Colchester to keep, who carried her home unto his house: and she being there, might have departed thence many times, if she had willed; for there were means offered to convey her away. But she, hearing that some doubted that she had yielded to the pope, (although it was most untrue,) would in nowise content herself, but wept, and was in such anguish of mind and terror of conscience, that (no remedy) she would to the papists again, for any persuasion that could be. And coming before them at Cosin's house at the White Hart in Colchester, she was at utter defiance with them and their doctrine; and so had, as you have heard, in the end a papistical reward, as the rest of her brethren had.

The Lord's faithful prisoners in Colchester castle.

William Mount, of Much Bentley in Essex, of the age of sixty-one years, said, that the sacrament of the altar was an abominable idol; and that if he should observe any part of their popish proceedings he should displease God, and bring his curse upon him; and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durst not do it. This good father was examined of many things; but, God be thanked, he stood to the truth, and in the end therefore had sentence of condemnation read against him.

John Johnson, of Thorpe, in Essex, widower, of the age of thirty-four years, was examined as the rest, and made answer in such sort as the papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody sentence, as they had done the rest before. This John Johnson affirmed, that in the receiving of the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually, &c.

Alice Mount, the wife of the said William Mount, of the age of one and forty years, being also examined as the rest, said and confirmed the same in effect as her husband did, and was therefore also condemned by their bloody sentence in like manner.

Rose Allin, maid, the daughter of the said Alice Mount, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular confession, going to the church to hear mass, of the popish seven sacraments, &c., answered stoutly, that they stank in the face of God, and she

durst not have to do with them for her life: neither was she (she said) any member of theirs; for they were the members of antichrist, and so should have (if they repented not) the reward of antichrist. Being asked further, what she could say of the see of the bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his authority or no, she answered boldly, that she was none of his. "As for his see," quoth she, "it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to swim in, such as you be; for by the grace of God I shall not swim in that see while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith." Then read they the sentence of condemnation against her, and so sent her unto prison again unto the rest, where she sang with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the secular power, were committed again every one unto the prison from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort, (in continual reading, and invoking the name of God,) ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution; in which time the cruel papists left not their mischievous attempts against them (although they would seem now to have no more to do with them); for bloody Bonner, whose throat never cried, "Ho," shortly after got a writ for the burning of the fore-said ten good creatures; and to show the more diligence in the cause, he sent his own trusty man down with it, named Edward Cosin, and with him also his letter for the furtherance of the matter, the thirtieth day of July, the next month after the condemnation.

The writ being thus received of the said bailiffs, and they having then no leisure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the second day of August next following. And because the faithful souls were in two several prisons, as the castle was for the country, and Mote hall for the town; therefore, it was agreed among them, that they in Mote hall should be burnt in the forenoon, and those at the castle by the sheriff of the shire, in the afternoon, as here thou mayest see it more plain how it came to pass accordingly.

The second day of August, 1557, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the morning, were brought from Mote hall unto a plat of ground hard by the town-wall of Colchester, on the outward side, William Bongeor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, Helen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folkes, afore-named; which being there, and all things prepared for their martyrdom, at the last these said constant martyrs kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God; but not in such sort as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not suffer them; especially one Master Clere, among

the rest, (who sometime had been a gospeller,) showed himself very extreme unto them: the Lord give him repentance, if it be his good will, and grace to be a better man! When they had made their prayers, they rose, and made them ready to the fire. And Elizabeth Folkes, when she had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, (which came and kissed her at the stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord,) but the wicked there attending, would not suffer her to give it. Therefore, taking the said petticoat in her hand, she threw it away from her, saying, "Farewell, all the world! farewell faith! farewell hope!" and so taking the stake in her hand, said, "Welcome love!" &c. Now she, being at the stake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the striking of the staple he missed the place, and struck her with a great stroke of the hammer on the shoulder-bone; whereat she suddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed, smilingly, and gave herself to exhorting the people again.

When all the six were also nailed likewise at their stakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the standers-by, which were, by estimation, thousands, cried generally almost, "The Lord strengthen them; the Lord comfort them; the Lord pour his mercies upon them;" with such-like words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their souls and bodies into the Lord's hands, for the true testimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like quarrel, (if he so vouch us worthy,) for his mercy's sake. Amen.

In like manner the said day in the afternoon, were brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed for the same, William Mount, John Johnson, Alice Meunt, and Rose Allin, aforesaid: which godly constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the people earnestly to flee from idolatry, suffered their martyrdom with such triumph and joy, that the people did no less shout thereat to see it, than at the others that were burnt the same day in the morning.

Thus ended all these glorious ten souls that day, their happy lives unto the Lord, whose ages all did grow to the sum of four hundred and six years, or thereabouts. The Lord grant we may well spend our years and days, likewise, to his glory. Amen.

John Thurston, died in Colchester castle.

Before, you have heard of the taking of John Thurston at Much Bentley, in the house of one

William Mount of the same town; which said John Thurston afterward, about the month of May, in the year aforesaid, died in Colchester castle, a constant confessor of Jesus Christ.

The story and death of George Eagles, otherwise termed Trudgeover, a most painful traveller in Christ's gospel, who, for the same gospel, most cruelly was martyred by the cruel papists.

Among other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles deserveth not the least admiration, but is so much the more to be commended, for that he, having little learning or none, most manfully served and fought under the banner of Christ's church. For oftentimes the will and pleasure of God is, to beautify and adorn his kingdom with the weak and simple instruments of this world; such as, in the Old Testament, Amos was, who, with many others of obscure and unknown names, were called from the herds and folds to the honour of prophets; as likewise we read of the apostles, that were called from fishermen's craft, and put into churches. Wherefore this George Eagles is not to be neglected for his base occupation, whom Christ called thence to set forth and declare abroad his gospel. Rather we ought to glorify God the more thereby in his holiness, which in so blind a time inspired him with the gift of preaching, and constancy of suffering; who, after a certain time he had used the occupation of a tailor, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himself to the profit of Christ's church.

Which man, as before, in those most bright and clear days of King Edward the Sixth, he had not unfruitfully showed and preached the power and force of the Lord, so afterward, in the tempestuous time and fall of the church, (at what time the confessors of Christ and his gospel were turmoiled, divers of them murdered, part banished, and others constrained for fear not to show their heads,) he expressed and uttered his manly stomach. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far countries where he could find any of his brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and sometime abiding in that, certain months together, as occasion served, lodging sometimes in the country, and sometimes, for fear, living in fields and woods, who, for his immoderate and unreasonable going abroad, was called Trudgeover. Oftentimes he did lie abroad in the night without covert, spending the most part thereof in devout and earnest prayer.

His diet was so above measure spare and slender, that for the space of three years, he used for the

most part to drink nothing but very water, whereunto he was compelled through necessity of the time of persecution : and after, when he perceived that his body, by God's providence, proved well enough with this diet, he thought best to inure himself therewithal against all necessities.

Now when he had profited Christ's church in this sort, by going about and preaching the gospel a year or two, and especially in Colchester and the quarters thereabout, that privy enemy which envieth always the salvation and blessed estate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means possible for him, so that there were divers spies sent out, who had in commandment, wheresoever they found him, to bring him either quick or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain, (the said Eagles with his brethren keeping in close, and hiding themselves in out and dark places, as in barns, thickets, holes, and privy closets,) his adversaries went about another way to compass this their enterprise of taking him.

For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four shires, Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Norfolk, promising the party that took him, twenty pounds for his pains; doubtless a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy desire of the money, they devised and invented all ways and reasons they could possibly to be enriched with the hurt and destruction of this silly man.

At length it came to pass, that this George, being seen by chance at Colchester upon Mary Magdalene's day, at which time they kept a fair in the town, should have forthwith been delivered to his adversaries, if he, perceiving the same, (as God would have it,) had not conveyed himself away as fast as he could, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking diligently for him : who first hid himself in a grove, and then from thence he stole into a corn-field there by, and so lay secretly couched from the violence of his enemies, insomuch as they were all, saving one, past hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their way. This one, having more subtlety and wicked craft in his head than the rest, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climbed up into a high tree, there to view and espy if he might see Eagles any where stir or move.

The poor man, thinking all sure enough by reason that he heard no noise abroad, rose up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the corn, or because his voice was heard, the lurker, perceiving his desired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and suddenly laying hands on him, brought him as prisoner to Colchester. Not-

withstanding, the greedy and Judas knave, which had so much promised him, was fain to be contented with a very small reward, and glad to take that too, lest he should have had nothing at all.

This George Eagles, not without great lamentation of divers good men, and great lack unto the church of God, (of which to his power he was a worthy instrument,) was committed to prison there, and from thence within four days after conveyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not sleep, neither would eat or drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London to the bishop or the council, and there remained a certain time; and then was brought down to Chelmsford to the sessions, and there was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm in that case provided. For so it was ordained a little before, to avoid sedition, that if men should flock secretly together above the number of six, they should be attached of treason : which strait law was the casting away of the good duke of Somerset before mentioned.

And albeit it was well known, that poor Eagles did never any thing seditiously against the queen, yet to cloak an honest matter withal, and to cause him to be the more hated of the people, they turned religion into a civil offence and crime; and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion or faith, before the judges, yet could he not bring it to pass by any means, but that he must needs be indicted (as is said) of treason; whose indictment did run much after this fashion :

"George Eagles, thou art indicted by the names of George Eagles, otherwise Trudgeover-the-World, for that thou didst such a day make thy prayer, that God should turn Queen Mary's heart, or else take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed, he prayed that God would turn her heart, in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding, he was condemned for a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for religion.

This thing done, he was carried to the new inn, called the sign of the Crown, in Chelmsford, by the beastly bailiffs, which (some of them) were they that before did their best to take him. And being in the inn, one Richard Potto the elder, an inn-holder, dwelling at the sign of the Cock in the same town, did much trouble him, in persuading him to confess he had offended the queen in his prayer, (which he was condemned for,) and to ask her forgiveness. To whom he said, he had not offended her Grace in that behalf.

So in process of time, he was laid upon a sledge, with a hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being fast bound, having in his hand a Psalm-book, of the which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there. And being on the ladder, this foresaid Potto did much trouble him with the matter aforesaid, when he would have uttered other things, till such time as the sheriff commanded Potto to hold his peace, and trouble him no more: so he made his confession, and stood very constant still; then he was turned off the ladder.

With him were cast certain thieves also [the day before]; and [now] the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much set forth and declare the innocency and godliness of this man. For being led between two thieves to the place where he should suffer, when as he exhorted both them and all others to stand stedfastly to the truth, one of these turned the counsel he gave into a jesting matter, and made but a flout at it. "Why should we doubt to obtain heaven," saith he, "forasmuch as this holy man shall go before us, as captain and leader unto us in the way. We shall flee thither straight, as soon as he hath once made us the entry."

In this, George Eagles and th[at] other did greatly reprove him; who, on the other side, gave good heed to George's exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and calling to Christ for mercy. But the more that the first was bid to be still, and to leave off his scoffing, the more perverse he did continue in his foolishness, and his wicked behaviour.

At length he came to the gallows where they should be hanged, but George was carried to another place there by, to suffer. Between the two it was the godlier's chance to go the foremost, who being upon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and to take heed to themselves, how they did transgress the commandments of God, and then had committed his soul into God's hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner. The mocker's turn cometh next, which would have said likewise somewhat, but his tongue did fumble and falter in his head, that he was not able to speak a word. Fain would he have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then did the under sheriff bid him say the Lord's Prayer, which he could not say neither, but stutteringly, as a man would say, one word to-day, and another to-morrow. Then one did begin to say it, and so bade him say after. Such as were there, and saw it, were very much astonished, especially those that did behold the just punishment of God against him that had mocked so earnest a matter.

George Eagles in the mean while, after he had

hanged a small time, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the bailiffs cut the halter asunder, and he fell to the ground being still alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the ladder. Then one William Swallow of Chelmsford, a bailiff, did draw him to the sled that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a cleaver (such as is occupied in many men's kitchens, and blunt) did hackle off his head, and sometimes hit his neck, and sometimes his chin, and did foully mangle him, and so opened him. Notwithstanding this blessed martyr of Christ abode stedfast and constant in the very midst of his torments, till such time as this tormentor William Swallow did pluck the heart out of his body. The body being divided in four parts, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the foresaid Swallow's door, and there laid upon the fish-stalls before his door, till they had made ready a horse to carry his quarters, one to Colchester, and the rest to Harwich, Chelmsford, and St. Osyth's. His head was set up at Chelmsford on the market-cross, on a long pole, and there stood, till the wind did blow it down; and lying certain days in the street tumbled about, one caused it to be buried in the church-yard in the night.

Also a wonderful work of God was it that he showed on this wicked bailiff Swallow, who, within short space after this, was so punished, that all the hair went well near off his head; his eyes were as it were closed up, and could scantily see; the nails of his fingers and toes went clean off. He was in such case of his body, as though he had been a leper, and now in his last age almost a very beggar; and his wife, which he a little after married, God hath punished with the falling-sickness, or a disease like unto that: which may be a warning or glass for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to God's true servants.

No less token of his marvellous judgment did God show upon the foresaid Richard Potto, which did so much trouble this George Eagles in the inn, and at the place of execution, as is above specified. He lived till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, all which time he little joyed: and being on a time in a great chafe with two or three of his neighbours in his own house, feeling himself not well, he said to one of his servants, "Go with me into the chamber." And when he came there, he fell down on a low bed, as heavy as he had been lead, and lay there foaming at the mouth, and could never speak after, neither yet understand what was said to him, as by all means was tried by his neighbours with signs to him made, but lay as senseless as it had been a very dumb beast, and within three

or four days died. God grant that this token, sent of God, with many more like, may be a warning to us ever hereafter while we shall live, unto the world's end!

Thus the godly and blessed man, more worthy of heaven than earth, suffered great extremity after a most unworthy manner, being counted but as an outcast of the world, yet, at the hands of Christ and his church, a most worthy martyr; whose remembrance shall shine so freshly among posterity, that it shall never decay while the world standeth. Besides that, God hath wonderfully declared his just judgment upon that man that did first betray him. His name was Rafe Lardin, dwelling in the town of Colchester; who, in the year of our Lord 1561, was attached of felony and brought to the sessions at Chelmsford, and there condemned to be hanged. Being at the bar, he said these words before the judges there, and a great multitude of people: "This is most justly fallen upon me," saith he, "for that I betrayed the innocent blood of a good and just man, George Eagles; who was here condemned in the time of Queen Mary's reign, through my procurement, who sold his blood for a little money." By this all persecutors may learn to beware how they seek the life of any simple man that professeth the truth, lest God show his displeasure against them likewise, and measure to them as they have measured to others before.

Besides this, God hath wonderfully showed his work: for at a time when they laid great wait for this George Eagles, so that it was thought that it was impossible but that he should be taken, being so beset, his friends did put him into apprentice-apparel, viz. watchet-hose, (as there manner is,) and an old cloak, and set him on a pack of wool, as though he had ridden to carry wool to the spinners. So he rode amongst the midst of his adversaries, and escaped them all for that time.

Another troubler of the said George Eagles was also Justice Brown, who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after, &c. Also when he was at the sessions at Chelmsford, there was a rumour raised, that he had accused divers honest men that did keep him in their houses, and was conversant with him; and all to discredit him: which rumour was very false and utterly untrue.—Witness one Reynold, with divers others dwelling in Chelmsford.

The martyrdom and examinations of Richard Crashfield, of Wymondham, condemned to death for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

About this time suffered at Norwich a godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield, whose examinations before the chancel-

lor, named Dunning, as he penned them with his own hand, so have we faithfully recorded the same.

"How say you, sirrah!" said the chancellor, "to the ceremonies of the church?"

"Then said I, 'What ceremonies?' He said unto me, 'Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly?'"

"My answer was, 'I do believe so many as are grounded in the Testament of Jesus Christ.'"

"Tush," said he, "do you believe in the sacrament of the altar?" I said, 'I knew not what it was.'

"Then said he, 'Do you not believe that Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body?' 'Yes, verily,' said I, 'and even as Christ did speak, so did he perform the work.'

"Tush," said he, "do you not believe this, that after the words be spoken by the priest, there is the substance of Christ's body, flesh and blood? How say you, do you not believe this? Speak, man!"

Crashfield.—"I do believe that Christ's body was broken for me upon the cross, and his blood shed for my redemption, whereof the bread and the wine are a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring or seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the faithful unto the end of the world." So then I was commanded into prison until the next day.

"The day following I was brought forth. Then the chancellor said unto me, 'Richard, how say you? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday?' He, rehearsing all the words that we had afore, said, 'Are not these your words?' Whereunto I answered, 'Yes.'

"Then said he, 'How say you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to church, to kneel down before the rood, and make your prayer?' I answered and said, 'No;' rehearsing the commandment of God forbidding the same.

"He said, 'Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?' I answered, 'What image?' He said, 'The brazen serpent?'"

"I said, 'Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.'

"Then Dr. Brydges said, 'Wherefore did God command the seraphim and cherubim to be made?' I said, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

"Then said the chancellor, 'But how say you to this? Can you find in your heart to fall down before the picture of Christ, which is the rood?' I said, 'No, I fear the curse of God: for it is written, that God curseth the hands that make them, yea,

and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.'

"Then Dr. Brydges raged and said, 'List now what a piece of Scripture he hath here gotten to serve his purpose, for he will not allow but where he listeth.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'How say you to confession to the priest? when were you confessed?' I said, 'I confess myself daily unto the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'Do you not then take confession to the priest to be good?' I answered, 'No, but rather wicked.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'How say you by yonder gear, yonder singing, and yonder playing on the organs? Is it not good and godly?' I said, 'I could perceive no godliness in it.'

"Then he said, 'Why, is it not written in the Psalms, That we should praise God with hymns and spiritual songs?' I said, 'Yes, spiritual songs must be had; but yonder is of the flesh, and of the spirit of error: for to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'Why, is it not written, My house is a house of prayer?' I said, 'Yes. It is written also, That you have made my house of prayer a den of thieves.'

"With that the chancellor looked, and said, 'Have we?' I answered and said, 'Christ said so.' Then was I commanded to ward.

"Then Thursday next following was Dr. Brydges sent to me, to examine me of my faith. And he said, 'Countryman, my Lord Bishop (for love he would have you saved) hath sent me unto you, because to-morrow is your day appointed: therefore my Lord hath thought it meet, that you should declare unto me your faith: for to-morrow my Lord will not have much ado with you.' I answered and said, 'Hath my Lord sent you? It is not you to whom I am disposed to show my mind.'

"Then he said to me, 'I pray you, show me your mind concerning the sacrament of the altar.' I answered, 'Are you ignorant what I have said?' He said, 'No, for it was well written. Except you believe,' saith he, 'as the church hath taught, you are damned both body and soul.'

"I answered and said, 'Judge not, lest you be judged: condemn not, lest you be condemned.' And he said, 'Lo, we shall have a traitor as well as a heretic: for he will disallow the king's judgment.'

"I said, 'No, I do not disallow the king's judgment; but yours I do disallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this judgment?' He answered and said, 'By the church; for the church hath power to save and condemn: for if you be

condemned by the church, be ye sure, that you be damned both body and soul.'

"Then I answered, 'If you have this power, I am sore deceived: for I believe that Christ shall be our judge. But now I perceive that you will do [so] much for him, that you will not put him to the pain.'

"Then he said, 'Stand nearer, countryman: why stand ye so far off?' I said, 'I am near enough, and a little too near.'

"Then he said, 'Did not Christ say, Is not my flesh meat, and my blood drink indeed?' I said, 'To whom spake Christ those words?' He said, 'To his disciples.'

"I (intending to rehearse the text) said, 'Whereat did Christ's disciples murmur inwardly?' He said, 'No, they did not murmur: but they were the infidels,' saith he; 'for the disciples were satisfied with those words.'

"I said, 'Did not Christ say thus, as he taught at Capernaum? Whereat his disciples murmured, saying, This is a hard saying; who can abide the hearing of it? Jesus perceiving their thoughts, said, Doth this offend you?'

"Then he raged, and said, 'Oh! thou wrestest the text for thine own purpose: for the disciples did never murmur, but the unbelievers, as thou art.' I said, 'Yes, but I perceive you know not the text.'

"Then said he, with much raging, 'I will lay my head thereon, it is not so.' Then said I, 'I have done with you.'

"Then said he, 'What shall I tell my Lord of you?' 'If you have nothing to tell him, your errand shall be the sooner done,' said I. And so he departed.

"Then on Friday I was brought forth to receive judgment. Then the chancellor said unto me, 'Are you a new man, or are you not?' I answered and said, 'I trust I am a new man, born of God.'

"'God give grace you be so,' said he. So he rehearsed all my examination, and said, 'How say you, are not these your words?' I said, 'Yes, I will not deny them.'

"Then he said to Dr. Pore, standing by, 'I pray you talk with him.' Then he, alleging to me many fair flattering words, said, 'Take, eat, this is my body. How say you to this? Do you not believe that it is Christ's body? speak.' I said, 'Have you not my mind? Why do you trouble me?'

"He said, 'What did Christ give you? was it bread, or was it not?' I said, 'Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it; and they took bread, and did eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifest, where he saith, So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the

Lord's death until he come. St. Paul saith not here as you say: for he saith, So oft as ye shall eat of this *bread*. He doth not say *body*.'

"So they, intending that I should go no further in the text, said, 'Tush, you go about the bush. Answer me to the first question. Let us make an end of that. What say you to the bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind in that.' I answered, 'I have said my mind in it.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'No, we will have your mind in that.' I answered, 'I have said my mind in it.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'No, we will have your mind more plainly: for we intend not to have many words with you.' I said, 'My faith is fully grounded and stablished, that Christ Jesus, the Easter-lamb, hath offered his blessed body a sacrifice to God the Father, the price of my redemption. For by that only sacrifice are all the faithful sanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.'

"Then Dr. Brydges started up and said, 'Truth! your words are true indeed. You take well the literal sense: but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his body upon the cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice; so likewise we daily offer the selfsame body that was offered upon the cross, but not bloody and visible, but invisible, unto God the Father.' 'Do you offer Christ's body?' I said; 'why then Christ's sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all men shall be liars.'

"Then he said, 'Thou shalt not fear him that hath power to kill the body; but thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul.' I answered and said, 'It is not so. But the text is thus, Thou shalt not fear them that have power to kill the body, and then have done what they can. But thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul, and cast them both into hell-fire, and not them.'

"He answered and said, 'Yes; for it is the church.' I answered and said, 'Why, Christ saith, I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me, saith he, but I give it of my own power; and so I have power to take it again. Therefore Christ the Son of God did offer his body once for all. And if you will presume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Christ's power.' With that he chafed and said, 'What, shall we have doctrine? Ye are not hereto appointed.'

"Then the chancellor stood up and said, 'Will

ye turn from this wicked error, and be an example of goodness, as you have been an example of evil, (for by your wicked reading, you have persuaded simple women to be in this error,) and ye shall have mercy.' And I said, 'It is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not of you.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'When were you at your parish church? These two years and more you have stood excommunicate: wherefore you are condemned!' And so I was condemned."

Thus hast thou, gentle reader! the examinations of this godly young man, set forth and written with his own hand, who, not long after his condemnation, was, by the sheriffs and officers there, brought to the stake, on August the fifth, where with much patience and constancy he entered his blessed martyrdom. At the burning of which Christian martyr, one Thomas Carman the same time was apprehended (by what occasion it is not yet to us fully certain, whether it was for words, or for praying with him, or for pledging him at his burning); concerning which Thomas Carman, his story hereafter followeth in his order and place, further to be seen.

One Frier, and a certain godly woman, burnt at Rochester, who was the sister of George Eagles.

About the same time and month, one named Frier, with a woman accompanying him, who was the sister of George Eagles, in the like cause of righteousness, suffered the like martyrdom by the unrighteous papists, whose tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut short, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

The apprehension and death of Mistress Joyce Lewes, the wife of Thomas Lewes, of Mancetter, most constantly suffering for God's word at Lichfield.

Mistress Joyce Lewes, a gentlewoman born, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and such-like foolishness, with the which follies the most part of the gentlefolks of England were then, and are yet, infected; who was married first to one called Appleby, and afterward to one Thomas Lewes of Mancetter. In the beginning of Queen Mary's time she went to the church and heard mass as others did, but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr, Laurence Saunders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter, and inquired earnestly, of such as she knew feared God, the cause of his death. And when she perceived it was because he refused to receive the mass, she began to be troubled in conscience,



and waxed
very unquiet.
And because
her house was
even hard
by Master
John Glover's
house, of

whom mention was made before, (a man of blessed memory, and a singular example, for his unfeigned godliness and manifold troubles which he suffered for the gospel,) she did oftentimes resort to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

Now he, perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire she had to know the truth, did most diligently instruct her in the ways of the Lord, approving unto her, out of God's holy word, that the mass, with all other papistical inventions, was odious in God's sight; and besides this, reproved her, for that she delighted in the vanities of this world so much. By the which godly counsel given by him, it happened that she began to wax weary of the world, thoroughly sorrowful for her sins, being inflamed with the love of God, desirous to

serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things the which did displease the Lord her God. And because she had learned the mass to be evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousness of her husband to come to the church, at the same time when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and showed herself to be displeased with their blasphemous holy water, injurious to the blood of Christ. Whereupon she was accused before the bishop for the despising of their sacramentals.

Immediately a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop incontinently. The sumner that brought the citation, delivered it to her husband, who, looking upon it, and perceiving what it was, was moved with anger, willing the sumner to take the citation with him again, or else he would make him to eat it. The sumner refused to take it again, for he thought no man durst have been so bold to trouble him: but in the end Lewes compelled the said sumner to eat the citation indeed, by setting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it, he caused him to drink to it, and so sent him away. But immediately after, the said Lewes with his wife were commanded to

appear before the bishop, where the said Lewes by and by submitted himself, and, desiring the bishop to be good to him, excused himself after the best fashion he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his wife should submit herself also. But she stoutly told the bishop, that by refusing of the holy water, she had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At the which words the bishop being grievously offended, yet because she was a gentlewoman, and he would not take her at the worst, (as he said,) he gave her one month's respite, binding her husband in a hundred pounds, to bring her again unto him at the month's end: and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own house, the said Mistress Joyce Lewes gave herself to most diligent prayer, and invoking of the name of God, resorting continually to the abovenamed man of God, Master John Glover, who did most diligently instruct her with God's word, willing her in any case not to meddle with that matter in respect of vain-glory, or to get herself a name, showing her the great dangers she was like to cast herself in, if she should meddle in God's matters otherwise than Christ doth teach.

When the month was now almost expired, and the time at hand that she should be brought before the said bishop, her husband being advertised by the said Master John Glover and others not to carry her to the bishop, but to seek some ways to save her, or, if the worst should come, to be content to forfeit so much money, rather than to cast his own wife into the fire; he answered, he would not lose or forfeit any thing for her sake. And so, like a murderer of his own wife, he carried her to the bloody bishop, where she was examined, and found more stout than she was before death was threatened. And to begin withal, she was sent to such a stinking prison, that a certain maid which was appointed to keep her company, did swoon in the same prison.

Being thus kept in prison, and oftentimes examined, and ever found stout, at the length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced a heretic worthy to be burnt. When the bishop reasoned with her, why she could not come to the mass, and receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the holy church: she answered, "Because I find not these things in God's word, which you so urge and magnify as things most needful for men's salvation. If these things were in the same word of God commanded, I would with all my heart receive, esteem, and believe them." The bishop answered, "If thou wilt believe no more than is in the Scripture,

concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable case." At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the bishop that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelvemonth in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff that was of late chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed: for the which thing, after her death, he was sore troubled, and in danger of his life. All that time she was in prison, her behaviour was such both in words and deeds, that all they that had any spark of godliness or civil honesty, did greatly lament her case, that she should be put to death.

Now when the time did draw near the which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ *de comburendo* (as they term it) being brought down from London, she desired certain of her friends to come to her, with whom, when they came, she consulted how she might behave herself, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and also most discomfortable unto the enemies of God. "As for death," said she, "I do not greatly pass. When I behold the amiable countenance of Christ, my dear Saviour, the uglisome face of death doth not greatly trouble me." In the which time also she reasoned most comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her suffering, two of the priests of the close of Lichfield came to the under-sheriff's house where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff, that they were come to hear her confession: for they would be sorry she should die without. She sent them word again, she had made her confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for the which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give unto God most humble praise, that he did make her worthy to suffer death for his word: and as concerning that absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, she did defy the same, even from the bottom of her heart. The which thing when the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, "Well, to-morrow her stoutness will be proved and tried: for although perhaps she hath now some friends that whisper her in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her." And so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was nought set by.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, insomuch that the

majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart; spending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three of the clock in the morning, Satan (who never sleepeth, especially when death is at hand) began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart, the which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, questioning with her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her: "I grant that he died: but that he died for thee how canst thou tell?" With this suggestion when she was troubled, they that were about her did counsel her to follow the example of Paul, where he saith, which hath loved me, and given himself for me. Also that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word was a manifest token of God's love towards her, especially that same Holy Spirit of God working in her heart that love and desire towards God to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

About eight of the clock, Master Sheriff came to her into her chamber, saying these words, "Mistress Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, the which is, that you shall live no longer but one hour in this world: therefore prepare yourself thereunto, it standeth you in hand." At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly by such an officer as he was, she was somewhat abashed. Wherefore one of her friends

and acquaintance standing by, said these words, "Mistress Lewes, you have great cause to praise God, who will vouchsafe so speedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witness of his truth, and to bear record unto Christ, that he is the only Saviour."

After the which words spoken thus, she said, "Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God, that he will make me worthy to adventure my life in his quarrel." And thus Master Sheriff departed. And within the space of one hour he came again, *cum gladiis et fustibus*: and when he came up into the chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, the which the sheriff granted at that time; but afterwards he was sore troubled for the same, when she was dead.

Now when she was brought through the town with a number of bill-men, a great multitude of people being present, she, being led by two of her friends, (which were Master Michael Reniger, and Master Augustine Bernher,*) she was brought to the place of execution. And because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and she not acquainted with the fresh air, (being so long in prison,) one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink; and after she had prayed three several times, in the which prayer she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from papistry; (at the end of which prayers the most part of the people cried, Amen; yea, even the sheriff that stood hard by her, ready to cast her in the fire for not allowing the mass, at this her prayer said with the rest of the people, Amen;) when she had thus

* "Augustine Bernher—that faithful friend was to both our martyrs 'their companion in tribulation;' and had the boldness to be present when they suffered.

"Of such a man, it is to be regretted that we know so little. He was a Swiss; and, from being an attendant on his venerable and aged master, Bishop Latimer, became a minister of Christ, and was a preacher of the gospel in the reigns of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Elizabeth. Between Bishop Latimer and his pious and faithful Swiss there subsisted an affectionate familiarity;—a circumstance not unfrequent in those days of primitive simplicity. To Bishop Latimer, Augustine Bernher was 'above a servant—a brother beloved;' and the more intimate and unreserved their intercourse, the greater was Bernher's veneration for one, whom he calls 'my most dear master.' How, indeed, could Bernher otherwise regard such a man, than with feelings of the deepest veneration and pious regard, whom he styles 'a holy man of God,' and 'a faithful servant of God?' These were the sacred characters in which he delighted to contemplate his 'most dear master,' and in which he himself desired to be like him. It is Augustine Bernher who has recorded his aged master's long continuance in prayer, when his outward man was so decayed that he had not power of himself to rise again from his bended knees. It is he who has told us, also, what

was the grand subject-matter of his prayers, when, on the death of Edward and the accession of Mary, he saw popery rising again in all its subtlety and power. He tells us, his constant prayer was 'for the speedy re-establishment of the protestant religion;' for which, as he often wished he might, 'he shed his heart's blood.' How soon the prayers of this apostolic man were answered, both in the circumstances of his death and in the accession of Elizabeth, it is unnecessary to remind our readers.

"During the Marian persecution, the principal refuge of Augustine Bernher was at Baxterley, an obscure village in this county, about four miles from Mancetter. He was, however, for a while, during the height of that fierce persecution, the minister of a congregation in London, which assembled privately, first in one secret place, and then another; and not unfrequently, for their greater security, on board some vessel on the Thames. Of this little flock, some were apprehended and burnt; and, among others, one of their ministers, John Rough. This eminent minister, as he once returned from the spectacle of a martyrdom, said to a friend, 'he had been to learn the way.' After he had entered heaven by that fiery way, every step of which he was so soon called to tread, Augustine Bernher became, in those perilous times, the minister of his congregation."

prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, "I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry." When she had drunk, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, specially the women of that town, did drink with her; which afterward were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with a chain, she showed such a cheerfulness that it passed man's reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that the most part of them that had honest hearts did lament, and even with tears bewail the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set upon her, she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands towards heaven, being dead very speedily: for the under-sheriff at the request of her friends had provided such stuff, by the which she was suddenly despatched out of this miserable world.

This amongst other things may not be forgotten, that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, and also when she was at the stake. Amongst others there was an old priest, which had a pair of writing-tables, to note both the names of the women that drank of her cup, (as before you heard,) and also described her friends by their apparel, for presently he could not learn their names, and afterwards inquired for their names. And so, immediately after, process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places. But God, whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto the which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever. Amen.*

The martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth, burnt at Islington.

In searching out the certain number of the faithful martyrs of God that suffered within the time and reign of Queen Mary, I find, that about the seventeenth day of September were burned at

Islington, nigh unto London, these four constant professors of Christ, Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, his wife, and Richard Roth. Among the which, it first appeareth that this Ralph Allerton was, more than a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the Lord Darcy of Chiche; and was there accused, as well for that he would not consent and come unto the idolatry and superstition which then was used, as also that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being then hereupon examined, he confessed that he, coming into his parish church of Bentley, and seeing the people sitting there, either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of God's most holy word, and not sit still idly: whereunto they willingly consented. Then, after prayer ended, he read unto them a chapter of the New Testament, and so departed. In the which exercise he continued until Candlemas, and then, being informed that he might not so do by the law, (for that he was no priest or minister,) he left off, and kept himself close in his house until Easter then next after, at what time certain sworn men for the inquiry of such matters came unto his house, and attached him for reading in the parish of Weeley. But when they understood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience, (whereunto he earnestly moved the people,) they let him for that time depart. Notwithstanding, for fear of their cruelty, he was not long after constrained to forsake his own house, and keep himself in woods, barns, and other solitary places, until the time of his apprehension.

After this examination, the Lord Darcy sent him up to the council; but they (not minding to trouble themselves with him) sent him unto Bonner, who, by threatenings and other subtle means, so abused the simple and fearful heart of this man, (as yet not thoroughly staid upon the aid and help of God,) that within short time he won him to his most wicked will, and made him openly at Paul's Cross to revoke and recant his former profession, and thereupon set him at liberty of body; which yet brought such a bondage and terror of soul and conscience, and

* "Of Mrs. Lewes and her martyrdom the writer had never heard, until, to his surprise, he met with an account of her sufferings in Fox's Martyrology; and was delighted to find that two of 'the noble army of martyrs' had been enrolled from his own village;—an honour far surpassing that for which it is chiefly renowned, as the Manduessedum of the Romans.

"Their blood is shed

In confirmation of the noblest claim,—
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth;
To walk with God; to be divinely free;
To soar, and to anticipate the skies:
Yet few remember them!"

"Mr. Thomas Lewes, her husband, and his family, from about the year 1547 to 1625, possessed the estate, and that portion of the manor, which is now the property of T. C. Hincks, Esq.; and there is no doubt that the house, in which Mrs. Lewes lived, was nearly in the same situation as that which is now in the occupation of Mr. Charles Weetman; for, besides some traces of it, which remain unto this day, the historian says, 'It was even hard by Mr. John Glover's;' which enabled her to hold frequent conversations with him on religious subjects."—*Rev. B. Richings, A. M., vicar of Mancetter.*



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so cast him down, that except the Lord (whose mercies are immeasurable) had supported and lifted

him up again, he had perished for ever. But the Lord, who never suffereth his elect children utterly to fall, casting his pitiful eyes upon this lost sheep, with his merciful and fatherly chastisements did (with Peter) raise him up again, giving unto him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again (even unto the death) his most holy name and glorious gospel. Wherefore, at the procurement of one Thomas Tye, priest, sometime an earnest professor of Christ, but now a fierce persecutor of the same, (as appeareth more at large before, in the history of William Mount and his wife,) he was again apprehended, and sent up again unto Bonner, before whom he was, the eighth day of April and sundry other times else, examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand, with blood for lack of other ink, hereafter followeth.

Bonner.—"Ah sirrah! how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this fashion? I dare say thou art accused wrongfully."

Ralph.—"Yea, my Lord, so I am. For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused of, then I would be very sorry."

Bonner.—"By St. Mary that is not well done. But let me hear, art thou an honest man? for if I can prove no heresy by thee, then shall thine accusers do thee no harm at all. Go to, let me hear thee: for I did not believe the tale to be true."

Ralph.—"My Lord, who did accuse me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accusation, that I may answer thereunto."

Bonner.—"Ah, wilt thou so? Before God, if thou hast not dissembled, then thou needest not be afraid nor ashamed to answer for thyself. But tell me in faith, hast thou not dissembled?"

Ralph.—"If I cannot have mine accusers to accuse me before you, my conscience doth constrain me to accuse myself before you: for I confess that I have grievously offended God in my dissimulation, at my last being before your Lordship, for the which I am right sorry, as God knoweth."

Bonner.—"Wherein, I pray thee, didst thou dissemble, when thou wast before me?"

Ralph.—"Forsooth, my Lord, if your Lordship remember, I did set my hand upon a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, 'That I did believe in all things as the catholic church teacheth,' &c. In the which I did not disclose my mind, but shamefully dissembled, because I made no difference between the true church and the untrue church."

Bonner.—"Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this gear; for I fear me thou wilt smell of a heretic anon. Which is the true church, as thou sayest? Dost thou not call the heretics' church the true church, or the catholic church of Christ? Now, which of these two is the true church, sayest thou? Go to, for in faith I will know of thee ere I leave thee."

Ralph.—"As concerning the church of heretics, I utterly abhor the same, as detestable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and heresies: and the church catholic is it that I only embrace, whose doctrine is sincere, pure, and true."

Bonner.—"By St. Augustine, but that is well said of thee, for, by God Almighty, if thou hadst allowed the church of heretics, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour."

Then said one Morton a priest, "My Lord, you know not yet what church it is, that he calleth catholic. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough."

Bonner.—"Think you so? Now by our blessed Lady, if it be so, he might have deceived me. How say you, sirrah! which is the catholic church?"

Ralph.—"Even that which hath received the wholesome sound, spoken of Isaiah, David, Malachi, and Paul, with many other more. The which sound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world."

Bonner.—"Yea, thou sayest true before God: for this is the sound that hath gone throughout all Christendom. And he that believeth not the sound of the holy church, as St. Cyprian saith, doth err: for he saith, that whosoever is out of the church, is like unto them that were out of Noah's ship when the flood came upon all the whole world; so that the ark of Noah is likened unto the church. And therefore thou hast well said in thy confession: for the church is not alone in Germany, nor was here in England in the time of the late schisms, as the heretics do affirm. For if the church should be there alone, then were Christ a liar: for he promised that the Holy Ghost should come to us, and lead us unto all truth, yea, and remain with us unto the end of the world. So now, if we will take Christ for a true sayor, then we must needs affirm, that the way which is taught in France, Spain, Italy, Flanders,

Denmark, Scotland, and all Christendom over, must needs be the true catholic church."

Ralph.—"My Lord, if you remember, I spake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Christendom only, as methinks your Lordship taketh it, the which kind of speaking you do not find in all the Bible. For sure I am, that the gospel hath been both preached and persecuted in all lands; first, in Jewry by the scribes and Pharisees, and since that time by Nero, Dioclesian, and such like, and now here, in these our days, by your Lordship knoweth whom. For truth it is that the church which you call catholic, is none otherwise catholic than was figured in Cain, observed of Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezebel, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Herod, with innumerable more of the like; and as both Daniel and Esdras make mention of these last days by a plain prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Christ and his apostles, saying, There shall come grievous wolves to devour the flock."

Bonner.—"Now, by the blessed sacrament of the altar, Master Morton, he is the rankest heretic that ever came before me. How say you? have you heard the like?"

Morton.—"I thought what he was, my Lord, at the first, I—"

Bonner.—"Now, by All-hallows, thou shalt be burnt with fire for thy lying, thou whoreson varlet and prick-louse, thou! Dost thou find a prophecy in Daniel of us? Nay, you knave, it is of you that he speaketh, and of your false pretended holiness. Go to, let me hear what is the saying of Esdras, and take heed ye make not a lie, I advise you."

Ralph.—"The saying of Esdras is this: The heat of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, and feed the idols with you. And he that consenteth unto them, shall be had in derision, laughed to scorn, and trodden under foot. Yea, they shall be like mad-men, for they shall spare no man; they shall spoil and waste such as fear the Lord, &c."

Bonner.—"And have you taken this thing to make your market good? Ah sirrah, wilt thou so? by my faith, a pretty instruction, and a necessary thing to be taught among the people. By my troth, I think there be more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: is there any that understandeth this scripture on this fashion? Before God, I think there be none in all England, but thou."

Ralph.—"Yes, my Lord, there are in England three religions."

Bonner.—"Sayest thou so? Which be those three?"

Ralph.—"The first is that which you hold; the

second is clean contrary to the same ; and the third is a neuter, being indifferent—that is to say, observing all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being set wholly against the same.”

Bonner.—“And of these three, which art thou? for now thou must needs be of one of them.”

Ralph.—“Yea, my Lord, I am of one of them ; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of death.”

Bonner.—“Ah sir, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheer, yea, and money in your purse when you went away ; and by my faith I had a favour unto thee, but now I see thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why, wilt thou take upon thee to read the Scripture, and canst understand never a word? for thou hast brought a text of Scripture, the which maketh clean against thee. For Esdras speaketh of the multitude of you heretics, declaring your hate against the catholic church, making the simple or idle people believe, that all is idolatry that we do ; and so entice them away until you have overcome them.”

Ralph.—“Nay, not so, my Lord : for he maketh it more plain, and saith on this wise : They shall take away their goods, and put them out of their houses ; and then shall it be known who are my chosen, saith the Lord, for they shall be tried, as the silver or gold is, in the fire. And we see it so come to pass, even as he hath said : for who is not now driven from house and home, yea, and his goods taken up for other men that never sweat for them, if he do not observe as you command and set forth? Or else, if he be taken, then must he either deny the truth, as I did, in dissembling, or else he shall be sure to be tried, as Esdras saith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know, that you are the bloody church, figured in Cain the tyrant, neither yet are ye able to avoid it.”

Morton.—“I promise you, my Lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time ; for then he did but dissemble, as I perceived well enough ; but now methinks he speaketh plainly.”

Bonner.—“Marry, sir, as you say indeed, he is plain : for he is a plain heretic, and shall be burned. Have the knave away ! Let him be carried to Little-ease, at London, until I come.”

And so was I carried to London unto Little-ease, and there remained that night. And on the next morrow I appeared before him again ; the dean of Paul's and the chancellor of London being present. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had set my hand unto.

Bonner.—“Come on your ways, sirrah ! Is not this your hand, and this, and this?”

Ralph.—“Yea, they are my hand, all of them : I confess the same, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have set my hand unto. But if I have set my hand to any thing that is not lawful, there-for am I sorry. Nevertheless, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.”

Bonner.—“Well said. Now ye must tell me, Were you never at the church since you went from me, at mass, matins?” &c.

Ralph.—“No, my Lord ; not at mass, matins, nor any other strange worshipping of God.”

Bonner.—“Yea, sayest thou so? Wast thou neither at thine own parish church, nor at any other? And dost thou also say, that it is a strange worshipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the Scripture to be true?”

Ralph.—“Yea, my Lord, I believe the Scripture to be true, and in the defence of the same I intend to give my life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing.”

Dean.—“My Lord, this fellow will be an honest man, I hear by him. He will not stand in his opinion ; for he sheweth himself gentle and patient in his talk.”

Bonner.—“Oh, he is a glorious knave ! His painted terms shall no more deceive me. Ah, whore-son prick-louse ! doth not Christ say, This is my body? and how darest thou deny these words, for to say, as I have a writing to show, and thine own hand at the same? Let me see, wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own hand?”

Ralph.—“Yes, my Lord, it is my own hand ; neither am I ashamed thereof, because my confession therein is agreeable to God's word. And whereas you do lay unto my charge that I should deny the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ ; O good Lord ! from whence cometh this rash, hasty, and untrue judgment? Forsooth not from the Spirit of truth ; for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of liars. Whereupon should your Lordship gather or say of me so diffamously? Wherefore, I beseech you, if I deny the Scriptures canonical, or any part thereof, then let me die.”

Tye, the priest.—“My Lord, he is a very seditious fellow, and persuadeth other men to do as he himself doth, contrary to the order appointed by the queen's Highness and the clergy of this realm. For a great sort of the parish will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place, to hear him ; so that very few come to the church to hear divine service. And this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the council, but also since his return home again, he hath done

much harm : for where both men and women were honestly disposed before, by St. Anne now are they as ill as he almost. And furthermore, he was not ashamed to withstand me before all the parish, saying, that we were of the malignant church of anti-christ, and not of the true church of Christ, alleging a great many of scriptures to serve for his purpose, saying, 'Good people, take heed, and beware of these blood-thirsty dogs,' &c. And then I commanded the constable to apprehend him, and so he did. Nevertheless, after his apprehension, the constable let him go about his business all the next day ; so that without putting in of sureties, he let him go into Suffolk and other places, for no goodness, I warrant you, my Lord. It were alms to teach such officers their duty, how they should not let such rebels go at their own liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken ; but to keep them fast in the stocks until they bring them before a justice."

Ralph.—"As I said before, so say I now again ; thou art not of the church of Christ ; and that will I prove, if I may be suffered. And whereas you said, that you commanded the constable to apprehend me ; you did so indeed, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither to lay unto my charge treason, felony, nor murder ; no, neither had you precept, process, nor warrant to serve on me ; and therefore I say, without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you seek to trouble the constable, because he kept me not in the stocks three days and three nights, it doth show in part what you are. And my going into Suffolk was not for any evil, but only to buy half a bushel of corn for bread for my poor wife and children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would surely have laid somewhat to his charge."

Bonner.—"Go to, thou art a merchant, indeed. Ah, sirrah ! before God, thou shalt be burnt with fire. Thou knowest Richard Roth, dost thou not ? Is he of the same mind that thou art of, or no ? Canst thou tell ?"

Ralph.—"He is of age to answer, let him speak for himself ; for I hear say that he is in your house."

Bonner.—"Lo, what a knave here is ! Go, Cluney, fetch me Roth hither. By my troth he is a false knave ; but yet thou art worse than he. Ah, sirrah ! did you not set your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if thou should at any time say or do heretically, then it should be lawful for me to take thee with a relapse, and to proceed in sentence against thee ?"

Ralph.—"Yea, that is so. But here is to be asked, whether it be sufficient, that my hand or

name in writing be able to give authority to you or to any other to kill me ; for if I, by writing my name, can do so much, then must my authority be greater than yours. Nevertheless, I have neither said nor done heretically, but like a true Christian man have I behaved myself."

And so I was committed unto prison again ; and the twenty-fourth day of the same month, I was brought before the bishop, the Lord North, Dr. Story, and others ; and after a long talk in Latin amongst themselves, (unto the which I gave no answer, because they spake not to me, although they spake of me,) at the last the bishop said, "How say you, sirrah ? tell me briefly at one word : Wilt thou be contented to go to Fulham with me, and there to kneel thee down at mass, showing thyself outwardly as though thou didst it with a good will ? Go to, speak."

Ralph.—"I will not say so."

Bonner.—"Away with him, away with him !"

The second day of May I was brought before the bishop, and three noblemen of the council, whose names I do not remember.

Bonner.—"Lo, my Lords ! this same is the fellow that was sent unto me from the council, and did submit himself, so that I had half a hope of him : but, by St. Anne, I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheless, he was with me, and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purse. How sayest thou ? was it not so as I tell my Lords here ?"

Ralph.—"Indeed, my Lord, I had meat and drink enough ; but I never came in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve-pence, howbeit I never asked none, nor would have done."

A lord.—"Be good to him, my Lord. He will be an honest man."

Bonner.—"Before God, how should I trust him ? he hath once deceived me already. But ye shall hear what he will say to the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, sirrah ? After the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and none other substance, under the form of bread ?"

Ralph.—"Where find you that, my Lord, written ?"

Bonner.—"Lo, sir ! Why ? Doth not Christ say, This is my body ? How sayest thou ? Wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ ? Or else was he a dissembler, speaking one thing, and meaning another ! Go to ; now I have taken you."

Ralph.—"Yea, my Lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me until you kill me. How-

beit, my Lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the institution of the supper of our Lord; for Christ said, Take ye, and eat ye; this is my body. And if it will please you to join the former words to the latter, then shall I make you an answer: for sure I am, that Christ was no dissembler, neither did he say one thing, and mean another."

Bonner.—"Why? Then must thou needs say, that it is his body; for he saith it himself, and thou confessest that he will not lie."

Ralph.—"No, my Lord; he is true, and all men are liars. Notwithstanding, I utterly refuse to take the words of our Saviour so phantastically as you teach us to take them; for then should we conspire with certain heretics called the Nestorians: for they deny that Christ had a true natural body; and so methinks you do, my Lord. If you will affirm his body to be there, as you say he is, then must you needs also affirm, that it is a phantastical body, and not a true natural body; and therefore look to it, for God's sake, and let these words go before, Take ye, and eat ye; without which words the rest are not sufficient. But when the worthy receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them, that so receive it."

Bonner.—"Ah! I see well thou canst not understand these words: I will show thee a parable.—If I should set a piece of beef before thee, and say, Eat, it is beef; and then take part of it away, and send it to my cook, and he shall change the fashion thereof, and make it look like bread, what! wouldst thou say that it were no beef, because it hath not the fashion of beef?"

Ralph.—"Let me understand a little further, my Lord. Shall the cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?"

Bonner.—"What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, so long as the shape is changed into another likeness?"

Ralph.—"Ah! will you so, my Lord? your sophistry will not serve. The truth will have the victory nevertheless, as Isaiah saith: He that restraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. And Amos hath such-like words also: For the wise must be fain to hold their peace; so wicked a time it is, saith he. Nevertheless, he that can speak the truth, and will not, shall give a strait account for the same."

A doctor.—"By my Lord's leave, here methinks thou speakest like a fool: wilt thou be a judge of the Scripture? Nay, thou must stand to learn, and not to teach, for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long ago."

A priest.—"No, by your leave, we have a church,

and not a congregation. You mistake that word, Master Doctor."

Then said I to my fellow-prisoners standing by: "My brethren, do ye not hear how these men help one another? Let us do so also." But we never came all in together after that time, but severally one after another. Then was I carried away for that time.

The nineteenth day of May I was brought before the bishops of Rochester and Chichester, with others.

Rochester.—"Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwise called Trudgeover? My Lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion."

Ralph.—"I know him very well, my Lord."

Rochester.—"By my faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an ape; for he stank so of drink, that I could not abide him; and so sent him away."

Ralph.—"My Lord, I dare say you took your marks amiss. It was either yourself, or some of your own company; for he did neither drink wine, ale, nor beer, in a quarter of a year before that time, and therefore it was not he forsooth."

"The rest of mine examinations you shall have when I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into Newgate, the which I trust shall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well, good friends all; yea, I say, farewell for ever in this present world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the rest of the congregation in Bardfield, and Dedham, and Colchester."

This promise of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or else, if he did write, the same not coming to my hands, I am fain in the rest of his examinations to follow the only report of the registrar; who witnesseth that, the fifteenth day of May, anno 1557, in the bishop's palace at London, he was examined upon certain interrogatories, the contents whereof be these:—

"1. That he was of the parish of Much Bentley, and so of the diocese of London.

"2. That the tenth day of January then last past, Master John Morant preaching at Paul's, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly submit himself unto the Church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

"3. That he did consent and subscribe as well unto the same submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it should

be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as a heretic.

"4. That he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material bread and material wine; and that he believeth that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.

"5. That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken, that which is contained in the said former fourth article last before specified.

"6. That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the church and see of the same, and also against the seven sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

"7. That he had allowed and commended the opinions and faith of Master Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late burnt within this realm; and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

"8. That he had divers times affirmed, that the religion used within this realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good, nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

"9. That he had affirmed that the book of Common Prayer set forth in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, was in all parts good and godly; and that the said Ralph and his company, prisoners, did daily use amongst themselves in prison some part of the same book.

"10. That he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison, he would not come to mass, matins, nor evensong; nor bear taper, candle, or palm; nor go in procession; nor would receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then used within this realm.

"11. That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty, he would not confess his sins to any priest, nor receive absolution of him; nor yet would receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.

"12. That he had affirmed, that praying to saints and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable; and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawful to reserve the sacrament, or to worship it.

"13. That the said Allerton hath, according to these his affirmations, abstained and refused to come unto his parish church ever since the tenth day of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church."

To all the articles he answered affirmatively, denying precisely none of them; saving to this clause contained in the twelfth article, that a man is not bound to fast and pray but at his own will and pleasure, he said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so oft as he was bound to do. And unto this answer he also subscribed in this sort:

"Except it be proved otherwise by the Holy Scripture, I do affirm these articles to be true.—By me, Ralph Allerton."

The next examination was the fourth day of July; the acts whereof, because they do appear more amply in his other examination, had the tenth day of September, I do here omit, giving you further to understand, that upon the seventh day of the same month of July, he was brought before Dr. Darbshire in the bishop's palace, who examined him again upon the former articles, and after persuaded him to recant, threatening him that, otherwise, he should be burnt. To whom he boldly answered, "I would I might be condemned even to-morrow; for I perceive my Lord," meaning Bonner, "doth nothing but seek men's blood:" upon which saying Darbshire committed him again to prison.

And the tenth day of September the bishop caused him (with the other three above named) to be brought unto Fulham, and there, in his private chapel within his house, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new articles, of the which the tenors of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh are already mentioned in the second, third, and fourth former objections. As for the rest, the contents thereof here follow:—

"Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary, Edmund, bishop of London, was and is a true information."

This information was given by Thomas Tye, curate of Bentley, (of whom you have already heard,) and certain other of the same parish and affinity; as namely, John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candler, Jeffery Bestwood, John Richard, Richard Mere. The effect whereof was, that one Lawrence Edwards, of Bentley aforesaid, had a child that was unchristened; and being demanded by the said Tye, why his child was not baptized, he made answer, it should be when he could find one of his religion (meaning a true professor of Christ's gospel). Whereat the curate said, "Ah! ye have had some instructor that hath schooled you of late." "Yea," quoth the said Edwards, "that I have; and if your doctrine be better than his, then I will believe you."

And therewithal fondly offered to fetch him. Whereupon the constable going with him, they brought before the said curate the said Ralph Allerton; of whom in this information they make this report, that he was a seditious person, who, since his coming down from the bishop, had set upon the constable's door certain seditious letters, moving and persuading thereby the people to follow his malicious disobedience; and that these his persuasions had taken effect in many. And further, that the said Ralph Allerton, (the curate asking him whether he had instructed this Lawrence Edwards, that it was against God's commandment to enter into the church,) casting abroad his hands, should say, "O good people! now is fulfilled the saying of the godly priest and prophet Esdras, who saith, The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few: they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods, &c. Which of you all have not seen this, this day? who is he here amongst you, that seeth not all these things done upon us this day? The church which they call us unto, is the church of antichrist, a persecuting church and the church malignant." With these and many more words, (said they,) most maliciously and falsely alleged out of the Scriptures, he thus persuaded a great multitude there present, as much as in him lay, unto disobedience: for the which cause the constables did then apprehend him.

"3. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the letter sent unto me by my Lord Darcy, beginning with these words, 'Pleaseth it your Lordship,' &c., was thine own letter, and was subscribed by thine own hand."

The contents of the letter mentioned in this article, and written by Allerton unto the Lord Darcy, was a confession of his demeanour before his first apprehension, the effect and purport whereof, because it appeareth in the beginning of this his history, I do here omit.

"4. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the other letter, sent also to me from my said Lord Darcy, beginning thus, 'Pleaseth it your Lordship,' &c., and ending with those words, 'Whosoever it be,' is thine own very letter, and subscribed with thine own hand."

This was also another letter written by him unto the Lord Darcy, the contents whereof were, that whereas the said Lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever since Whitsuntide last, before his first apprehension, this was to certify his Lordship, that he was not able so to do, otherwise than as he had already showed him by his former letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the people abroad in the

woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, saving once, when he was in the company of George Eagles and others, Richard Roth took a writing out of his bosom, and desired the said Ralph to read it, which request he then accomplished. And demanding of him whose doing the same was, the said Roth told that it was Master Cranmer's, late archbishop of Canterbury; and further he could not show him. Nevertheless, he was ready and willing to suffer such punishment as his Lordship should think meet, desiring yet that the same might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither punishment nor death; praying the Lord, that it might be in his fear, whensoever it should be.

"8. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the letters written with blood, beginning with these words, 'Grace, mercy, and peace,' &c., and ending thus, 'Farewell in God,' remaining now registered in the acts of this court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand."

He wrote this letter in the prison with blood for lack of other ink, and did mean to send the same unto Agnes Smith, alias Silverside, at that time imprisoned, and afterwards burnt, at Colchester, for the testimony of the gospel of Christ, as before is mentioned; the copy of which letter here ensueth.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, with the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of soul and body, I wish unto you, as to my own soul, as God knoweth, who is the searcher of all secrets.

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite mercy to call me to the state of grace, to suffer martyrdom for Jesus Christ's sake, although heretofore I have most negligently dallied therewith, and therefore far unworthy I am of such a high benefit, to be crowned with the most joyful crown of martyrdom: nevertheless, it hath pleased God not so to leave me, but hath raised me up again according to his promise, which saith, Although he fall, yet shall he not be hurt; for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Whereby we perceive God's election to be most sure, for undoubtedly he will preserve all those that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even so do I believe that he will finish the same, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jesus Christ. So be it!

"Dearly beloved sister, (I am constrained so to call you, because of your constant faith and love unfeigned,) consider, that if we be the true servants of Christ, then may not we in any wise make agreement with his enemy, antichrist. For there is no

concord and agreement between them, saith the Scriptures, and a man cannot serve two masters, saith Christ. And also it is prefigured unto us in the old law, where the people of God were most straitly commanded that they should not mingle themselves with the ungodly heathen, and were also forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them: for as often as they did either marry unto their sons, or take their daughters unto them, or to their sons, even so oft came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own people, to overthrow both them and all their cities, with the holy sanctuary of God; and brought in strange princes to reign over them, and wicked rulers to govern them, so that they were sure of hunger, sword, pestilence, and wild beasts to devour them; which plagues never ceased, until the good people of God were clean separated from the wicked idolatrous people.

"O dearly beloved! this was written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. And has it not in like case happened now in this realm of England? for now are the people of God had in derision, and trodden under foot; and the cities, towns, and houses where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are spoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy sanctuary of God's most blessed word is laid desolate and waste, so that the very foxes run over it, &c. Yet is it the food of our souls, the lantern of our feet, and the light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, there the people perish. But the prophet saith, He that refraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. Why should men then be abashed to be spoiled, seeing that it is told us before, that it must so happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

R. A."

"9. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the letters written with blood, beginning with these words in the over part thereof, 'The angel of God,' &c., and ended thus, 'Be with you, Amen;' and having also this postscript, 'Do ye suppose that our brethren,' &c., remaining now registered in the acts of this court, are thine own hand-writing."

For the better understanding of this article, I have also here inserted the copy of the letter mentioned in the same; which letter he wrote (by his own confession) unto Richard Roth, then in danger of the subtle snares of that bloody wolf, Bonner.

"The angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us in all our ways; Amen, Amen!

"O dear brother, I pray for you; for I hear say

that you have been divers times before my Lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for God's sake what the wise man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are enticed to confess an untruth for hope of life, but be ready always to give an answer of the hope that is in you. For whosoever confesseth Christ before men, him will Christ also confess before his Father: but he that is ashamed to confess him before men, shall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear brother, go forward. Ye have a ready way, so fair, as ever had any of the prophets or apostles, or the rest of our brethren, the holy martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude, while the way is full. Also, dear brother, understand that I have seen your letter; and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed; the which as yet will not be brought to pass for lack of paper, until my Lord be gone from hence; and then your request shall be accomplished, God willing, without delay. Thus fare ye well in God. Our dear brother and fellow in tribulation, Robert Allin, saluteth you; and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you; Amen.

"RALPH ALLERTON.

"Do ye suppose that our brethren and sisters are not yet despatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or shall be within these two days."

As for the other objections yet remaining, and not specified, if it were not more somewhat to show the folly of these bloody tyrants, (which of so small trifles take occasions to quarrel with the saints of God,) than for any weighty thing therein contained, I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet myself with writing. But that ye may judge of them as their doings do give occasion, I will now proceed in the matter.

"Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but confessest, that the writing of letters in a little piece of paper on both sides of it, with this sentence following on the one side, 'Look at the foot of the stocks, for a knife,' and with this sentence following upon the other side, 'Look between the post and the wall, for two books and two epistles; leave them here when ye go,' remaining now in the register and acts of this court, is voluntarily written by thee, Ralph Allerton, with thine own hand.

"Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that thou art privy to a certain writing remaining now in the registry and acts of this court; the beginning whereof is with these words, 'I would have

men wise,' &c., and ending thus, 'from house to house.'

"Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that thou art privy, and of consent and maintenance of a certain great wood-knife, a long sword, a hook, a stone, and of a trencher written upon with chalk, having this sentence, 'All is gone and lost, because of your folly;' of two boards written upon with chalk, the one having this sentence, 'Under the stone look,' and the other having this sentence, 'Whereas you bid me take heed, I thank you, I trust in God that I shall be at peace with him shortly,' remaining now registered in the acts of this court."

For answer unto all these articles, he granted that the first nine were true, as the registrar recordeth: howbeit, I find noted in the backside of the information, specified in the second article, (although crossed out again,) that he denied such things as were there in the same informed against him. Wherefore it is not likely that he did simply grant unto the contents of the second article, but rather that he only affirmed, that such an information was given against him, and not that the same was true. Thus much I thought to warn the reader of, lest that in mistaking his answers, it might seem, that he granted himself to be a seditious and a rebellious person; of which fact he was most clear and innocent.

And being further demanded upon the contents of the eighth article, where he had the blood he wrote that letter withal; he said that Richard Roth, sometime his prison-fellow, did make his nose bleed, and thereby he got the blood wherewith he did then write. The bishop again asked him, to whom he would have sent the same. He answered, unto one Agnes Smith, alias Silverside, of Colchester. "Why," quoth the bishop, "Agnes Smith was a heretic, and is burnt for heresy." "Nay," said Allerton, "she is in better case than either I myself, or any of us all."

Then being again demanded upon the ninth objection, to whom he would have sent the letter mentioned in the same; he answered, that he meant to have sent it unto Richard Roth, at that present separated from him. Whereupon the bishop further inquired, what he meant by these words, "Brethren and sisters," specified in the said letter? He answered, that he meant thereby, such as were lately condemned at Colchester, and were like (at the writing thereof) shortly to be burned.

Now as for the contents of the tenth and the eleventh articles, he utterly denied them; but to the twelfth he confessed, that he wrote upon the said trencher and other boards the words mentioned in the said article, and that he did leave the same in the prison-house, to the intent that Richard Roth

should read them. Bonner also, bringing out the wooden sword mentioned in the said article, asked him who made it, and for what purpose: whereunto he answered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpose; but being idle in the prison, and finding there an old board, he thought the time better spent in making thereof, than to sit still, and do nothing at all.

The forenoon being now spent, the rest of this tragedy was deferred until the afternoon; wherein was ministered unto him yet certain other objections, the tenor whereof was this.

"1. First, That he had misliked the mass, calling upon saints, and carrying the cross in procession, with other their ceremonies, calling them idolatry, and also had dissuaded them there-from.

"2. Item, That he was much desirous to have the people believe as he did; and therefore, being in prison with his fellows, did sing psalms and other songs against the sacrament of the altar and other ordinances of the church, so loud that the people abroad might hear them and delight in them.

"3. Item, That he had divers times conspired against his keeper, and had provided things to kill him; and so to break the prison, and escape away.

"4. Item, That he had railed against the bishop, being his ordinary, calling him a bloody butcher, tyrant, and ravening wolf; and also against his officers, especially Cluncy his sumner, calling him butcher's cur, with other such names.

"5. Item, That he had murmured, grudged, disdained, and misliked, that the bishop had proceeded against certain of his diocess, and had condemned them as heretics, or that he should proceed now against him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithstanding that he and his chaplains had charitably admonished and exhorted them from the same.

"6. Item, That he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one catholic church, without the which there is no salvation; of the which church Jesus Christ is the very priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine; the bread and wine being by the Divine power transubstantiated into his body and blood.

"7. Item, That he had kept himself, and also distributed to others, certain heretical and corrupt books, condemned and reprov'd by the laws of this realm.

"8. Item, That he had, contrary to the orders and statutes of this realm, kept company with that seditious heretic and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Trudgeover, and had heard him read in woods and other places; yet not accusing, but allowing and praising him."

Unto which articles, because they were for the most part so foolish and full of lies, he would in a manner make no answer, saving he granted that he did mislike their mass and other ceremonies, because they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the bishop, that he and his complices did nothing but seek how to kill innocents.

The bishop then asked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the sacrament of the altar, as is contained in the general council holden and kept under Innocent the Third; and therewithal he did read the decree of the said council touching the sacrament. Whereunto Allerton again made answer and said, "I believe nothing contained in the same council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were also very necessary, that no man else should have to do therewith."

"Then," quoth Bonner, "thou art of the opinion that the heretics lately burnt at Colchester were of." "Yea," said he, "I am of their opinion, and I believe that they be saints in heaven."

This done, the bishop, perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him: to whom he answered, "Ye ought not to condemn me as a heretic, for I am a good Christian. But now go to, do as you have already determined; for I see right well, that right and truth be suppressed, and cannot appear upon the earth."

These words ended, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and so delivered him unto the temporal officers; who reserved him in their custody until the seventeenth day of September, at which time both he, and the other three before mentioned, were all burnt, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, because as yet little is said, I will therefore now proceed to declare such cause of their cruel deaths, as in the register is recorded.

The story of James Austoo, and Margery, his wife.

Touching the first apprehension of these two persons, I find neither occasion why, neither time, nor manner how: howbeit, as the days then served, it was no hard or strange matter to fall into the hands of such as with cruelty persecuted the true professors of God's gospel, especially having so many promoters and unneighbourly neighbours, to help them forwards. By which kind of people, it is not unlike these two godly yoke-fellows were accused and taken: and being once delivered into the pitiless handling of Bonner, their examinations (ye may be sure) were not long deferred; for, the sixteenth

day of July, 1557, they were brought before him into his place at London, where first he demanded of the said James Austoo, (amongst other questions,) Where he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he received the sacrament of the altar at Easter, or not? To whom he answered, that indeed he had been confessed of the curate of All-hallows Barking, nigh to the Tower of London: but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar; for he defied it from the bottom of his heart.

"Why," quoth the bishop, "dost thou not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true body and blood of Christ?" "No," said Austoo, "not in the sacrament of the altar; but in the supper of the Lord, to the faithful receiver, is the very body and blood of Christ by faith."

Bonner not well pleased with this talk, asked then the wife, how she did like the religion then used in this church of England? She answered, that she believed that the same was not according to God's word, but false and corrupted; and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for fear of the law, than otherwise.

Then he again asked her, if she would go to the church and hear mass, and pray for the prosperous estate of the king, being then abroad in his affairs. Whereunto she said, that she defied the mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any church wherein were idols.

After this the bishop objected unto them certain articles, to the number of eighteen; the tenor whereof (because they touch only such common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers and sundry places before) I do here for brevity's sake omit and pass over, giving you yet this much to understand, that in matters of faith they were as sound and answered as truly (God be therefore praised) as ever any did, especially the woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more ferventness of spirit. Notwithstanding, according to the measure of grace that God gave them, they both stood most firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the tenth day of September they were (with Ralph Allerton, of whom ye have heard) brought again before the bishop within his chapel at Fulham, where he, speaking unto them, said first on this wise: "Austoo! dost thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou hast to do?" "Yea," quoth Austoo, "I know where I am; for I am in an idol's temple."

After which words, their articles being again read, and their constancy in faith perceived, Bonner pronounced against either of them severally the sentence of condemnation, and delivering them

unto the sheriff there present, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them : but the Lord in the end will judge that ; to whom I refer his cause.

It so happened upon a night, that as this Margery Austoo was in the bishop's prison, (which prison I suppose was his dog-kennel ; for it was, as is reported, under a pair of stairs,) by the bishop's procurement there was sent a stout champion (as appeared) about twelve of the clock at night, who suddenly opened the door, and with a knife drawn, or ready prepared, fell upon her, to the intent to have cut her throat, which she, by reason of the clearness of the moon, perceiving, and calling unto God for help, he, (but who it was she knew not,) giving a grunt, and fearing belike to commit so cruel a deed, departed his ways without any more hurt-doing.

The next night following, they caused a great rumbling to be made over her head, which seemed to her to have been some great thunder, which they did, to have feared her out of her wits ; but yet, thanks be to God, they missed of their purpose.

Richard Roth.

In the godly fellowship of the forenamed three martyrs, was also this Richard Roth, as is already specified ; who, being apprehended, and brought up unto the bishop of London, was by him examined the fourth day of July ; at what time the bishop did earnestly travail to induce him to believe that there were seven sacraments in Christ's church ; and that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly spoken, there remained the very substance of Christ's body and blood, and none other. Whereunto, at that present, he made only this answer ; that if the Scripture did so teach him, and that he might be by the same so persuaded, he would so believe ; otherwise not. But at another examination, which was the ninth day of September, he declared plainly that in the said sacrament of the altar, as it was then used, there was not the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead god ; and that the mass was detestable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from the which faith and opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day, being the tenth day of the same month of September, the bishop at his house at Fulham (by way of an article) laid and objected against him, that he was a comforter and boldener of heretics ; and therefore had written a letter to that effect unto certain that were burnt at Colchester, the copy whereof ensueth.

"O dear brethren and sisters, how much have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you such

faith to overcome this blood-thirsty tyrant thus far ! And no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory shall ye receive with Christ in the kingdom of God ! O that it had been the good will of God, that I had been ready to have gone with you : for I lie in my Lord's Little-ease in the day, and in the night I lie in the coal-house, from Ralph Allerton, or any other ; and we look every day when we shall be condemned. For he said, that I should be burnt within ten days before Easter ; but I lie still at the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me : but we abide patiently the Lord's leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks, by the which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters, in this world ; but I trust to see you in the heavens face to face.

"O brother Mount, with your wife and my dear sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake, with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters known and unknown ! O be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, saith Christ ; for I have overcome death, saith he. O dear hearts ! seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, O tarry you the Lord's leisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he seeth best. For our lives are in the Lord's hands ; and they can do nothing unto us before God suffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

"O dear hearts ! you shall be clothed with long white garments upon the mount Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Saviour, which will never forsake us. O blessed virgins ! ye have played the wise virgins' part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the Bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they shall be shut out, because they made not themselves ready to suffer with Christ, neither go about to take up his cross. O dear hearts, how precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord ! for dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all : Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

"By me,

RICHARD ROTH, written with my own blood."

This letter he confessed indeed, upon the said examination, to have written with his blood, and that he meant to have sent the same unto such as

were condemned at Colchester for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and were afterwards burnt there, as ye have already heard.

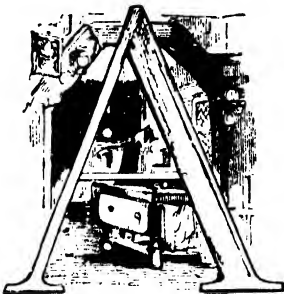
The bishop then further asked him, what he thought his prison-fellow Ralph Allerton to be. He answered, that he thought him to be one of the elect children of God; and that if at any time hereafter he happened to be put to death for his faith and religion, he thought he should die a true martyr.

And moreover, finding himself aggrieved with the bishop's privy and secret condemning of God's people, he said unto him in this sort: "My Lord, because the people should not see and behold your doings, ye cause me and others to be brought to our examinations by night, being afraid, belike, to do it by day."

The bishop not greatly caring for this talk, proceeded to examine him of other matters, amongst which this high and weighty thing was one; viz., how he did like the order and rites of the church then used here in England. To whom he said, that he ever had and yet then did abhor the same with all his heart.

Then divers of the bishop's complices entreated and persuaded him to recant and ask mercy of the bishop. "No," quoth Roth, "I will not ask mercy of him that cannot give it." Whereupon he was (as the rest before mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the sheriff, and the seventeenth day of September they all most joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Islington, for the testimony of Christ, as before is declared.

Agnes Bongeor and Margaret Thurston, two godly Christian women, burnt at Colchester for the sincere profession of Christ's gospel.



Thurston, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that should have suffered with them, and were likewise condemned at the same time and place that the other above-named ten were, for the like cause, and answered also in their examinations the like in effect as the others did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurston, that morning she should suffer with those that went from the castle, was for that time defer-

red. What the cause was, the testimony of Joan Cook shall declare unto us; which Joan Cook, the wife now of John Spark, being then in the castle of Colchester for religion, did demand of this widow Thurston, whose husband died in the prison, being imprisoned for religion, wherefore the said Margaret, being a condemned woman, should be reserved when the others suffered in the castle-bailly: she answered, that it was not for any fear of death, but being prepared as the rest were that suffered the same day, she felt in herself a great shivering and trembling of the flesh; whereupon, forsaking the company, she went aside to pray. And whilst she was a praying, she thought that she was lifted up with a mighty wind, that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the gaoler and company with him, and whilst she turned herself to fetch her Psalter, they took the other prisoners, and left her alone. Shortly after she was removed out of the castle, and put into the town-prison, where she continued until Friday sevensnight after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the castle again, where she declared thus much to the foresaid Joan Cook.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered in like manner with the six that went out of Mote hall, was also kept back at that time, but not in like sort, because her name was wrong written within the writ, as in the bailiff's letter of Colchester, sent to Bonner about the same, more plainly doth appear, the tenor whereof hereafter followeth.

"After our humble commendations unto you, right reverend father, accordingly considered, these are to certify your honourable Lordship, that upon Friday the thirtieth of July last past, in the afternoon of the same day, we received by the hands of Edward Cosin, your Lordship's servant, your loving letters, and also the king's and queen's Majesties' writ *de hæreticis comburendis*, for the real burning of certain persons, convicted and condemned of heresy, then remaining in our custody: which to have executed the next day immediately following, we then purposed and much desired; but could not well and conveniently then do, not only for want of necessary provision then immediately to be had, but also by reason of other occasions and impediments. Whereupon we ordered the execution thereof to be done this present Monday, the second of August; at which time we, by virtue of the writ, have, according to the tenor and purport thereof, really burned six persons of those which are named in the said writ: that is to say, William Bongeor, Robert Purcase, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverside, alias Smith,

little before, gentle reader, was mention made of ten, that suffered martyrdom at Colchester; at which time there were two other women also, one called Margaret

widow ; Ellen Ewring, the wife of Thomas Ewring ; and Elizabeth Folkes.

“ And as touching the seventh person named in the said writ, by the name of Agnes Bower, the wife of Richard Bower, for that we have no such person of that name, nor known nor called by that name, in our custody, neither any of that name or so known or called hath been before us presented or indicted, we could not therefore, by virtue of the writ, proceed unto the real burning of any other person than those six, who were rightly named in the said writ. Howbeit for that we have also a seventh person convicted and condemned of heresy, yet remaining in our custody, called and known by the name of Agnes Bongeor, the wife of Richard Bongeor ; who was indicted and convicted of heresy with the other six before named, and for that the same writ, so misnaming her by another name than she hath ever heretofore been called or known [by], is no sufficient warrant in law for us to proceed unto the real burning of her, we have thought it good, therefore, to stay the execution and real burning of her, and thought it good also to certify your honourable Lordship thereof. Wherefore, if it may please your good Lordship to signify the same her name unto the right reverend father in God, the lord chancellor of England, and further to send unto us another writ of the king's and queen's Majesties, for our warrant to burn really the same Agnes Bongeor, the wife of Richard Bongeor ; and by that name, we shall forthwith, and with like diligence, execute the same ; as we have already done upon those six persons before named. Thus we commend your Lordship to Almighty God, who preserve your honourable estate, in much honour long to continue !—From Colchester, the said third day of August, 1557.

“ Your Lordship's assured at command,

ROBERT BROWN, }
ROBERT MATNARD, } bailiffs.”

The same morning, the second of August, that the said six in Mote hall were called out to go to their martyrdom, was Agnes Bongeor also called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, understanding her (as I said) to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the said Agnes Bongeor to prison again, as ye have heard in the letter before named ; and so from Mote hall that day sent her to the castle, where she remained until her death.

But when she saw herself so separated from her said prison-fellows in that sort, O good Lord ! what piteous moan that good woman made, how bitterly she wept, what strange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and desolate she esteemed herself,

and into what plunge of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was piteous and wonderful to see ; which all came because she went not with them to give her life in the defence of her Christ ; for of all things in the world, life was least looked for at her hands. For that morning in which she was kept back from burning, had she put on a smock, that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also having a child, a little young infant sucking on her, whom she kept with her tenderly all the time that she was in prison, against that day likewise did she send away to another nurse, and prepared herself presently to give herself for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed a great deal better welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time, as she thought it would ; and therefore (as I said) was she not a little troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did sacrifice his son Isaac, or in that he would have offered him ? Unto which she answered thus : “ I know,” quoth she, “ that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not stayed him : but I,” said she, “ am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity : and therefore Abraham's case and mine are not alike.”

“ Why,” quoth her friend, “ would ye not willingly have gone with your company, if God should so have suffered it ? ” “ Yes,” said she, “ with all my heart ; and because I did not, it is now my chief and greatest grief.”

Then said her friend, “ My dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt see thou dost nothing differ with him in will at all.” “ Alas,” quoth she, “ there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me ; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but so am not I : and therefore our cases are not alike.”

“ Good sister,” quoth her friend, “ weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant,” said he, “ would have offered his son : and have not you done the like, in your little sucking babe ? But consider further than this, my good sister,” said he, “ whereas Abraham was commanded but to offer his son, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not yourself, which goeth somewhat more near you, than Abraham's obedience did ; and therefore before God, assuredly, is no less accepted and allowed in his holy presence : which further the preparing of your shroud also, doth argue full well,” &c.

After which talk between them, she began a little to stay herself, and gave her whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found no little comfort.

In the time that these foresaid two good women were prisoners, one in the castle, and the other in Mote hall, God by a secret mean called the said Margaret Thurston unto his truth again; who, having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly sorrow and lament her backsliding before, and promised faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, never more while she lived to do the like again, but that she would constantly stand to the confession of the same, against all the adversaries of the cross of Christ. After which promise made, came in a short time a writ from London for the burning of them, which according to the effect thereof was executed the seventeenth day of September, in the year aforesaid.

Now, when these foresaid good women were brought to the place in Colchester where they should suffer, the seventeenth day of September in the year aforesaid, they fell down upon both their knees, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord: which thing being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately thereto chained; and after the fire had compassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their souls, spirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore, Amen!

Thus, gentle reader! God chooseth the weak things of the world, to confound mighty things.

John Kurde, martyr.

In the story before, was something touched of a certain shoemaker suffering at Northampton, being unnamed, whom because we understand by a letter sent from the said parties, that he suffered in this year 1557, and in the month of September, therefore we thought there to place him. His name was John Kurde, a shoemaker, late of the parish of Syresham, in Northamptonshire, who was imprisoned in Northampton castle for denying the popish transubstantiation, for the which cause William Binsley, bachelor of law, and chancellor unto the bishop of Peterborough, and now archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce sentence of death against the said Kurde, in the church of All Saints in Northampton, in August, anno 1557. And in September following, at the commandment of Sir Thomas Tresham, sheriff then of the shire, he was led by his officers without the north gate of Northampton, and in the stone pits was burnt. A popish priest standing by, whose name was John Rote,

vicar of St. Giles's, in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if he would recant, he was authorized to give him his pardon. His answer was, that he had his pardon by Jesus Christ, &c.

A true certificate of the taking of one John Noyes, of Laxfield, in the county of Suffolk, shoemaker, who was taken the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord God 1557, as hereafter followeth.

In the month of September this present year, or (as some report) in the year past, suffered the blessed martyr, John Noyes, whose story here followeth:—

“First, Master Thomas Lovel, being then chief constable of Hoxne hundred, in the county aforesaid, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard, then being under constables of the foresaid town of Laxfield, and Wolfren Dowsing, and Nicholas Stannard, of the same town, being then accounted faithful and catholic Christians, though undoubtedly they proved most cruel hinderers of the true professors of Christ and his gospel, with others, were commanded to be that present day before the justices, whose names were Master Thurston, Sir John Tyrrel, and Master Kene, and Sir John Silliard being high sheriff.

“These sitting at Hoxne, in the county of Suffolk aforesaid, and there the said townsmen aforesaid having commandment of the said justices to inquire in their town, if there were any that would neglect to come to their service and mass; further, to examine the cause why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the said justices within fourteen days then next ensuing; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred against the truth, and desirous to get promotion, without any such commandment of the justices, (as far as we can learn,) took counsel one with another how to attach the said John Noyes without any more delay.

“This devilish enterprise agreed upon, chiefly through the counsel of Master Thomas Lovel, Wolfren Dowsing, and Nicholas Stannard aforesaid, with expedition his house was beset on both sides. This done, they found the said John Noyes on the backside of the said house going outward; and Nicholas Stannard called to the said John, and said, ‘Whither goest thou?’ And he said, ‘To my neighbours.’ And the said Nicholas Stannard said, ‘Your master hath deceived you; you must go with us now.’ But the said John Noyes answered, ‘No, but take you heed your master deceive not you.’ And so they took him and carried him to the justices the next day. After his appearance, and sundry causes alleged, the justices and the



sheriff together cast him into Eye dungeon, and there he lay a certain time, and then was carried from

thence to Norwich, and so came before the bishop, where were ministered unto him these positions following :—

“1. Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly to stir up men’s minds to devotion.

“2. Item, Whether he believed the pope to be supreme head of the church here in earth.

“3. Item, Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration.

“Whereunto he answered, that he thought the natural body of Christ to be only in heaven, and not in the sacrament, &c. For the which, sentence at last was read by the bishop against him, in the presence of these there sitting the same time : Dr.

Dunning, chancellor, Sir W. Woodhouse, Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Master George Heyden, Master Spenser, W. Farrar, alderman of Norwich, Master Thurston, Wincsdon, with divers other.”

More of his examination than this came not to our hands.

In the mean time his brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fisk, of Dennington, going to comfort him at such time as he remained prisoner in the Guildhall of Norwich, after Christian exhortation, asked him if he did fear death when the bishop gave judgment against him, considering the terror of the same : and the said Noyes answered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the said Nicholas required him to show the cause of his condemnation : upon which request the said John Noyes wrote with his own hand as followeth :—

“I said,” quoth he, “that I could not believe that in the sacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Christ, the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary. But I said that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received of Christian people in the remembrance of

Christ's death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christ's institution.

"But they said, I could not tell what spiritual meant.

"The bishop said, that the sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God. So said the chancellor also.

"Then answered I, 'My Lord, I cannot so believe.'

"Then, quoth the bishop, 'why? Then say thou dost believe.' Notwithstanding these collusions could not prevail."

Now being condemned, he was sent again from Norwich to Eye prison; and upon the twenty-first day of September, in the year aforesaid, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxfield, to be burnt; and on the next-day morning was brought to the stake, where were ready against his coming the foresaid justice, Master Thurston, one Master Waller, then being under-sheriff, and Master Thomas Lovel, being high-constable, as is before expressed; the which commanded men to make ready all things meet for that sinful purpose. Now the fire in most places of the street was put out, saving a smoke was espied by the said Thomas Lovel proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which house the sheriff and Grannow his man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the same to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he should be burnt, he kneeled down and said the fiftieth Psalm, with other prayers; and then they, making haste, bound him to the stake. And being bound, the said John Noyes said, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that can kill both body and soul, and cast it into everlasting fire."

When he saw his sister weeping, and making moan for him, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman, being hastler, a valiant champion in the pope's affairs, brought a faggot and set against him; and the said John Noyes took up the faggot and kissed it, and said, "Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this."

Then he delivered his Psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that same book: and the sheriff promised him that he would, notwithstanding he never as yet performed his promise. Then the said John Noyes said to the people, "They say, they can make God of a piece of bread; believe them not!"

Then said he, "Good people, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion

of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds." And so the fire was kindled, and burnt about him. Then he said, "Lord, have mercy upon me! Christ, have mercy upon me! Son of David, have mercy upon me!"

And so he yielded up his life. And when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coals and ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was unburnt, whole up to the ankle, with the hose on; and that they buried with the rest.

Now while he was a burning, there stood one John Jarvis by, a man's servant of the same town, a plain fellow, which said, "Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up!" And there stood behind him one Grannow, and Benet, being the sheriff's men, and they said to their master that John Jarvis said, "What villain wretches are these!" And their master bade lay hand on him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the justice that same day; and the justice did examine him of the words aforesaid; but he denied them, and answered that he said nothing but this, "Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up!" But, for all this, the justice did bind his father and his master in five pounds apiece, that he should be forthcoming at all times.

And on the Wednesday next he was brought again before the justices, Master Thurston and Master Kene, they sitting at Fressingfield in Hoxne hundred; and there they did appoint and command, that the said John Jarvis should be set in the stocks the next market-day, and whipt about the market, naked. But his master, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendship of the constables; and they did not set him in the stocks till Sunday morning. And in the afternoon they did whip him about the market with a dog-whip, having three cords; and so they let him go.—Some do give out, that John Jarvis was whipt for saying that Nicholas Cadman was Noyes's hastler; that is, such an one as maketh and hasteth the fire.

The copy of a certain letter that John Noyes sent to comfort his wife, at such time as he lay in prison.

"Wife, you desired me that I would send you some tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter saith, Dearly beloved, be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you; but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that

when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of glory and the Spirit of God resteth upon you.

"It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing, than for evil-doing.

"So 1 Pet. iv., See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil-doer, or as a busy-body in other men's matters. But if any man suffer as a Christian man, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this behalf; for the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God. If it first begin at us, what shall the end of them be, that believe not the gospel of God? Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their souls to him in well-doing.

"St. Paul saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

"St. John saith, See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him: for all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vanisheth away and the lust thereof; but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for ever.

"St. Paul saith, If ye be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth.

"Our Saviour Christ saith, Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea.

"The prophet David saith, Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all.

"Fear the Lord, ye his saints: for they that fear him lack nothing.

"When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles: but misfortune shall slay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous shall perish.

"Hear, O my people! I assure thee, O Israel! if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall no strange god be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any other God. Oh that my people would obey me! for if Israel would walk in my ways, I should soon put down their enemies, and turn my hand against their adversaries.

"Our Saviour Christ saith, The disciple is not above his master, nor yet the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master is, and that the servant be as his lord is. If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much

more shall they call them of his household so; fear not them therefore.

"St. Paul saith, Set yourselves therefore at large, and bear not a stranger's yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? either what part hath the believer with the infidel, &c.? Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves now, (saith the Lord,) and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my son and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

"For neither eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man, what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him.

"Ye are bought neither with silver nor gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.

"There is none other name given to men, wherein we must be saved.

"So fare ye well, wife and children! and leave worldly care, and see that ye be diligent to pray.

"Take no thought, saith Christ, saying, What shall we eat, or What shall we drink, or Where-with shall we be clothed? for after all these things seek the Gentiles; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof; and all these things shall be ministered unto you."

The martyrdom and sufferings of Cicely Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the testimony and witness of Christ's gospel.

About the twenty-third day of the said month of September, next after the other above mentioned, suffered at Norwich, Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worsted-weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence's parish in Norwich. She, being of the age of thirty-two years or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above mentioned, in a place called Lollards'-pit without Bishop's-gate, at the said Norwich, for that she said she would pledge them of the same cup that they drank on. For so saying, one Master Corbet, of Sprouston by Norwich, took her and sent her to the chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said unto the sacrament of Christ's body; and she said she did believe that it was the sacrament of the body of Christ. "Yea," said the chancellor, "but what is that that the priest holdeth over his head?" She answered him and said, "It is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worse." At which words the chancellor sent her to the bishop's prison, to the keeper,

called Fellow, with many threatening and hot words, as a man being in a great chafe.

The twenty-third day of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Master Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go to the church and keep her tongue, she should be at liberty, and believe as she would. But she told him she would not consent to his wicked desire therein, do with her what he would; for if she should, she said, God would surely plague her. Then the chancellor told her, he had showed more favour to her than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish woman. But she, not weighing his words, told him, if he did, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she would (by God's grace) be content to give it in so good a quarrel. Then rose he and read the bloody sentence of condemnation against her; and so delivered her to the secular power of the sheriffs of the city, Master Thomas Sutherton, and Master Leonard Sutherton, brethren, who immediately carried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where she remained until her death.

This Cicely Ormes was a very simple woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's cause, being born in East Dereham, and was there the daughter of one Thomas Haund, tailor. She was taken the fifth day of July, and did for a twelvemonth before she was taken recant; but never after was she quiet in conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that she recanted, and that she was taken, she had gotten a letter made to give to the chancellor, to let him know that she repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while she lived: but before she exhibited her bill, she was taken and sent to prison, as is before said. She was burnt the twenty-third day of September, between seven and eight of the clock in the morning, the said two sheriffs being there, and of people to the number of two hundred. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said,

"Good people! I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. This do I not, nor will I recant: but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests and shayelings. I utterly refuse and never will have to do with them again, by God's grace. And, good people! I would you should not think of me that I believe to be saved in that I offer myself here unto the death for the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved by the death and passion of

Christ; and this my death is and shall be a witness of my faith unto you all here present. Good people! as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me."

Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ." Which being done, she, looking on her hand, and seeing it blacked with the stake, wiped it upon her smock; for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper was burnt at. Then, after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ;" and so gave herself to be bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour." And in so saying, she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward; and so stood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very sinews of her arms did break asunder, and then they fell. But she yielded her life unto the Lord as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; so wonderfully did the Lord work with her: his name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen!

The trouble and disturbance among good men and women at Lichfield.

After the death and martyrdom of Mistress Joyce Lewes, a little above specified, divers good men and women in the same town of Lichfield were vexed and in trouble before the bishop and his chancellor, for kissing the said Joyce Lewes, and drinking with her about the time of her death; the names of which persons were these: Joan Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddel, Helen Bowring, Margaret Cootesfote, Nicholas Bird, John Harlstone and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Penifather, &c. These with others were produced to their examination before the bishop and his chancellor for the cause above-named, and there-for adjudged for heretics, for that they did pray and drink with the said Mistress Lewes; but especially Agnes Penifather sustained the most trouble, for that she accompanied the said Joyce Lewes going to her death; which Agnes, being examined further of the said bishop, what words she had spoken to two priests of the church of Lichfield, called John Ady and James Foxe, concerning the said Joyce Lewes after her burning, said as followeth: that she being asked by the said two priests, being at her father's house in the city of Lichfield, at such time as she came from the burning of the said Joyce Lewes, wherefore she (the said Agnes) did weep for such a heretic, meaning Joyce Lewes, whose soul they said was in hell;

the said Agnes Penifather to their demand made this answer—that she thought the said blessed martyr to be in better case than the said two priests were.

With the which words being charged, and willed to submit herself, as the others had done above rehearsed, to such penance as they should enjoin unto her, she refused so to do, and therefore was commanded to close prison, the sheriffs being charged with her under pain of one hundred pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the persuasion of her friends, she was compelled to do as the others had done before. And thus much concerning things done at Lichfield.

The persecution and cruelty exercised by the papists in the diocess of Chichester.

And now from Lichfield to come to Chichester, although we have but little to report thereof, for lack of certain relation and records of that country, yet it seemeth no little trouble and persecution there also to have raged, as in other countries. For what place was there almost in all the realm, where the pope's ministers did not bestir them, murdering some or other, as in the Acts of this Ecclesiastical History may sufficiently appear? Wherefore, as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all other people and countries of England, so likewise in the diocess of Chichester, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness, within the compass of Queen Mary's reign, in the number of whom were these:—John Foreman of East Grinstead, John Warner of Bourne, Christian Grover of the archdeaconry of Lewes, Thomas Athoth, priest, Thomas Avington of Ardingley, Dennis Burgis of Buxted, Thomas Ravensdale of Rye, John Milles of Hellingley, Nicholas Holden of Withyham, John Hart of Withyham, Margery Morice of Heathfield, Anne Try of East Grinstead, John Oseward of Woodmancott, Thomas Harland of Woodmancott, James Morice of Heathfield, Thomas Dougate of East Grinstead, John Ashedon of Cottesfield: martyrs.

The greatest doers against these godly and true faithful martyrs, and setters-upon their condemnation, were these: Christopherson (the bishop after Day); Richard Briesly, doctor of law, and chancellor of Chichester; Robert Tailor, bachelor of the law, his deputy; Thomas Paccard, civilian; Anthony Clarke, Albane Langdale, bachelor of divinity, &c.

The examination of Thomas Spurdance, one of Queen Mary's servants, before the chancellor of Normich.

“The bishop's chancellor did ask me if I had

been with the priest, and confessed my sins unto him. And I said, ‘No, I had confessed my sins to God, and God saith, In what hour soever a sinner doth repent, and be sorry for his sins, and ask him forgiveness, willing no more so to do, he will no more reckon his sin unto him; and that is sufficient for me.’

“Then said the chancellor, ‘Thou deniest the sacrament of penance.’ I said, ‘I deny not penance; but I deny that I should show my sins unto the priest.’

“Then said the chancellor, ‘That is a denying of the sacrament of penance. Write this article.’

“‘Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar,’ said he, ‘at this time of Easter?’ And I said, ‘No.’

“‘And why have you not?’ saith he. I said, ‘I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.’

“‘Why, do we not use it truly?’ said he. I said, ‘No: for the holy supper of the Lord serveth for the Christian congregation, and you are none of Christ's members; and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.’

“‘Why are we none of Christ's members?’ said the chancellor. I said, ‘Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.’

“‘What laws are those?’ said he. I said, ‘These three articles that you swear the people unto here be false and untrue; and you do evil to swear the people unto them.’

“Then said he, ‘Good people! take no heed unto his words, for he is a heretic, and teacheth you disobedience:’ and so he would no more speak of that matter.

“Then said he, ‘How believest thou in the blessed sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?’ I said, ‘No, not the same body in substance: for the same body hath a substance in flesh, blood, and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice; and this is a dry sacrifice.’

“And I said, ‘Is the mass a sacrifice?’ Unto which a doctor answered that sat by him, ‘It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.’

“Then said I, ‘No, it is no sacrifice; for St. Paul saith that Christ made one sacrifice once for all: and I do believe in none other sacrifice, but only in that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.’

“Then said the doctor, ‘That sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.’ Then said I, ‘That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making, and it is your sacrifice; it is none of mine.’

“Then said the chancellor, ‘He is a heretic: he denieth the sacrament of the altar.’

"Then said I, 'Will ye know how I believe in the holy supper of our Lord?' And he said, 'Yea.'

"Then said I, 'I believe that if I come rightly and worthily, as God hath commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, by believing in him. But the bread, being received, is not God; nor the bread, that is yonder in the pix, is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will be worshipped with the works of men's hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread: for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apostles such use.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'He denieth the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.' Then said I, 'The servant is not greater than his master: for your predecessors killed my Master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men; and now you also kill the servants of Christ: so that all the righteous blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel until this day, shall be required at your hands.'

"'Well,' said the chancellor, 'have him away!'"

Another examination of Spurdance, before the bishop in his house.

"The bishop said, 'Sirrah, dost thou not believe in the catholic faith of holy church?' And I said, 'I believe Christ's catholic church.'

"'Yea,' said he, 'in Christ's church, of the which the pope is the head? Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?'

"And I said, 'No, I believe not that he should be above the apostles, if he take them to be his predecessors. For when there came a thought among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their Master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, The kings of the earth bear domination above other: but ye shall not so do; for he that will be greatest among you, shall become servant unto you all. How is it then,' said I, 'that he will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my master King Henry's time, that we should to the uttermost of our power never consent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country, more than a bishop hath in his diocese.'

"'Yea,' said the bishop, 'what of that? We were then in error and sin; now we are in the right way again. And therefore thou must come home again with us, and knowledge thy fault, and become a Christian man, and be sworn unto the pope as our supreme head.—Wilt thou be sworn unto the pope? How sayest thou?'

"Then I said, 'No, I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I live! For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the pope is head of the church, and may do therein what him listeth.'

"'No!' said he; 'yes, I trow: for as the bell-wether which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of sheep, even so is the pope the head of the church of Christ. And as the bees in the hive have a master-bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the hive; even so the pope, when we be gone astray and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c., then is ordained our head by succession of Peter, to bring us home again to the true church; as thou now, my good fellow, hast wandered long out of the way, like a scattered sheep, &c. Hear therefore that bell-wether, the master-bee, &c., and come home with us to thy mother the true church again.'

"Unto whom I answered, 'My Lord, all this is but natural reason, and no Scripture. But since ye cannot prove the pope to be authorized by Scripture, ye answer not me as I thought ye would.'

"'Hah!' said he, 'I see well ye be stout, and will not be answered: therefore ye shall be compelled by law, whether ye will or no.'

"'My Lord,' said I, 'so did your forefathers entreat Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and so likewise you have a law, which is tyranny, and by that would ye enforce me to believe as you do. But the Lord, I trust, will assist me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world one day.'

"Then said he, 'When were ye at church, and went in procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?' And I said, 'Never since I was born.' 'No!' said he: 'how old are you?' And I said, 'I think about forty.'

"'Why,' said he, 'how did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?' I said, 'As you do now.' 'And even now,' said he, 'you said you did not use the ceremonies since you were born.' 'No more I did,' said I, 'since I was born anew; as Christ said unto Nicodemus, Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

"Then said a doctor that sat by, 'He is very Anabaptist; for that is their opinion plain.' 'No sir, you say falsely,' said I; 'for I am no Anabaptist: for they deny children to be baptized, and so do not I.'

"'Well,' said the bishop, 'why dost thou not go to church, and do the ceremonies?' And I said, 'Because they be contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourself have taught: but now you say, it is good again. And I think if there were a return tomorrow, you would say that is false again, which

you hold now : therefore, I may well say, there is no truth in you.'

"Then said the bishop, 'Thou art a stubborn fellow, and a heretic, and a traitor.'

"'No,' said I, 'I am no traitor ; for I have done, I think, better service to the crown imperial of England, than you.'

"'If you had done so good service,' said he, 'you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.' 'So I am,' said I. 'There is no man alive (I thank God) that can accuse me justly, that ever I was disobedient to any civil laws. But you must consider, my Lord, that I have a soul and a body, and my soul is none of the queen's, but my body and my goods are the queen's. And I must give God my soul, and all that belongeth unto it ; that is, I must do the laws and commandments of God : and whosoever commandeth laws contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for losing of my soul, but must rather obey God than man.'

"And he said, 'Why dost thou not these laws then ? are they not agreeable to God's law ?' And I said, 'No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws.' 'Yes,' saith he, 'that I can.'

"Then said I, 'If you can prove me by the word of God, that you should have any graven images made to set in your churches for laymen's books, or to worship God by them, or that you should have any ceremonies in your church as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.'

"Then said he, 'It is a good and decent order to furnish the church : as when you shall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the table, to furnish the table before the meat shall come upon it ; so are these ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the church among Christian people.'

"'These,' said I, 'are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God saith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight. And these ceremonies are against God's laws. For St. Paul saith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.' 'Well,' said he, 'if you will not do them, seeing they be the laws of the realm, you are a heretic and disobedient : and therefore come home again, and confess your fault with us, that you have been in error. Will you do so ?' And I said, 'No, I have been in no error : for the spiritual laws were never trulier set forth than in my master King Edward's time, and I trust unto God I shall never forsake them while I live.'

"Then came a gentleman to me and said, 'Are ye wiser than all men ? and have ye more knowledge than all men ? Will ye cast away your soul will-

ingly ? My Lord, and other men also, would fain you would save yourself : therefore choose some man where you will, either spiritual or temporal, and take a day ; my Lord will give it you.'

"Then said I, 'If I save my life, I shall lose it ; and if I lose my life for Christ's sake, I shall find it in life everlasting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I must say then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.'

"'Well, then have him away,' said the bishop."

This above-named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queen Mary's servants, and was taken by two of his fellows, the said queen's servants, named John Haman, otherwise called Barker, and George Looson, both dwelling in Coddendam, in the county of Suffolk, who carried him to one Master Gosnall, dwelling in the said Coddendam, and by him he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison ; and afterwards burnt in the month of November.

The story and martyrdom of John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson, three constant witnesses of Christ.

Not long after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colchester above named, were three faithful witnesses of the Lord's testament tormented and put to death in Smithfield at London, the eighteenth of November, in the year aforesaid, whose names hereafter follow : John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson.

Which three were produced before Bonner, bishop of London, the fifth day of November, 1557, and had by him and his officers certain articles ministered unto them ; the sum whereof hereafter followeth :

"First, That the said John Hallingdale is of the diocess of London, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. That the said John before the time of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, late king of England, was of the same faith and religion that was then observed, believed, taught, and set forth in the realm of England.

"3. That during the reign of the said King Edward the Sixth, the said John Hallingdale, upon occasion of the preaching of certain ministers in that time, did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and so did and doth continue till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he saith) till his life's end.

"4. That the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken, divers times, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service received, observed, and used now in this realm of England, is not

good and laudable, but against God's commandment and word, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments; and that he the said John will not in any wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

"5. That the said John absenteth himself continually from his own parish church of St. Leonard, neither hearing matins, mass, nor evensong, nor yet confessing his sins to the priest, or receiving the sacrament of the altar at his hands, or using other ceremonies as they are now used in this church and realm of England; and as he remembereth, he never came but once into the said parish church of St. Leonard, and careth not (as he saith) if he never come there any more, the service being as it is there, and so many abuses being there, as he saith there are, especially the mass, the sacraments, and the ceremonies and service set forth in Latin.

"6. That the said John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought in bed of a man-child, caused the said child to be christened in English, after the same manner and form, in all points, as it was used in the time of the reign of King Edward the Sixth aforesaid, and caused it to be called Josue; and would not have the said child christened in Latin after the form and manner as it is now used in the church and realm of England, nor will have it by his will (as he saith) to be confirmed by the bishop."

John Hallingdale's answers to the articles.

"Unto all which articles the said John Hallingdale made answer, confessing them all, and every part of them, to be true, and saying, that he would not revoke his said answers, but stand unto them according as it was in every article above written.

"Furthermore, the said John Hallingdale, being demanded by the said Bonner, whether he did firmly believe that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, or no; made answer, that he neither in the time of the said King Edward the Sixth, nor at that present, did believe, that in the said sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ. For he said, that if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) have received the same; which he did not, because he had and then did believe, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

"And furthermore the said John Hallingdale said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burnt for heretics, were no heretics at all, because they did preach truly the gospel: upon whose preaching he ground-

ed his faith and conscience, as he said, according to the saying of St. John, in the eighteenth chapter of his Revelation, where he saith, that the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon earth, was found in the Babylonical church; by the which, he said, is understood the church where the pope is the head."

After which examination, the said John was sent unto prison again. And the next day, being the sixth day of the said month, he was called before the bishop again, who persuading him with some wrested sentences of the Scripture, the said John Hallingdale answered, "Because I will not," saith he, "come to your Babylonical church, therefore," speaking unto Bonner, "you go about to condemn me." And being of Bonner further demanded, whether he would persevere and stand in his opinions or no; he made answer that he would continue and persist in them unto the death. Then Bonner read the bloody sentence of condemnation; at which time the said John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the church since the abomination came into it. And so he was sent to prison again.

Upon the same sixth day also, in the forenoon, was produced before the bishop the forenamed William Sparrow, and had laid unto him certain articles, which hereafter follow.

"First, That thou, William Sparrow, wast in times past detected and presented lawfully unto thy ordinary the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary of the said diocese, and thou wast presented and detected unto him for heresy, errors, and unlawful opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

"2. That thou before the said ordinary didst openly and judicially confess the said heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appeareth plainly in the acts of the court, had and made before the said ordinary.

"3. That thou, after the premises, didst make thy submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed, to thy said ordinary; openly confessing and recognising thy heresies, errors, unlawful opinions, and thine offences and transgressions in that behalf.

"4. That thou, after the premises, didst promise unto thy said ordinary voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the said submission, thou wouldst in all points conform thyself unto the common order of the catholic church, observed and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wise fall again to heresies, errors, or unlawful opinions.

"5. That thou, since thy said submission, hast

willingly fallen into certain heresies and errors, and hast holden and set forth divers unlawful opinions, to the right great hurt of thine own soul, and also to the great hinderance and loss of divers others; especially against the sacrament of the altar, against confession auricular, with other the sacraments of the catholic church.

"6. That thou, since the said commission, hast willingly gone about divers places within the diocess of London, and sold divers heretical, erroneous, and blasphemous ballets about, and wast apprehended and taken with the said ballets about thee, and committed to prison."

Unto all which articles the said William Sparrow answered in effect as hereafter followeth:

"To the first, second, third, and fourth articles he answered affirmatively, as thus: that he was presented and detected to Bonner, unto whom he made his submission, &c., as in the articles.

"To the fifth he answered, that if he had spoken against them, he had spoken but the truth; for they be naught (meaning the contents of the said article).

"To the sixth, he granted to the article, adding, that he did sell the said ballets then showed and read before him, and that the same did contain God's word."

After which answers, the said William Sparrow was sent unto prison. And the same day in the afternoon, being produced before the bishop again, and there charged with his said submission, made the year before unto the bishop, he answered thus: "I am sorry," said he, "that ever I made it, and it was the worst deed that ever I did;" adding further unto them, "Hold up your abomination so long as you can." Also being laid unto him, and charged by the bishop that he went to church, and there was confessed and heard mass, the said William Sparrow made answer and confessed, that he did so, "but with a troubled conscience," he said, "God knoweth." And speaking further to the bishop, he said, "That which you call truth, I do believe," said he, "to be heresy." And also the bishop charging him again with the contents of the fifth article above named, he answered that he had so done, as is contained in the same article, and so will do again, if he were at liberty. And being further demanded of Bonner, whether he would persist and continue in the same, or no; he made answer, that he would not go from his opinions. And adding thereunto, he said, "That which you call heresy," (speaking to the bishop,) "is good and godly; and if every hair of my head were a man," said he, "I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth."

Then being demanded what ground of learning he had to cleave to his opinions, he made answer and said, that all the laws now used (meaning the ecclesiastical laws) are naught and abominable. And further thereunto he said, that the mass is naught and abominable, &c.: which words being spoken, the bishop immediately read the sentence of condemnation upon him; and so delivered him to the secular power, by whom he was sent to prison again.

Richard Gibson, martyr.

With the other two above named, suffered also in the same fire Richard Gibson, who first was cast into the Compter in the Poultry, (where he had been prisoner by the space of two years for suretyship in a matter of debt, and then stood upon his deliverance,) then upon suspicion and evil will was accused to Bonner, for that in the prison he was never confessed, nor received at the popish altar: by reason whereof he was called for, and sustained divers and sundry conflicts and examinations in the cause of his faith and religion. But first he seemed to make a certain submission, which also he exhibited with the other twenty-eight above mentioned: but because it seemed something to differ in words from the other, it appeareth not to be received; or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his submission was in the bishop's register recorded, yet he was not delivered out from imprisonment till the day of his burning. The articles first objected and ministered unto him by the bishop, were these:—

"First, That the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, in the diocess of London, hath otherwise than became a faithful Christian man, and a good subject of this realm of England, behaved himself in words and deeds, in divers conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the prisoners of the prison of the said Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own soul, offending especially in the articles following: by reason whereof the said Richard Gibson was and is of the jurisdiction of the said bishop of London, and subject to the said jurisdiction, to make answer to his offences and transgressions underwritten, according to the order of the law.

"2. That the said Richard Gibson hath un-reverently spoken against the pope, and see, and church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England, and against the seven sacraments of the catholic and whole church

of Christendom, and against the articles of the Christian faith here observed in this realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholic church.

"3. That the said Richard Gibson hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and also all other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned for heretics; and also liked all their heretical and erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially against the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the pope and see of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

"4. That the said Richard Gibson hath comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained, both by words and otherwise, heretics and erroneous persons, or at the least suspected and infamed of heresies and errors condemned by the catholic church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.

"5. That the said Gibson hath affirmed and said, that the religion and faith commonly observed, kept, and used now here, in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto God's word and commandment.

"6. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that the English service, and the books commonly called the Books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here set forth in this realm of England in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were in all parts and points good and godly; and that the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this realm of England.

"7. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parish church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear matins, mass, evensong, or any divine service now used in this realm of England, nor come to procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any taper or candle, nor receive at any time ashes, nor bear at any time palm, nor receive pax at mass-time, nor receive holy water, nor holy bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the catholic church, here observed or kept commonly in this realm of England.

"8. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a priest convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive the absolution of his sins at his hands, nor to receive of him the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, after such form as is now used within this realm of England.

"9. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that

prayer unto saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said sacrament of the altar, nor in any wise to adore and worship it."

As these aforesaid articles were ministered unto him the eighth day of May, so was there another article objected against him by the said Bonner, the sixth day of November the same year; the tenor whereof here followeth.

"That thou, being both notably suspected of heresy, errors, and evil opinions, and also (by the common report and fame amongst the worshipful, grave, and honest persons of this city of London in a notable number) culpable and faulty, hast not lawfully purged and cleared thyself from the said suspicion; but rather day by day continually, by thy acts and deeds, hast augmented and increased the said suspicion, refusing to be confessed to the priest, refusing to receive the sacrament of the altar at the priest's hands, refusing to hear mass when thou hadst opportunity, and wast thereunto required by thy ordinary, the bishop of London, in whose diocese thou wast then abiding—refusing also to give an oath on a book, and to make answer to such articles, as, by the said ordinary, were lawfully and duly objected against thee, concerning the said heresies, errors, and ill opinions—and as, by thy said ordinary, thou wast upon just and reasonable causes commanded and required, and on thy behalf, without just or reasonable cause, contemptuously and wilfully refused: thereby, in law, bringing thyself to be taken and reputed; in those articles and matters, for a person confessing the same."

Concerning his answers unto the said articles, because he did not swear to answer to their interrogatories, therefore, without further answer-making, Bonner declared him *pro confesso*.

The greatest matter which he was charged withal, was for not coming to confession, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the sacraments of the popish making, and for that he would not swear to answer unto their interrogatories laid against him.

Notwithstanding, after these his first examinations, he continued in the foresaid prison of the Compter a good space, from the month of May unto November, at what time he was again produced unto the final examination judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Master Gibson, being a very big and tall man, of a personable and heroical stature, was sent for of Bonner by a little and short person, a promoter, like Robin Papist, called Robin Caley, if it were not he himself.

This Robin Caley, having the conducting of the

said gentleman from the Poultry, would needs hale him through Cheapside, the gentleman desiring him to turn some other way. But the more the gentleman entreated, the more fierce was this silly Jack upon him; and drawing and holding him by the arm, would needs hale him through the High Street, that all the world might see what he could do in his office. Master Gibson, desirous to be led without holding, willed and entreated him to let his arm loose: he would go quietly of his own accord with him whither he would, only craving that he might go by him freely, without noting of the people.

The saucy and impotent miser the promoter, hearing this, who was scarce able to reach to his shoulders, "Nay," saith he, "thou shalt not escape me so, come on thy ways: thou shalt not choose but come!" And so, reaching at his arm, would needs drag him unto the bishop. The gentleman content to go, yet loth to be notified in the streets, gently requested again and again, that, refraining his hold, he would suffer him to go of his own free and voluntary will; he should not need to fear him, for he would not start from him. To whom the caittiff, looking up to his face, "Come on thy way," saith he, "I will hold thee fast, spite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no."

Master Gibson, seeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched miser, and moved therewith not a little, could bear no longer, but said, "Wilt thou?" said he; and added moreover, bitterly looking down towards him, that if he did not incontinently pluck away his hand (and so staid withal) he would immediately wring his neck from his body. Whereupon Robin Papist the promoter was fain to pluck away his hold, and so proceeded they unto the bishop, there to be examined again before him.

I should have declared before, how Bonner, as his manner was commonly with divers, had received and procured against him for witnesses, William Wood, John Babington, Thomas Hawes, Thomas Cornish, Richard Lawkenor, Nicholas Grove, and Owen Claydon: to whom interrogatories were also ministered to depose upon against the said Gibson. The tenor of the interrogatories was this.

"1. Whether ye know of certain, or else credibly are informed and believe, that Richard Gibson, now prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, within the city and diocess of London, hath ever, at all sundry times and places, in prison or elsewhere, behaved himself in words, behaviour, and deeds, in all conditions and points, as all the catholic and true subjects of this realm ought to do, and to behave themselves therein according to their duty.

"2. Whether ye so know, or are so informed and

believe, that the said Richard Gibson hath, during all the time of his said imprisonment, reverently spoken of the pope, and of the see and church of Rome, and likewise of the whole church of this realm of England, and of the seven sacraments of the catholic church, and other points of the catholic religion.

"3. Whether ye have heard the said Richard Gibson, at any time during his said imprisonment, speak against the said pope and his authority, and against the church of Rome and the faith thereof, or against this church of England and the faith and service thereof, or against any of the said seven sacraments of the said catholic church, or against the common order of the ecclesiastical church, or any of the ceremonies thereof.

"4. Whether ye have heard the said Richard Gibson, at any time during his said imprisonment, allow, commend, defend, and like, any the articles that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c., or any other, were condemned for as heretics, by the ecclesiastical authority and laws of this realm of England.

"5. Whether ye have heard this said Richard Gibson, at any the said times, to comfort, aid, and assist, by words or otherwise, any heretic, or any erroneous person, or person suspected of heresy, to continue or persist in any their heretical and erroneous opinions.

"6. Whether have ye heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, in talk, utter and say that the religion and faith commonly observed and used here now, in this realm of England, is not good nor laudable, nor agreable unto God's word and commandment; and that he will be contented in all points to conform himself, without any murmuring or grudging, unto the same.

"7. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, affirm and say that the English service, and the books commonly called the Books of Communion, set forth in this realm of England in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were in all parts good and godly, and the same only to be observed and kept, and none other.

"8. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, affirm or say that he, being at liberty, is not bound to come to any his parish church, there to hear matins, mass, evensong, or any other divine service now used in this realm of England.

"9. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, affirm and say that he, being at liberty, is not bound to come unto procession upon days and times accustomed: nor to bear at any time any taper or candle, nor to receive at any time ashes, or to bear at any time palm, or to receive or kiss the pax at mass-time, or to receive

holy bread or holy water, or to observe the ceremonies and usages of the church.

"10. Whether have ye heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, say and affirm that he is not bound, at any time, to confess his sins unto any priest, and to receive absolution at the priest's hands; or to receive, at any time, at the priest's hands, the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, after such form and manner as it is now used in this realm of England.

"11. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, to affirm and say that prayers unto saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable nor profitable; and that a man is not bound, at any time, to fast or pray, (but at his pleasure,) at any time appointed by the church; and that it is not lawful to reserve the sacrament of the altar, nor to adore and worship it.

"The witnesses above named, being upon these interrogatories deposed, do attest and witness, some in his excuse, some contrary: of whom two of them, that is, John Babington his bedfellow, and Thomas Hawes, make answer and say; that they never knew nor saw, either in word or deed, by him, otherwise than well. The others, William Wood, Thomas Cornish, Richard Lawkenor, Owen Claydon, and Nicholas Grove, deposing against him, gave witness in this effect as followeth: namely, that the said Gibson, for two years before, was not confessed unto any priest, neither in that space did receive the sacrament of the altar, as they so term it. Whereunto Master Gibson granting, and not denying the same, gave thanks unto God for that he had so done."

Bonner, receiving these depositions of the witnesses above named, began to charge him with the same, objecting further and laying more matter unto his charge: that the said Gibson, being on a time in the bishop's house, and being required by the said bishop to go into his chapel with him to hear mass, refused so to do. To which Master Gibson answered again, that he had neither said nor done any thing therein, whereof he was sorry, or which he would revoke; but that he would stand therein, and seal it with his blood.

Among others who were at this examination, there was also there present John, bishop of Winchester, who, amongst other communication, had these words, saying, that it was no pity to burn a heretic. To whom Gibson replied again and said, he thought it not requisite nor lawful to burn them as heretics. And then the bishop of Winchester said, that he would not commune or talk any further with the same Gibson, because he perceived him to be a heretic, and thereby excommunicate. Then Gibson

said, "Yea, my Lord," quoth he, "yours, and other bishops' cursings, be blessings unto me," &c.

After this, another day being assigned him to appear again, much talk passed between him and Durbishire, then chancellor. But in fine, being required to swear that he should answer unto all things they would demand, he denied to answer unto all things the bishop should command him as ordinary: "for he is not," saith he, "mine ordinary;" and so bade him go tell the bishop. Before the which bishop he, being then commanded to appear the Friday next following, was brought unto the justice-hall without Newgate, where he had the like conflicts with the foresaid bishop and divers other justices. At length he was assigned the Saturday following, to be present in the bishop's consistory court, to hear his final sentence: at which day and place, the said examinee appearing as he was commanded, the bishop, after other matter of communication, asked him if he knew any cause why the sentence should not be read against him. To whom the said Master Gibson answered, that the bishop had nothing wherefore justly to condemn him. The bishop's reason was again objected to him, that men said he was an evil man. To whom Gibson replying again; "Yea," saith he, "and so may I say of you also." To be short, after this and such other talk, the bishop hasted unto the sentence; which being read, Gibson being yet again admonished to remember himself, and to save his soul, said that he would not hear the bishop's babbling; and said moreover, (boldly protesting and affirming,) that he was contrary and an enemy to them all, in his mind and opinion, although he had aforetime kept it secret in mind, for fear of the law. And speaking to the bishop, "Blessed," said he, "am I, that am cursed at your hands. We have nothing now, but, Thus will I: for as the bishop saith, so must it be. And no heresy is to turn the truth of God's word into lies; and that do you," meaning the bishop and his fellows.

Thus this valiant soldier, fighting for the gospel and sincere doctrine of Christ's truth and religion against falsehood and error, was committed, with his fellows, to the secular power.

And so these three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Master Gibson, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were, the twelfth day after their condemnation, (which was the eighteenth day of the said month of November,) burnt in Smithfield in London. And being brought thither to the stake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with chains, and wood set unto them; and, after wood, fire; in the which being compassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at



the last they yielded gloriously and joyfully their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tu-

dignity, estate, or calling by office soever he or they be, their full, true, and lawful duty in their office : and whether every man, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever he or they be, are bound upon the pain of eternal damnation, in all things to do as they are hereby taught and commanded, and in no wise to leave undone any thing that is to be done, being taught and commanded by the same ?

tion and government I commend thee, good reader. Amen.

It is a little above declared, in this story of Richard Gibson, how Bonner ministered unto the said Gibson certain articles, to the number of nine. Now let us see likewise the articles which the said Gibson ministered again to Bonner, according to the same number of nine, for him to answer unto, as by the same hereunder written may appear.

“ 1. Whether the Scriptures of God, written by Moses and other holy prophets of God, through faith that is in Christ Jesus, be available doctrine, to make all men in all things unto salvation learned, without the help of any other doctrine, or no ?

“ 2. What is authority, and from whence it cometh, and to whom it appertaineth, and to what end it tendeth ?

“ 3. Whether the holy word of God, as it is written, doth sufficiently teach all men, of what

“ 4. Whether any man, the Lord Jesus Christ (God and man) only except, by the holy ordinance of God ever was, is, or shall be, lord over faith ? and by what lawful authority of any man, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever he or they be, may use lordship or power over any man for faith's sake, or for the service of his conscience ?

“ 5. By what lawful authority or power any man, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever he or they be, may be so bold as to alter or change the holy ordinances of God, or any of them, or any part of them ?

“ 6. By what evident tokens antichrist in his ministers may be known ; seeing it is written, that Satan can change himself into the similitude of an angel of light, and his ministers fashion themselves as though they were the ministers of righteousness ? And how it may be known to him that is desirous

thereof, when he is one of that number, or in the danger thereof, or when he is otherwise ?

"7. What the beast is, the which maketh war with the saints of God, and doth not only kill them, but also will suffer none to buy or sell, but such as worship his image, or receive his mark in their right hands, or in their foreheads, his name, or the number of his name, or do worship his image, which, by the just and terrible sentence of God already decreed, shall be punished in fire and brimstone, before the holy angels, and before the Lamb ; and they shall have no rest day nor night, but the smoke of their torment shall ascend up for evermore ? Also what the gorgeous and glittering whore is, the which sitteth upon the beast, with a cup of gold in her hand full of abominations ; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth ; and she herself also is drunken with the blood of the saints, which is the wine of her fornication ; whose flesh the horns of the beast shall tear in pieces, and burn her with fire : for God hath put in their hearts to do his will ?

"8. Whether a king over all those people which are born and inhabit within his own dominions, regions, and countries, or any part of them, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever they be, here upon this earth immediately under Christ, by the holy ordinance of God, is lawful, supreme, and chief governor, or no ? And whether a king over all those people within his dominions, regions, and countries, and every part of them, by holy ordinance of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwise to do, nor suffer otherwise to be done, than in his own name, power, and authority, (the name of God only except,) as lawful, supreme, and chief head in all things that belong to rule, without exception, to govern and rule ? And whether all those people, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever they be, are bound by the holy ordinance of God, to owe their whole obedience and service in all things without exception (their duty to God only excepted) to their king only, as to the supreme and chief governor upon earth immediately under Christ ? And whether a king, without offence against God and his people, may give away, and not himself use that his authority and power given him of God ; or lawfully may, without offence to God and his people, (after knowledge thereof had,) suffer himself by fraud or guile, or by any other unlawful mean, to be beguiled, defrauded, and despoiled thereof ? and whether any subject, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever he or they be, without offence to God and to his king, to the minishing or derogation of the supreme prerogative-royal of his king, or of any part thereof, may do aught ? or, after knowledge thereof had, without

offence to God, and to his king, may conceal the same ?

"9. Whether the holy written law of God be given of God unto all men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever they be, as well thereby to govern all their dominions, regions, and countries, and their people there inhabiting, as themselves : and whether any law or laws (the holy law of God only excepted) not being made within any dominion, region, or country where it or they be used, may be lawfully used before it or they be, as the lawful law or laws of the same dominion, region, or country, by public and common order of the same dominion, region, or country, lawfully allowed : and whether any subject, without offence against God and his king, within the dominion of his king, may lawfully use any such law or laws not so allowed ? "

Emanuel.

"Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye mighty, ascribe unto the Lord worship and strength : give unto the honour of his name, and bow yourselves to the majesty of the Lord."

What manner of man a bishop ought to be, and the duty of him in his office ; as the Holy Scriptures of God most truly do teach.

"A bishop, as the steward of God, must be blameless, the husband of one wife, and one that ruleth well his own house, and that hath faithful children in subjection with all reverence ; and one that is diligent, prudent, sober, discreet, righteous, godly, temperate, a keeper of hospitality, not stubborn, not angry, not given to over-much wine, no fighter, not greedy of filthy lucre ; but one that loveth goodness, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness. He may not be a young scholar, but such a one as is apt to teach, and that cleaveth to the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort by wholesome learning, and to improve them that say against it. He must have a good report of them that are without. He may not be a lord over the faithful, of them that are committed unto his charge, neither may he use any lordship over them for the same, but must become as one of them, that, through his humbleness, he may win the more to well doing. Neither may he be so bold as to speak any other thing, to make any man obedient to the same, than he himself hath learned of Christ. Neither may he do or teach any thing to tangle or to snare any man withal. He may not walk in craftiness, neither use the cloak of dishonesty, neither handle the word of God deceitfully, neither chop nor change with the same ; but in the singleness thereof, so open the truth, to the advancement of the truth

thereby, as that he may report himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. He may not reject the weak in faith, in disputing and troubling their conscience, but must bear their frailty, and, in the spirit of meekness, must be ready to help him that is overtaken with any fault; and not to stand in his own conceit, lest he himself also be tempted.

"He not only lawfully may, but also ought, by the virtue of his office, to preach the word; sincerely to minister, so as no man may be able to reprove him; and to expel, put out, or excommunicate from among the remnants of his charge, all open wilful malefactors, who will not by any other means be reformed; and yet to fare fair with all men, and not to be rigorous: because his office is given him to edify, not to destroy. And he not only lawfully may, but also ought, by the virtue of his office, of virtuous able men, well known, and of honest report, within his charge, to appoint sufficient number to help him in the discharge thereof. And he, in no case, by violence, may compel any man to be of his church and fellowship, or to be partaker of any thing that is done therein. And for his due administration, as one worthy of double honour, he may not only receive of his charge what is necessary, but also ought of them, as of duty, without requests, (if need require,) to be provided of the same.

"If the bishop of London be such a manner of man as yet doth teach, and hath done, and daily doth, his duty therein as he is taught by the same, (as of duty he ought to do,) then doubtless, as he is a meet and worthy man for his office, so am I worthy of the punishment I have—yea, if it were more. But, if it be otherwise, (as wherein, for the tender mercy of Christ Jesu, I most humbly require righteous judgment,) then, as I have unworthily sustained long punishment, so is he not only most unworthy of his office, but also hath most worthily deserved to be recompensed blood for blood, as equity requireth.

"I will hearken what the Lord God will say: for he shall speak peace unto his people, that they turn not themselves unto foolishness.

"This sixth of April, 1537.

By me, RICHARD GIBSON."

The death and martyrdom of John Rough, minister, and Margaret Mearing, burnt at London the twenty-second of December.

In this furious time of persecution, were also burned these two constant and faithful martyrs of Christ, John Rough, a minister, and Margaret Mearing.

This Rough was born in Scotland, who, (as

himself confesseth in his answers to Bonner's articles,) because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, did at the age of seventeen years, in despite, (and the rather to displease his friends,) profess himself into the order of the Black Friars at Stirling, in Scotland; where he remained the space of sixteen years, until such time as the Lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland aforesaid, (casting a favour unto him,) did sue unto the archbishop of St. Andrews, to have him out of his professed order, that as a secular priest he might serve him for his chaplain. At which request the archbishop caused the provincial of that house, having thereto authority, to dispense with him for his habit and order.

This suit being thus by the earl obtained, the said Rough remained in his service one whole year, during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth; and thereupon was by the said governor sent to preach in the freedom of Ayr, where he continued four years; and then, after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrews, and there had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from King Henry the Eighth, king of England. Howbeit, at last, weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of his country, and hearing of the freedom of the gospel within this realm of England, he determined with himself not to tarry any longer there; and therefore, soon after the battle of Musselborough, he came first unto Carlisle, and from thence unto the duke of Somerset, then Lord protector of England; and by his assignment had appointed unto him out of the king's treasury twenty pounds of yearly stipend, and was sent as a preacher, to serve at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle; from whence (after he had there, according to the laws of God and also of this realm, taken a country-woman of his to wife) he was called by the archbishop of York that then was, unto a benefice nigh, in the town of Hull, where he continued until the death of that blessed and good King Edward the Sixth.

But in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, (perceiving the alteration of religion, and the persecution that would thereupon arise, and feeling his own weakness,) he fled with his wife into Friesland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truly for his living, knitting of caps, hose, and such-like things, till about the end of the month of October last before his death. At which time, lacking yarn, and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again

into England, here to provide for the same, and the tenth day of November arrived at London; where, hearing of the secret society, and holy congregation of God's children there assembled, he joined himself unto them; and afterwards, being elected their minister and preacher, did continue most virtuously exercised in that godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the gospel of Christ. But in the end, (such was the providence of God, who disposeth all things to the best,) the twelfth day of December, he, with Cutbert Symson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a false hypocrite and dissembling brother, called Roger Sergeant, a tailor, was apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's house, at the Saracen's Head in Islington; where the congregation had then purposed to assemble themselves to their godly and accustomable exercises of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the safeguard of all the rest, they yet, at their examinations, covered and excused by hearing of a play, that was then appointed to be at that place. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Symson unto the council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the communion or supper of the Lord: and therefore, after sundry examinations and answers, they sent the said Rough unto Newgate; but his examinations they sent unto the bishop of London, with a letter signed with their hands, the copy whereof followeth.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here enclosed, the examination of a Scottish man named John Rough, who, by the queen's Majesty's commandment, is presently sent to Newgate; being of the chief of them that upon Sunday last, under the colour of coming to see a play at the Saracen's Head in Islington, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and received there, among certain other seditious and heretical persons. And forasmuch as by the said Rough's examination, containing the story and progress of his former life, it well appeareth of what sort he is; the queen's Highness hath willed us to remit him unto your Lordship, to the end that being called before you out of prison, as oft as your Lordship shall think good, ye may proceed, both to his further examination, and otherwise ordering of him according to the laws, as the case shall require. And thus we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare.—From St. James, the fifteenth day of December, 1557.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,
 Nicholas Ebor, Anthony Montague,
 F. Shrewsbury, John Bourne,
 Edward Hastings, Henry Jernegan."

Bonner, now minding to make quick despatch, did within three days after the receipt of the letter, (the eighteenth day of December,) send for this Rough out of Newgate, and in his palace at London ministered unto him twelve articles: many whereof, because they contain only questions of the profession and religion of that age, wherein both he and his parents were christened, (which in sundry places are already mentioned,) I do here for brevity omit; minding to touch such only, as pertain to matters of faith now in controversy, and then chiefly objected against the martyrs and saints of God, which in effect are these:

Articles against John Rough.

"First, That thou, John Rough, didst directly speak against the seven sacraments, used commonly and reverently, as things of estimation and great worthiness, in the catholic church: and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the said sacraments, but especially the sacrament of the altar, affirming that in that same is not really and truly the very body and blood of Christ: and that confession to the priest, and absolution given by him, (as the minister of Christ,) for sins, is not necessary or available in any wise.

"2. Item, Thou hast misliked and reprov'd the religion and ecclesiastical service, as it is now used in this realm, and hast allowed the religion and service used in the latter years of King Edward the Sixth; and, so much as in thee hath lain, hast by word, writing, and deed, set forwards, taught, and preached the same openly; and in sundry places affirmed, that the said English service and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to God's word, and unto the truth; condemning utterly the Latin service now used in the queen's reign, and inducing others by thine example to do the like.

"3. Item, Thou hast, in sundry places within this realm, commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the sacrament of the altar; affirming that in the sacrament there remaineth, after the words of consecration, material bread and material wine, without any transubstantiation.

"4. Item, Thou hast in sundry places of this realm, since the queen's reign, ministered and received the communion as it was used in the late days of King Edward the Sixth; and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of divers, that yet do keep books of the said communion, and use the same in private houses out of the church, and are of opinion against the sacrament of the altar.

"5. Item, That thou, in sundry places of this realm, hast spoken against the pope of Rome, and

his apostolic see, and hast plainly contemned and despised the authority of the same, misliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against it; and by thine example hast induced other the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the like.

"6. Item, Thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all or a great part of such Englishmen, as have fled out of this realm for religion, and hast consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and hast succoured, maintained, and holpen them, and hast been a conveyer of their seditious letters and books into this realm.

"7. Item, That thou hast said, that thou hast been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty days or more, and that thou hast seen little good or none there, but very much evil. Amongst the which thou sawest one great abomination, that is to say, a man [or the pope] that should go on the ground, to be carried upon the shoulders of four men, as though he had been God, and no man: also a cardinal to have his harlot riding openly behind him: and thirdly, a pope's bull, that gave express licence to have and use the stews, and to keep open bawdry by the pope's approbation and authority.

"8. Item, That thou, since thy last coming into England out of the parts beyond the sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted divers of the subjects of this realm, both young men, old men, and women, to have and use the Book of Communion, set forth in this realm in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth; and hast also thyself read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave their coming to the parish churches to hear the Latin service now used.

"9. Item, That thou, on the third Sunday of Advent, the twelfth day of this December, 1557, wast apprehended at the Saracen's Head at Islington, in the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, by the queen's vice-chamberlain, with one Cutbert, a tailor, Hugh Foxe, a hosier, and divers others there assembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the Communion Book, and to have used the accustomed fashion, as was in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth."

The answer of John Rough, to the foresaid articles.

"To the first, he said and confessed that he had spoken against the number of the said sacraments, being fully persuaded that there be but only two sacraments, to wit, baptism, and the supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be sacraments, and therefore hath spoken against them. And as concerning the sacrament of the

altar, (which he then called the supper of the Lord,) he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that in the said sacrament there is not really and substantially the very body and blood of Christ, but that the substance of bread and wine doth remain in the said sacrament, without any transubstantiation at all. Further, as touching confession of sins to the priest, he answered that he thought it necessary, if the offence were done unto the priest; but, if the offence were done to another, then confession made to the priest is not necessary, but reconciliation only to be made to the party so offended.

"To the second, he answered that he then did and had before disliked the order of Latin service then used; and also did allow the service used in the latter time of King Edward's reign, for that the Holy Scripture doth the same; and therefore he granted that he did teach and set forth the said English service, as in the same article is objected.

"To the third, he granted that he had approved the doctrine of the parties articulate as agreeable to God's word; and that they were godly learned men, and such as had perfect understanding in the contents of the same article.

"To the fourth, he answered that he did well like the communion used in King Edward's days; but he said that he had not ministered or received the same here in England since the queen's reign, neither yet knew any that had the books thereof. But, on the other side, he knew many that had those books, and that there also he had received the communion in sundry places.

"The contents of the fifth he granted to be true.

"To the sixth, he confessed that he had been familiar with divers English men and women, being in Friesland, and agreed with them in opinion, as Master Scory, Thomas Young, George Roe, and others, to the number of one hundred persons, which fled thither for religion, using there the order set forth in the reign of King Edward; and otherwise he denieth the contents of this article.

"The contents of the seventh he granted in every point to be true.

"To the eighth, he answered and confessed that since his last coming into England, (which was about the tenth day of November,) he had, in sundry places in the suburbs of London, prayed and read such prayers and service as are appointed in the Book of the Communion; and willed others to do the like, both men and women, which he did know by sight, but not by name. Howbeit he did never cause any to withdraw themselves from the Latin service; but he said, it were better to pray in a tongue that they did understand, than in an unknown tongue.

"To the ninth, he confessed at the time and place

articulate he was present to hear and see a play, and there was apprehended by the queen's Majesty's vice-chamberlain, with one Cutbert, a tailor, and one Hugh, a hosier, and divers others both men and women, whose names he knew not; and by him was brought before the council, who sent him unto Newgate; and from thence he was brought to the bishop. And otherwise he denieth the contents of this article."

Upon these answers he was dismissed, and the next day, being the nineteenth of December, he was again brought before the said bishop and others; who, when they perceived his constantness, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the consistory, there to adjudge and condemn him as a heretic. Which purpose they accomplished, for, the twentieth day at afternoon, in the presence of the bishops of London and St. David's, with Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and others, he was there produced; where, after much and many fair persuasions, Bonner read unto him the articles and answers before mentioned, in the which they charged him to have received the orders of the church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refused to consent unto the Latin service then used in the church. Whereunto he then answered, and said that their orders were nothing at all, and that he, being a priest, might lawfully marry, and that his children which he had by his wife, were lawful. And as touching the service then used, he utterly detested it, saying that if he should live as long as Methuselah, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass, and other service, being as it was then. Upon which words the bishop proceeded to the actual degradation of the said Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church; and after condemning him as a heretic, committed his body to the secular power, who, taking him into their charge and custody, carried him unto Newgate.

Moreover, as touching the said Master Rough, this is further to be noted, that he, being in the north country in the days of King Edward the Sixth, was the mean to save Dr. Watson's life, (who in Queen Mary's time was bishop of Lincoln,) for a sermon that he had made there. The said Watson after that, in the said days of Queen Mary, being with Bonner at the examination of the said Master Rough, to requite the good turn in saving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious heretic, who did more hurt in the north parts than a hundred besides of his opinion. Unto whom Master Rough said again, "Why, sir, is this the reward I have for saving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the

days of King Edward the Sixth?" This Master Rough said, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal. And being before Bonner, among other talk, he affirmed that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the pope was the very antichrist; for there he saw him carried on men's shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him: yet was there more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his garments, "Hast thou," said he, "been at Rome, and seen our holy father the pope, and dost thou blaspheme him after this sort?" And with that flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard; and after, making speedy haste to his death, he burnt him half an hour before six of the clock in the morning, because the day, belike, should not be far spent, before he had done a mischievous deed.

Furthermore note, that this Master Rough, being at the burning of Austoo in Smithfield, and returning homeward again, met with one Master Farrar, a merchant of Halifax, who asked him, where he had been. Unto whom he answered, "I have been," saith he, "where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been." "Where have you been?" said Master Farrar. "Forsooth," said he, "to learn the way." And so he told him he had been at the burning of Austoo, where shortly after he was burnt himself.

From Newgate he wrote immediately a letter unto his godly friends yet abroad and out of the danger of the unmerciful persecutors, confirming and strengthening them in the truth which he had taught them; the copy of which letter here followeth.

"The comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others in these dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his wheat from the chaff. I have not leisure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I speak to God's glory; my care was to have the senses of my soul open, to perceive the voice of God, saying, Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his angels. And to save the life corporal, is to lose the life eternal. And he that will not suffer with Christ, shall not reign with him. Therefore, most tender ones, I have by God's Spirit given over the flesh, with the fight of my soul, and the Spirit hath the victory. The flesh shall now, ere it be long, leave off to sin; the Spirit shall reign eternally. I have chosen the

death, to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do no more? Consider with yourselves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God's truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greatest part of the assault is past, I praise my God. I have in all my assaults felt the present aid of my God, I give him most hearty thanks there-for. Look not back, nor be ye ashamed of Christ's gospel, nor of the bonds I have suffered for the same; thereby ye may be assured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been sealed with the same mark. It is no time, for the loss of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men's hearts; blow down the daubed walls of heresy. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; I mean not to make corporal resistance; but pray, and ye shall have Elias's defence, and Elizeus's company to fight for you. The cause is the Lord's. Now, my brethren, I can write no more; time will not suffer, and my heart with pangs of death is assaulted: but I am at home with my God yet alive. Pray for me, and salute one another with the holy kiss. The peace of God rest with you all, Amen.—From Newgate prison in haste, the day of my condemnation.

“JOHN ROUGH.”

Another letter of John Rough, written unto the congregation two days before he suffered.

“The Spirit of all consolation be with you, aid you, and make you strong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherewithal God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthy of himself, by coupling to their head, Jesus Christ, in whom, whoso desireth to live godly, the same must needs suffer persecution: for it is given unto them, not only to believe, but also to suffer. And the servant or scholar cannot be greater than his Lord or Master; but by the same way the Head is entered, the members must follow. No life is in the members which are cut from the body: likewise we have no life, but in Christ; for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear sons, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corn cast into the ground, which except it die first, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to my great advantage; for thereby the body ceaseth from sin, and, after, turneth into the first original: but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the sun or moon. What shall I write of this corporal death, seeing it is decreed of God, that all men shall once die? Happy are they that die in the Lord, which is to die in the faith of Christ, professing and

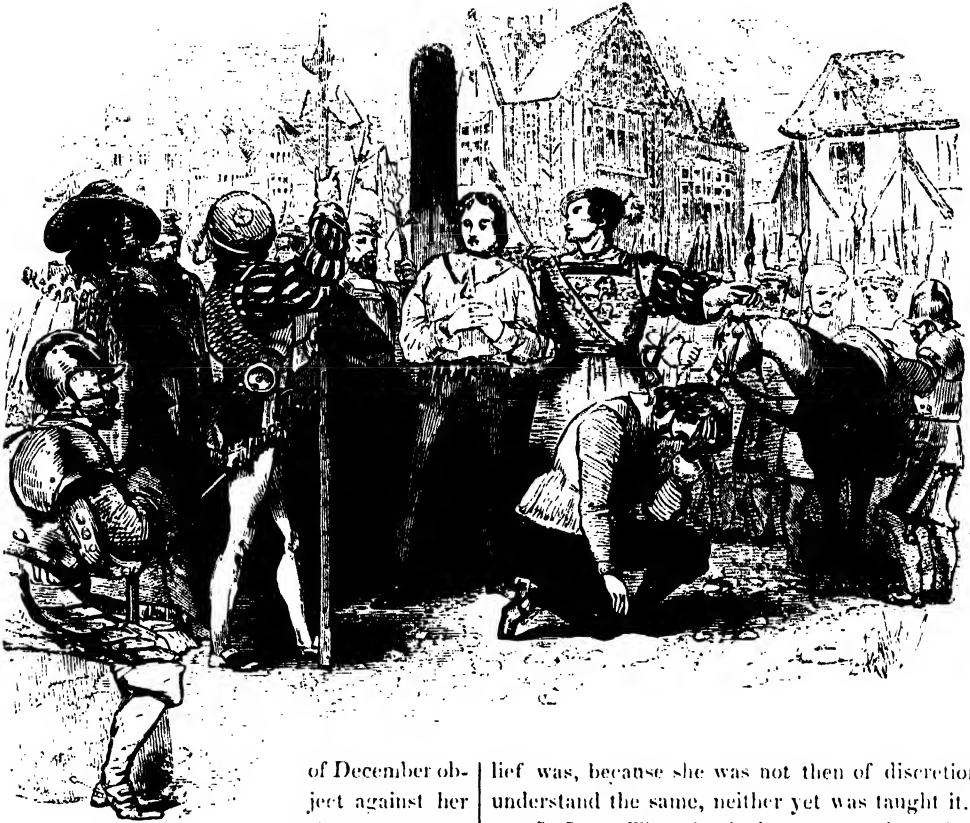
confessing the same before many witnesses. I praise my God I have passed the same journey by many temptations. The devil is very busy to persuade, the world to entice, with promises and fair words; which I omit to write, lest some might think I did hunt after vain-glory, which is furthest from my heart. Lastly, the danger of some false brethren, who before the bishop of London purposed to confess an untruth to my face; yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts: where they thought to speak to my accusation, he made them speak to my purgation. What a journey (by God's power) I have made these eight days before this day, it is above flesh and blood to bear; but, as Paul saith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run; I have fought a good fight; the crown of righteousness is laid up for me; my day to receive it is not long to. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end; then shall you possess your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the gospel of the cross, by me preached, nor yet of my suffering; for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before; I suffer first the baiting of the butchers' dogs; yet I have not done what I should have done: but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ; and your wisdoms and learning will accept that small talent, which I have distributed unto you (as I trust) as a faithful steward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me; my heart bursteth for the love of you. Ye are not without your great Pastor of your soul, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out, (as, God be praised, there is no want of men,) he would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that Rock; the wind of temptation shall not prevail. Fast and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedness hath deserved that I shall not see it). And also that which is behind of the blood of our brethren, which shall also be laid under the altar, shall cry for your relief. Time will not now suffer me to write longer letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, rising and sitting; cover you with the shadow of his wings; defend you against the tyranny of the wicked; and bring you happily unto the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb.

“JOHN ROUGH.”

The story of Margaret Mearing, martyr.

It is before declared that, in the company of John Rough, was burnt one Margaret Mearing,

who, as the register maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the said Rough forth to examination; where the bishop having no private matters to charge her withal, did the eighteenth day



of December objected against her those common and accustomed articles mentioned before: to which she answered as followeth.

“First, That there is here in earth a catholic church, and that there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

“2. Item, That there were only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

“3. Item, That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works, &c.

“4. Item, That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true be-

lief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

“5. Item, That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but she said, that the mass was abominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true Christian people; and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said, she believed there was no such sacrament in the catholic church. Also she said, that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same antichrist's church.

“6. Item, She answered to the sixth article, as to the first, before specified.

“7. Item, That she hath refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion of Christ was not then used in the same: and further said, that she had not come unto the church by the space of one year and three quarters then last past, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the same, in these idolatrous days.

"8. Item, As touching the manner of her apprehension, she said that Cluney, the bishop's sumner, did fetch her to the bishop."

These answers being then registered, they were again (with the said articles) propounded against her the twentieth day of December; and there being demanded if she would stand unto those her answers, she said, "I will stand to them unto the death; for the very angels of heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church." After the which words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her; and then delivering her unto the sheriffs, she was, with the fore-named John Rough, carried unto Newgate; from whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the twenty-second day of the same month of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

When the latter end of this history of Master Rough and Margaret Mearing was in finishing, there came to our hands one necessary thing of the said Margaret Mearing, which we thought not good to omit. The matter is this: Master Rough being chief pastor to the congregation in the said time of Queen Mary, as before you have heard, (of which company this Margaret Mearing was one,) did not well like the said Margaret, but greatly suspected her, as many others of them did besides, because she would oftentimes bring in strangers among them, and in her talk seemed (as they thought) somewhat too busy, &c. Now, what they saw or understood further in her, we know not, but this followed the evil suspicion conceived of her. Master Rough, the Friday before he was taken, in the open face of the congregation, did excommunicate her out of the same company; and so seemed with the rest to exclude and cut her off from their fellowship and society; whereat she being moved, did not well take it, nor in good part, but thought herself not indifferently handled among them: whereupon, to one of her friends, in a heat, she threatened to remove them all. But the providence of God was otherwise; for the Sunday after, Master Rough, being taken by the information of one Roger Sergeant to the bishop of London, (as hereafter thou shalt hear,) was laid in the Gate-house at Westminster, where none of his friends could come to visit him. Then this said Margaret, hearing thereof, got her a basket, and a clean shirt in it, and went to Westminster, where she, feigning herself to be his sister, got into the prison to him, and did there to her power not a little comfort him.

Then coming abroad again, she understanding that the congregation suspected the said Sergeant to be his promoter, went to his house, and asked

whether Judas dwelt not there: unto whom answer was made, there dwelt no such. "No!" said she; "dwelleth not Judas here, that betrayed Christ? his name is Sergeant." When she saw she could not speak with him, she went her way. So the Friday after, she, standing at Mark-lane end in London, with another woman, a friend of hers, saw Cluney, Bonner's sumner, coming in the street towards her house: whom when she saw, she said to the other woman standing with her, "Whither goeth yonder fine fellow?" said she: "I think surely he goeth to my house." And in viewing him still, at the last she saw him enter in at her door. So immediately she went home, and asked him whom he sought: whereunto Cluney made answer and said, "For you; you must go with me." "Marry," quoth she, "here I am; I will go with you." And coming to the bishop, she was laid in prison, and the Wednesday after, burnt with Master Rough in Smithfield, as ye have heard.

Whereas mention and declaration was made before, that Bonner, the sooner to delude the simple and ignorant people, in the month of May, anno 1555, did cause Dr. Chedsey to publish openly at Paul's Cross, certain letters sent from the king and queen—minding thereby to excuse and cloak his malignant murders of the saints of God, and thereby, through that colour, to cloak himself—did protest that he was never so cruel and blood-thirsty as he was slanderously reported and charged withal, but rather compelled thereunto, (having commandment given from the higher powers,) must and would show himself ready to do his duty therein: I thought it therefore now expedient, upon so good an occasion here serving unto the same, somewhat to debate, and further to try out, this his visored obedience falsely by him pretended. And although it may seem not greatly needful, (his other wicked acts already sufficiently uttering the same,) yet, this matter being so manifest, I may not altogether pass it over in silence. And therefore if Bonner, thus standing to the defence of his pretended obedience, would needs have us conceive of him, that he is not so cruel and hasty to seek the blood of these men, but rather enforced thereunto through the commandment of the higher powers, then let him answer unto his own handy-work, and his own commission, so spitefully conceived, so cruelly given forth, of his own motion and proper authority, and, as they term it, *ex suo officio*: not only to inquire, but also to proceed in condemnation against all and singular such persons as should be found within his jurisdiction, not conformable unto that idolatrous and malignant church.

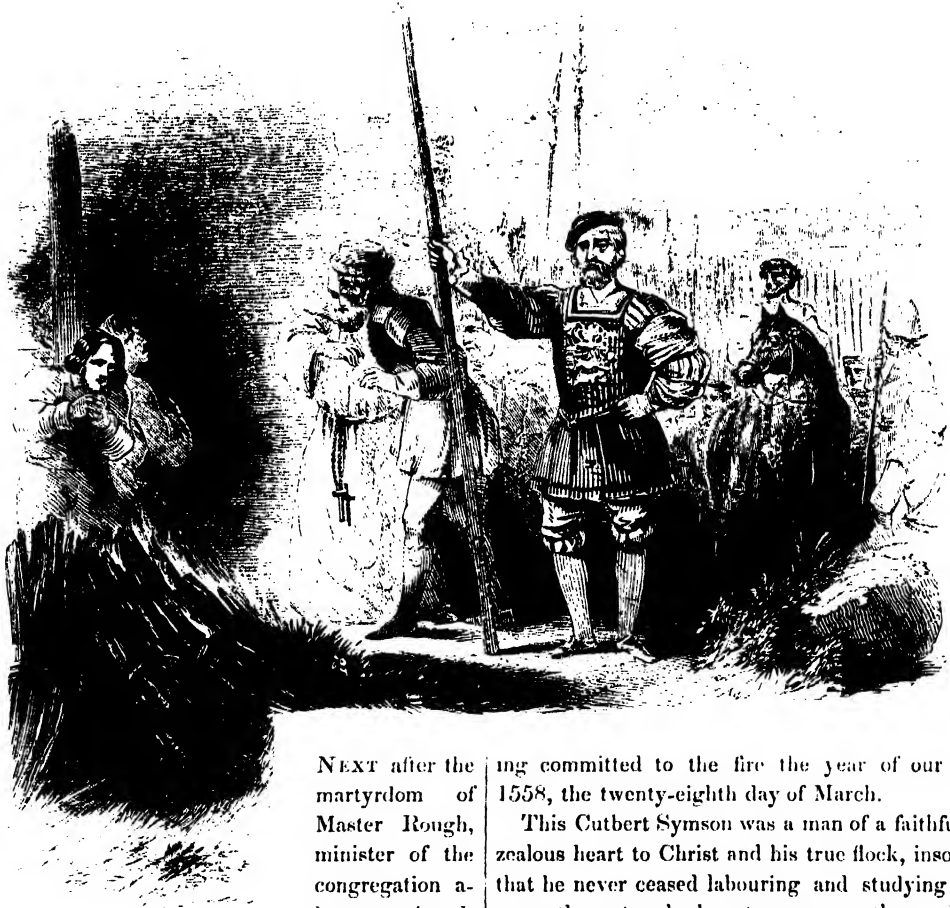
What doth or can this declare, but a mind not

only thirsty, but also greedy and almost insatiable, of blood? I have heard it so reported that Bonner, sitting at the board with his claret wine before him, hath said, that whereas he hath been noted to be a blood-sucker, he never sucked any other blood, but that only in the goblet. If that be so, what meaneth then this unmerciful proclamation to hunt and chase out the poor innocents, and to bring them unto the fire? The sharp commission and proclamation set forth a little before by the king and queen,

might it not seem enough and sufficient unto Bonner for that purpose, but he must also add to it his? If that of theirs was not sharp and cruel enough, what more sharpness could Bonner put unto it? if it were, what then needed this commission of Bonner to stir up the coals? If he did it not without their wills and commandment, why doth it not so appear among his records? if he did give it thus abroad upon his own head and motion, how can he defend himself from cruelty and blood-thirstiness?

ANNO 1558.

The suffering and cruel torments of Cutbert Symson, deacon of the Christian congregation in London, in Queen Mary's days, most patiently abiding the cruel rage of the papists for Christ's sake.



NEXT after the martyrdom of Master Rough, minister of the congregation above mentioned, succeeded in like martyrdom

ing committed to the fire the year of our Lord 1558, the twenty-eighth day of March.

This Cutbert Symson was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, insomuch that he never ceased labouring and studying most earnestly, not only how to preserve them without corruption of the popish religion; but also his care was ever vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution. The pains, travail, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in

the deacon also of that said godly company or congregation in London, named Cutbert Symson, be-

caring and providing for this congregation, as it is not lightly to be expressed, so is it wonderful to behold the providence of the Lord by vision, concerning the troubles of this faithful minister and godly deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday at night before Master Rough, minister of the congregation, (of whom mention is made before,) was taken, being in his bed, he dreamed that he saw two of the guard leading Cutbert Symson, deacon of the said congregation; and that he had the book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the congregation. Whereupon being sore troubled, he awaked, and called his wife, saying, "Kate, strike a light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night." When she had so done, he gave himself to read in his book awhile, and then, feeling sleep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and so gave himself again to rest. Being asleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaking therewith, he said, "Oh! Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone." So they lighted a candle again, and rose. And as the said Master Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert, to see how he did, in the mean time the said Cutbert came in with the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation: whom when Master Rough had seen, he said, "Brother Cutbert, ye are welcome; for I have been sore troubled with you this night;" and so told him his dream. After he had so done, he willed him to lay the book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert answered, he would not so do: for dreams, he said, were but fantasies, and not to be credited. Then Master Rough straitly charged him, in the name of the Lord, to do it. Whereupon the said Cutbert took such notes out of the book, as he had willed him to do, and immediately left the book with Master Rough's wife.

The next day following, in the night, the said Master Rough had another dream in his sleep concerning his own trouble: the matter whereof was this. He thought in his dream, that he was carried himself forcibly to the bishop, and that the bishop plucked off his beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these words, "Now I may say I have had a piece of a heretic burned in my house:" and so accordingly it came to pass.

The said Master Rough, having a child in his bed with him at that time, of two years of age, yet alive, called Rachel, suddenly she awoke in the night, and cried: "Alas, alas, my father is gone, my father is gone;" and, for all that they could do or speak, long it was ere she could be persuaded that he was there. A candle being lighted, and

she, coming better to herself, saw him, and took him about the neck, and said, "Father, now I will hold you, that you go not away:" and so twice or thrice repeated the same. Then they fell asleep again the same night, and so Master Rough's wife, being troubled in like case, dreamed that she saw one James Mearing's wife (who also was burned at the same stake with Master Rough) going down the street with a bloody banner in her hand, and a fire-pan on her head. Then suddenly she arising to go to see her, she thought she stumbled on a great hog, and had a mighty fall thereby; through the sudden fear she awoke, and said, "I am never able to rise again."

Now to return to Cutbert again; as we have touched something before concerning his visions, so now remaineth to story also of his pains and sufferings upon the rack, and otherwise, like a good Laurence, for the congregation's sake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

A letter of Cutbert Symson to certain of his friends.

"A true report how I was used in the Tower of London, being sent thither by the council, the thirteenth day of December.—

"On the Thursday after, I was called into the warehouse, before the constable of the Tower and the recorder of London, Master Cholmley: they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set in a rack of iron, the space of three hours as I judged.

"Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I loosed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had said, I answered. Then the lieutenant did swear by God I should tell. Then did they bind my two fore-fingers together, and put a small arrow betwixt them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

"Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my lodging again, and ten days after the lieutenant asked me, if I would not confess that which before they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then, five weeks after, he sent me unto the high priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hand I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that unfignedly call upon the name of Jesus, desiring

God of his endless mercy, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy showed upon us. Sing Hosanna unto the highest, with me, Cutbert Symson. God forgive me my sins! I ask all the world forgiveness, and I do forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection."

A note of Cutbert Symson's patience.

Now as touching this Cutbert Symson, this further is to be noted, that Bonner in his consistory, speaking of Cutbert Symson, gave this testimony of him there to the people, saying, "Ye see this man," saith he, "what a personable man he is:" and after he had thus commended his person, added moreover, "And furthermore concerning his patience, I say unto you, that if he were not a heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me: for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my house he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken," &c.

It is thought and said of some, that that arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the bishop's house.

The day before the blessed deacon and martyr of God, Cutbert Symson, after his painful racking, should go to his condemnation before Bonner, to be burnt, being in the bishop's coal-house there in the stocks, he had a certain vision or apparition very strange, which he himself with his own mouth declared to the godly learned man, Master Austen, to his own wife, and Thomas Symson, and to others besides, in the prison of Newgate, a little before his death; the relation whereof I stand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, considering with myself the great diversity of men's judgments in the reading of histories, and variety of affections. Some I see will not believe it; some will deride the same; some also will be offended with setting forth things of that sort uncertain, esteeming all things to be uncertain and incredible, whatsoever is strange from the common order of nature: others will be perchance aggrieved, thinking with themselves, or else thus reasoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet forasmuch as the common error of believing rash miracles, fantasies, visions, dreams, and apparitions, thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the same to be unset forth.

These, and such like, will be, I know, the sayings of many. Whereunto briefly I answer, granting first, and admitting with the words of Basil, "Not

every dream is straightway a prophecy." Again, neither am I ignorant that the papists, in their books and legends of saints, have their prodigious visions and apparitions of angels, of our Lady, of Christ, and other saints; which as I will not admit to be believed for true, so will they ask me again, why should I then more require these to be credited of them, than theirs of us.

First, I write not this, binding any man precisely to believe the same, so as they do theirs, but only report it as it hath been heard of persons known, naming also the parties who were the hearers thereof, leaving the judgment thereof, notwithstanding, free unto the arbitrement of the reader. Albeit, it is no good argument, proceeding from the singular or particular, to the universal, to say, that visions be not true in some; ergo, they be true in none. And if any shall muse, or object again, Why should such visions be given to him, or a few other singular persons, more than to all the rest, seeing the others were in the same cause and quarrel, and died also martyrs as well as he? to this, I say, concerning the Lord's times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it pleaseth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the others with singular consolation to respect him, who, chiefly above the others, and singularly, did suffer most exquisite torments for his sake? What great marvel herein? But, as I said, of the Lord's secret times I have not to reason. This only which hath out of the man's own mouth been received, so as I received it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to judge thereof as God shall rule his mind. The matter is this.

The day before this Symson was condemned, he being in the stocks, Cluney his keeper cometh in with the keys about nine of the clock at night, (after his usual manner,) to view his prison, and see whether all were present, who, when he espied the said Cutbert to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven of the clock toward midnight, the said Cutbert (whether being in a slumber, or being awake, I cannot say) heard one coming in, first opening the outward door, then the second, after the third door, and so looking in to the said Cutbert, having no candle or torch that he could see, but giving a brightness and light most comfortable and joyful to his heart, saying, "Hah!" unto him, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he saw, he himself declared four or five times to the said Master Austen, and to others; at the sight whereof he received such joyful comfort, that he also expressed no little solace in telling and declaring the same.

Articles severally ministered to Cutbert Symson, the nineteenth day of March, with his answers also to the same annexed.

"First, That thou, Cutbert Symson, art at this present abiding within the city and diocess of London, and not out of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.

"Item, That thou, within the city and diocess of London, hast uttered many times and spoken deliberately, these words and sentences following: videlicet, that though thy parents, ancestors, kinsfolks, and friends, yea, and also thyself, before the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, have thought and thoughtest, that the faith and religion observed in times past here in this realm of England, was a true faith and religion of Christ, in all points and articles, though in the church it was set forth in the Latin tongue, and not in English, yet thou believest and sayest, that the faith and religion, now used commonly in this realm, not in the English, but in the Latin tongue, is not the true faith and religion of Christ, but contrary and expressly against it.

"Item, That thou, within the said city and diocess of London, hast willingly, wittingly, and contemptuously done, and spoken against the rites and the ceremonies commonly used here through the whole realm, and observed generally in the church of England.

"Item, That thou hast thought and believed certainly, and so within the diocess of London hast affirmed and spoken deliberately, that there be not in the catholic church seven sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the church of England them to be.

"Item, That thou hast likewise thought and believed, yea, and hast so within the city and diocess of London spoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not really, substantially, and truly, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Item, That thou hast been, and to thy power art at this present, a favourer of all those, that either have been here in this realm heretofore called heretics, or else convented and condemned by the ecclesiastical judges for heretics.

"Item, That thou, contrary to the order of this realm of England, and contrary to the usage of the holy church of this realm of England, hast at sundry times and places within the city and diocess of London, been at assemblies and conventicles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together to hear the English service said, which was set forth in the latter years of King Edward the Sixth, and also to hear and have the Communion Book read, and the communion ministered, both to the said multitude, and

also to thyself; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken, that the said English service and Communion Book, and all things contained in either of them, were good and laudable, and for such thou didst and dost allow and approve either of them, at this present."

The answer of the said Cutbert to the foresaid articles.

"Unto all which articles the said Cutbert Symson answered thus, or the like in effect.

"To the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, he confessed them to be true in every part thereof.

"To the seventh article he said, that he was not bound to answer unto it, as he believeth."

The information of Roger Sergeant, given to the bishop of London and his officers: where he accuseth divers persons, and, in the end, betrayed the congregation into the hands of the bloody butcher, as here in this information he promised to do: whereby many were apprehended also, brought into trouble, and examined, whose informations also hereafter follow.

"Roger Sergeant, born in Buckinghamshire, tailor, of the age of forty years or above, now of the parish of St. Edmund's, in Lombard Street, saith: that at the Swan at Limehouse, or else at St. Katharine's at one Frogg's, or at the King's Head at Ratcliffe, the assembly shall be *dominicâ tertiâ Adventûs*, between nine and eleven aforenoon, and from one till four at afternoon. And sometimes the meeting is at Horsleydown, beyond Battle-bridge. Commonly the usage is, to have all the English service without any diminishing, wholly as it was in the time of King Edward the Sixth; neither praying for the king nor the queen; despising the sacrament of the altar, and the coming to church, saying that a man cannot come to the church, except he be partaker of all the evils there.

"They have reading and preaching, and the minister is a Scotchman, whose name he knoweth not; and they have two deacons that gather money, which is distributed to the prisoners in the Marshalsea, King's Bench, Lollards' Tower, Newgate, and to the poor that come to the assembly: some women be child-bearing, and some women above sixty years of age, and divers coming more for money than aught else. This informer hath been there twice and no more; but he will go thither again, that such as shall be sent to apprehend the malefactors, may know the places and persons. Frogg a Dutchman, dwelling at St. Katharine's, is one of the assembly. Item,

one Hammerton, a smith, lately dwelling in St. Katharine's. Item, one James, a cobbler, dwelling in Budge Row in Well Alley, having also a shop at St. Austin's gate in Paul's churchyard. Item, a young fellow, a butcher, dwelling in Shoreditch, whose name he knoweth not. Item, one William Ellerby, tailor, dwelling in St. Clement's Lane, by Lombard Street, in St. Edmund's parish. Item, one John Osborne, dwelling at Lambeth town, a silk-dyer."

All these did this wicked man, the said Roger Sergeant, accuse to be of this congregation; who wretchedly, according to his promise in this information, went, like Judas with Herod's soldiers, to Islington, and there most falsely betrayed Master Rough, and Cutbert Symson, with five others, into the hands of their enemies, the day mentioned in their stories; for there it was seen of some good people that he yet alive.

The information of James Mearing.

"Cutbert is an officer or deacon in the assembly, a rich man dwelling in London. Cluney doth know him. He is paymaster to the prisoners in the Marshalsea, Ludgate, Lollards' Tower, and in other places of prison, as the Compter, &c., and executor to the prisoners that die, and collector of the assembly when the reading is done; and had the goods of James and his wife, that were burned at Islington. And likewise one Brook in Queen-hythe, salter, and seller of earthen pots; a rich man, not coming to church; a collector also, and keeper of the money for the prisoners. Mistress Barber in Fish Street, a fishmonger's wife; Cluney knoweth her; she is also a collector for the said prisoners. The meeting sometimes is at Wapping, at one Church's house, hard by the water-side: sometimes at a widow's house at Ratcliffe, at the King's Head there; sometimes at St. Katharine's, at a shoemaker's house, a Dutchman, called Frogg. The assembly, *dominicâ tertiâ Adeentûs*, either at St. Katharine's, in Frogg's house; either at Wapping, at the said Church's house. Sometimes the assembly beginneth at seven in the morning, or at eight; sometimes at nine; and then, or soon after, they dine, and tarry till two of the clock, and, amongst other things, they talk and make officers. Sometimes the assembly is at Battle-bridge, at a dyer's house, betwixt two butchers there; despising the sacrament of the altar, the pope, the coming to church, and the priest. In that assembly there are a minister and two priests that gather money."

The information of William Ellerby, tailor.

"William Ellerby, tailor, in St. Clement's Lane,

in St. Edmund's parish, in Lombard Street, confesseth that he knoweth a Scotchman, called John Rough, and that he hath been at the assembly kept at Ratcliffe, at the King's Head, at the widow's house there; where one Coste did read, in English, three psalms, that is to wit, *Confitemini, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis*, upon a Sunday, after even-song. At which assembly there were about thirty men and women whom he knew not, saving one Roger Sergeant, his own man, that went thither with him. And he saith that one Osborne, of Lambeth town, gave this examine knowledge of the said assembly, which assembly lasted about half an hour, some sitting at the table, some standing to hear the said Scot, having three or four pots of beer before the said Scot came to the assembly at Frogg's and went to the said play. And this examine had found in his house at Lambeth town, when the search went for him, two English books, the one a 'Psalter in English,' and the other an 'Instruction of a Christian Man.'"

The information of Elizabeth Churchman.

"Elizabeth Churchman, the wife of John Churchman of Wapping, being examined the seventeenth day of December, 1557, before the bishop of London, at his palace at Paul's, saith, that upon a holy-day about ten days ago, there were about ten persons that came to her husband's house there, and had there a shoulder of mutton and a piece of pork roasted; and also of her they had bread and drink, and two or three faggots; coming thither before ten of the clock aforenoon, and departed about twelve of the clock. And at their departure, and the coming home of her husband, she saith, she told him of a company that had been there, who, after their refection, said grace, and one called another 'brother;' one of them having in his hand a book: and she also, as she saith, said to her husband, asking who they were; and also, that she judged that they were Scripture men, and that they were learned, and also that they should come no more thither if they were not good; and her said husband therein so concluded and agreed with her in the same."

The information of Alice Warner, widow.

"Alice Warner, widow, of Ratcliffe, in the parish of Stepney, testifieth and saith: that upon a Sunday, six weeks ago, a certain company of Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and other strangers, and, amongst them, Englishmen, appearing to be young merchants, to the number of a score, resorted to her house of the King's Head at Ratcliffe; requesting to have a pig roasted, and half a dozen faggots to be

burnt. In the mean time, the said company went into a back house, where they were two sundry times; the first time, between twelve and one, they were reading, but what, she cannot tell, whether it was a Testament or some other book; and they tarried there about two hours. The second time was three weeks past, upon a holy-day, about the middle of the week; at which time they repaired to her house about seven o'clock in the morning, who had a fire and beer within the said back house. And then this examine, going abroad, did see the said multitude, and perceived that they also then did read, but what, she cannot tell; and the said multitude did tarry there from seven till ten before noon, and, at their departure, they laboured to this examine that they might always have the said back house at their pleasure, to make good cheer at their repairing thither. Unto which demand this examine, as she saith, made then answer unto them, that they should pardon her, for she perceiveth that they were not able to justify their doings after that sort, and she would not bring herself into danger for none of them all. And she saith that her maid said that she judged them to be the same that were first there; and how the said multitude called one another 'brother,' and did every one, to his ability, cast money down upon the table, which was two pence a-piece. And this examine saith, that she asked of one of the said multitude, how the said money was disposed; answer being to her by him given, that it was to the use and relief of the poor. And this examine thinketh it was a Frenchman, or some other outlandish man, because he spake evil English."

Thus have you the notes of such depositions as the cruel papists did extort out of poor and ignorant people by force of their oath, to complain of their innocent and harmless neighbours. Now followeth the letter of Cutbert Symson to his godly wife.

A letter of Cutbert Symson, written to his wife out of the coal-house.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, I cannot write as I do wish unto you.

"I beseech you with my soul, commit yourself under the mighty hand of our God, trusting in his mercy, and he will surely help us as shall be most unto his glory and our everlasting comfort; being sure of this, that he will suffer nothing to come unto us, but that which shall be most profitable for us. For it is either a correction for our sins, or a trial of our faith, or to set forth his glory, or for all together; and therefore must needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by fortune

or chance, but by our heavenly Father's providence: and therefore pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his grace to consider it. Let us give him most hearty thanks for these his fatherly corrections; for as many as he loveth, he correcteth. And I beseech you now be of good cheer, and count the cross of Christ greater riches than all the vain pleasures of England. I do not doubt (I praise God for it) but that you have supped with Christ at his Maundy, I mean, believed in him: for that is the effect, and then must you drink of his cup, I mean his cross (for that doth the cup signify unto us). Take the cup with a good stomach in the name of God; and then shall you be sure to have the good wine, Christ's blood, to thy poor thirsty soul. And when you have the wine, you must drink it out of this cup: learn this when you come to the Lord's supper. Pray continually. In all things give thanks.

"In the name of Jesus shall every knee bow.

"CUTBERT SYMSON."

Hugh Foxe and John Devenish, fellow martyrs with Cutbert Symson.

With Cutbert likewise were apprehended and also suffered (as is before mentioned) Hugh Foxe and John Devenish; who, being brought unto their examinations with the said Cutbert, before Bonner, bishop of London, the nineteenth day of March, had articles and interrogatories to them ministered by the said officer, albeit not all at one time. For first to the said Cutbert several articles were propounded; then other articles in general were ministered to them all together. The order and manner of which articles, now jointly to them ministered, here follow, with their answers also to the same annexed to be seen.

Articles generally ministered by the bishop to Foxe, Devenish, and Symson, the said nineteenth day of March, with their answers to the same annexed.

After these articles thus ministered and laid to Cutbert Symson, with his answers likewise unto the same, the bishop, calling them all together, objected to them other positions and articles, the same which before are mentioned in the story of Bartlet Green; only the eighth article out of the same omitted and excepted: which articles, because they are expressed in the place above mentioned, we need not here make any new report thereof, but only refer the reader to the place assigned.

Their answers in general to the articles.

"To the first article they all answered affirm-

actively: but John Devenish added, that that church is grounded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone; and how in that church there is the true faith and religion of Christ.

"To the second they all confessed and believed, that in Christ's catholic church there are but two sacraments, that is to wit, baptism and the supper of the Lord: otherwise they do not believe the contents of this article to be true in any part thereof.

"To the third they all answered affirmatively.

"To the fourth they all answered affirmatively.

"To the fifth they all answered affirmatively, that they do believe, and have spoken and will speak, against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise against the authority of the see of Rome; and are nothing sorry for the same, but will do it still, while they live.

"To the sixth they all answered, and denied to acknowledge the authority of the see of Rome to be lawful and good, either yet his religion.

"To the seventh they all answered affirmatively, that they have and will do so still while they live; and John Devenish, adding thereto, said, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now used, is no sacrament at all.

"To the eighth they all confessed, and believed all things, above by them acknowledged and declared, to be true; and that they be of the diocese of London, and jurisdiction of the same."

These three above-named persons, and blessed witnesses of Jesus Christ, Cutbert, Foxe, and Devenish, as they were all together apprehended at Islington, as is above declared, so the same all three together suffered in Smithfield, about the twenty-eighth day of March, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord, in whose cause and quarrel they suffered, (giver of all grace, and governor of all things,) be exalted for ever: Amen.

The suffering and martyrdom of William Nichol, put to death by the wicked hands of the papists at Haverford-west in Wales.

We find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceased at all times to molest the church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith; but yet never so apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his saints, to the shedding of their blood, and perverting of their religion; for then sleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the same, unless they will fall down with Ahab and Jezebel to worship him, and so kill and poison their own souls eternally; as in these

miserable latter days of Queen Mary we have felt, heard, and seen practised upon God's people. Among whom we find recorded an honest, good, simple poor man, one William Nichol, who was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel kingdom of antichrist, and the ninth day of April, anno 1558, was butcherly burnt and tormented at Haverford-west in Wales, where he ended his life in a most happy and blessed state, and gloriously gave his soul into the hands of the Lord, whose goodness be praised for ever! Amen.

This William Nichol (as we are informed) was so simple a good soul, that many esteemed him half foolish. But what he was, we know not; but this we are sure, he died a good man, and in a good cause, whatsoever they judge of him. And the more simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched doth it declare their cruel and tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them repentance there-for, if it be his blessed will! Amen, Amen.

The story and martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, put to death by the persecuting papists at Norwich.

Immediately after William Nichol, succeeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom, three constant godly men at Norwich, in Norfolk; who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, the nineteenth of May, anno 1558, whose names be these: William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.

The said William Seaman was a husbandman, of the age of twenty-six years, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk, who was sundry times sought for by the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and at last he himself in the night searched his house and other places for him; notwithstanding he somewhat missed of his purpose, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his servants, Robert Baulding and James Clarke, with others, to seek for him; who, having no officer, went in the evening to his house, where he being at home, they took him and carried him to their master, Sir John Tyrrel. This Baulding, being Seaman's next neighbour, and whom the said Seaman greatly trusted as a special friend, notwithstanding, (to do his master a pleasure,) now became enemy to his chief friend, and was one of the busiest in the taking of him. Now as they were going to carry him to their master Sir John Tyrrel in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light between them out of the element, and parted them, this Baulding

being in company with the rest when the light fell; and albeit he was then in his best age, yet after that time never enjoyed good day, but pined away even to death.

Well, for all that strange sight, (as I said,) they carried him to their master; who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and so to worship it? Unto which William Seaman answered, denying it to be a sacrament, but said it was an idol, and therefore would not receive it. After which words spoken, Sir John Tyrrel shortly sent him to Norwich, to Hopton, then bishop, and there, after conference and examination had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation against him; and afterward delivered him to the secular power, who kept him unto the day of martyrdom.

This said William Seaman left behind him when he died, a wife and three children very young: and with the said young children his wife was persecuted out of the said town also of Mendlesham, because that she would not go to hear mass: and all her corn and goods [were] seized and taken away by Master Christopher Coles's officers, he being lord of the said town.

Thomas Carman, (who, as is said, pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended,) being prisoner in Norwich, was, about one time with the rest, examined and brought before the said bishop, who answered no less in his Master's cause than the other; and therefore had the like reward that the other had, which was the bishop's bloody blessing of condemnation; and [was] delivered also to the secular power, who kept him with the other until the day of slaughter, which hastened on, and was not long after.

Thomas Hudson was of Aylsham, in Norfolk, by his occupation a glover, a very honest poor man, having a wife and three children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, being of thirty years of age; and bearing so good a will to the gospel, that he in the days of King Edward the Sixth, two years before Queen Mary's reign, learned to read English of Anthony and Thomas Norgate, of the same town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of alteration of religion. For when Queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the service in the church, putting in for wheat, draff and darnel, and for good preaching, blasphemous crying out against truth and godliness; he then, avoiding all their ceremonies of superstition, absented himself from his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occasion was offered. At the last he returned back again to Norfolk, to his house at

Aylsham, to comfort his wife and children, being heavy, and troubled with his absence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife devised to make him a place among his faggots to hide himself in, where he remained all the day (instead of his chamber) reading and praying continually, for the space of half a year, and his wife, like an honest woman being careful for him, used herself faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the vicar of the town, named Berry, (who was one of the bishop's commissaries, a very evil man,) and inquired of this said Thomas Hudson's wife, for her husband: unto whom she answered, as not knowing where he was. Then the said Berry rated her, and threatened to burn her, for that she would not bewray her husband where he was. After that when Hudson understood it, he waxed every day more zealous than other, and continually read and sang psalms to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement prayers.

At the last he walked abroad for certain days openly in the town, crying out continually against the mass and all their trumpery, and in the end, coming home in his house, he sat him down upon his knees, having his book by him, reading and singing psalms continually without ceasing for three days and three nights together, refusing meat and other talk, to the great wonder of many.

Then one John Crouch, his next neighbour, went to the constables Robert Marsham and Robert Lawes, in the night, to certify them thereof; for Berry commanded openly to watch for him: and the constables, understanding the same, went cruelly to catch him in the break of the day, the twenty-second of the month of April, anno 1558.

Now when Hudson saw them come in, he said, "Now mine hour is come. Welcome friends, welcome! You be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God there-for, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercy's sake." For his desire was, and ever he prayed, (if it were the Lord's will,) that he might suffer for the gospel of Christ.

Then they took him, and led him to Berry, the commissary, which was vicar of the town; and the said Berry asked him first, where he kept his church for four years before; to the which the said Hudson answered thus: Wheresoever he was, there was the church.

"Dost thou not believe," said Berry, "in the sacrament of the altar? what is it?" "It is worms' meat: my belief," saith Hudson, "is Christ crucified." "Dost thou not believe the mass to put

away sins?" "No, God forbid! it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet; more longer a piecing than ever was Solomon's temple."

At which words Berry stamped, fumed, and showed himself as a mad-man, and said, "Well, thou villain, thou! I will write to the bishop my good lord: and, trust unto it, thou shalt be handled according to thy deserts." "Oh! sir," said Hudson, "there is no Lord but God, though there be many lords and many gods." With that Berry thrust him back with his hand. And one Richard Cliflar, standing by, said, "I pray you, sir, be good to the poor man." At which words Berry was more mad than before, and would have had Cliflar bound in a recognisance of forty pounds, for his good abearing both in word and deed; which his desire took no effect. Then he asked the said Hudson, whether he would recant, or no. Unto the which words Hudson said, "The Lord forbid! I had rather die many deaths than to do so."

Then, after long talk, the said Berry, seeing it bootied not to persuade with him, took his pen and ink, and wrote letters to the bishop thereof, and sent this Hudson to Norwich bound like a thief to him, which was eight miles from thence, who with joy and singing-cheer went thither, as merry as ever he was at any time before. In prison he was a month, where he did continually read, and invoke the name of God.

These three Christians and constant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, after they were (as ye have heard) condemned the nineteenth day of May, anno 1558, were carried out of prison to the place where they should suffer, which was without Bishop's-gate at Norwich, called Lollard's Pit; and, being all there, they made their humble petitions unto the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the stake; and standing all there with their chains about them, immediately this said Thomas Hudson cometh forth from them under the chain, to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him. For some thought he would have recanted; other judged rather that he went to ask further day, and to desire conference; and some thought he came forth to ask some of his parents' blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another: but his two companions at the stake cried out to comfort him what they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But this sweet Hudson felt more in his heart and conscience than they could conceive in him: for, alas, good soul! he was compassed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grief of mind, not for his death, but for lack of feeling of his Christ: and therefore, being very care-

ful, he humbly fell down upon his knees, and prayed vehemently and earnestly unto the Lord, who at the last (according to his old mercies) sent him comfort; and then rose he with great joy, as a man new changed even from death to life, and said: "Now, I thank God, I am strong, and pass not what man can do unto me." So, going to the stake to his fellows again, in the end they all suffered most joyfully, constantly, and manfully, the death together, and were consumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of God's children, and the magnifying of the Lord's name, who be praised there-for for ever; Amen.

After this, the foresaid commissary Berry made great stir about others which were suspected within the said town of Aylsham, and caused two hundred to creep to the cross at Pentecost, besides other punishments which they sustained.

On a time this Berry gave a poor man of his parish of Marsham a blow with the swingel of a flail, for a word-speaking, that presently thereon he died; and the said Berry, as is said, held up his hand at the bar there-for.

Then, after that, in his parish of Aylsham also, anno 1557, there was one Alice Oxes came to his house, and going into the hall, he, meeting her, (being before moved,) smote her with his fist, whereby she was fain to be carried home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber.

To write how many concubines and whores he had, none would believe it, but such as knew him in the country where he dwelt. He was rich, and of great authority, a great swearer, altogether given to women, and persecuting the gospel, and compelling men to idolatry.

One John Norgate, a man learned, godly, and zealous, who would not go to their trash, but rather die, being sore hunted by the said Berry, prayed heartily to God, and the Lord shortly after in a consumption delivered him.

Notwithstanding the rage of this wicked man waxed fiercer and fiercer. He troubled sundry men, burnt all good books that he could get, and divorced many men and women for religion.

When he heard say that Queen Mary was dead, and the glory of their triumph quailed, the Sunday after, being the nineteenth of November, anno 1558, he made a great feast, and had one of his concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber after dinner, until even-song. Then went he to church, where he had ministered baptism; and in going from church homeward after even-song, between the churchyard and his house, being but a little space, (as it were a churchyard breadth asunder,) he fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan,

and never stirred after, neither showed any one token of repentance.

This happened his neighbours being by, to the example of all others. The Lord grant we may observe his judgments! And those that had his great riches, since his death have so consumed with them, that they be poorer now, than they were before they had his goods: such judgment hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all men.

At that time one Dunning, chancellor of Lincoln, (which in some part of Queen Mary's days was chancellor of Norwich, and a very merciless tyrant as lived,) died in Lincolnshire of as sudden a warning as the said Berry did.

Thus have I showed thee, good reader, the constancy, boldness, and glorious victory, of these happy martyrs; as also the tyrannical cruelty of that unfortunate commissary, and his terrible end.

The Lord grant we may all effectually honour the judgments of God, and fear to displease his holy Majesty, Amen.

The persecution of Mother Seaman.

About this time, or somewhat before, was one Joan Seaman, mother to the aforesaid William Seaman, being of the age of threescore and six years, persecuted of the said Sir John Tyrrel also, out of the town of Mendlesham aforesaid, because she would not go to mass and receive against her conscience; which good old woman being from her house, was glad sometimes to lie in bushes, groves, and fields, and sometimes in her neighbour's house, when she could. And her husband being at home, about the age of eighty years, fell sick; and she, hearing thereof, with speed returned home to her house again, not regarding her life, but considering her duty; and showed her diligence to her husband most faithfully, until God took him away by death. Then by God's providence she fell sick also, and departed this life within her own house shortly after.

And when one Master Symonds the commissary heard of it, dwelling thereby in a town called Thorndon, he commanded straitly that she should be buried in no Christian burial, (as they call it,) where-through her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit, under a moat's side. Her husband and she kept a good house, and had a good report amongst their neighbours, willing always to receive strangers, and to comfort the poor and sick; and lived together in the holy estate of matrimony very honestly above forty years. And she departed this life willingly and joyfully, with a stedfast faith, and a good remembrance of God's promises in Christ Jesus.

The persecution of Mother Benet.

In the said time of Queen Mary, there dwelt in the town of Wetheringset by Mendlesham aforesaid, a very honest woman called Mother Benet, a widow, which was persecuted out of the same town, because she would not go to mass, and other their beggarly ceremonies; but, at the last, she returned home again secretly to her house, and there departed this life joyfully. But Sir John Tyrrel, and Master Symonds the commissary, would not let her be buried in the churchyard: so was she laid in a grave by the highway side.

The same good old woman Mother Benet, in the time of persecution, met one of the said Mother Seaman's neighbours, and asked her how the said Mother Seaman did; and she answered, that she did very well, God be thanked. "Oh!" said she, "Mother Seaman hath stept a great step before me; for she was never covetous, that I could perceive."

Her husband in his mirth would say unto her, "O woman! if thou wert sparing, thou mightest have saved me a hundred marks more than thou hast:" to the which she would answer again gently, and say, "O man! be content, and let us be thankful; for God hath given us enough, if we can see it. Alas, good husband!" would she say, "I tell you truth; I cannot firkin up my butter, and keep my cheese in the chamber and wait a great price, and let the poor want, and so displease God. But, husband, let us be rich in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us," &c. This good woman, of that vice of covetousness, of all that knew her, was adjudged least to be spotted, of any infirmity she had. The Lord root it out of the hearts of them that be infected therewith, Amen!

The martyrdom of three constant and godly persons, burnt at Colchester for the defence and testimony of Christ's gospel.

Thou hast heard, good reader, of the forenamed three that were burnt at Norwich, whose blood quenched not the persecuting thirst of the papists: for immediately after, even the same month, upon the twenty-sixth day, was seen the like murder also at Colchester in Essex of two men and a woman, lying there in prison appointed ready to the slaughter; who were brought forth the same day unto a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the testimony of the truth, whose names likewise hereafter follow: William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George, martyrs.

These three good souls were brought unto the

stake, and there joyfully and fervently had made their prayers unto the Lord.

At the last, being settled in their places, and chained unto their posts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like constant Christians triumphantly praised God within the same, and offered up their bodies a lively sacrifice unto his holy Majesty; in whose habitation they have now their everlasting tabernacles: his name therefore be praised for evermore, Amen.

The said Christian George's husband had another wife burnt before this Christian, whose name was Agnes George, which suffered, as you have heard, with the thirteen at Stratford-le-Bow. And after the death of the said Christian, he married an honest godly woman again; and so they both (I mean the said Richard George and his last wife) in the end, were taken also, and laid in prison, where they remained till the death of Queen Mary, and at last were delivered by our most gracious sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, whom the Lord grant long to reign among us, for his mercies' sake, Amen.

In the month of June came out a certain proclamation, short but sharp, from the king and the queen, against wholesome and godly books, which, under the false title of heresy and sedition, here in the said proclamations were wrongfully condemned.

"Whereas divers books, filled both with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's Majesties, for redress hereof, do by this their present proclamation declare and publish to all their subjects, that whosoever shall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, without showing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

"Given at our manor of St. James's the sixth day of June.

"JOHN CAWOOD, printer."

The order and occasion of taking certain godly men and women praying together in the fields about Islington: of whom thirteen were condemned by Bonner, and after, suffered in the fire for the truth's sake, as in the story here following may appear.

Secretly, in a back close, in the field by the town of Islington, were collected and assembled together, a certain company of godly and innocent persons, to the number of forty men and women, who there sitting together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, first cometh a certain man to them unknown; who, looking over unto them, so stayed, and saluted them, saying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the said company asked the man, if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold there to sit. "Yea," said he, "for that ye seem unto me such persons as intend no harm;" and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, cometh the constable of Islington named King, warded; with six or seven others accompanying him in the same business, one with a bow, another with a bill, and others with their weapons likewise; the which six or seven persons the said constable left a little behind him in a close place, there to be ready if need should be, while he, with one with him, should go view them before; who, so doing, came through them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had; and so, going a little forward, and returning back again, bade them deliver their books. They, understanding that he was constable, refused not so to do. With that cometh forth the residue of his fellows above touched, who bade them stand and not depart. They answered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whithersoever they would have them; and so were they first carried to a brewhouse but a little way off, while that some of the said soldiers ran to the justice next at hand: but the justice was not at home; whereupon they were had to Sir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time some of the women, being of the same number of the foresaid forty persons, escaped away from them, some in the close, some before they came to the brewhouse. For so they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another; and with some more, with some less, in such sort as it was not hard for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir Roger Cholmley, were twenty-seven; which Sir Roger Cholmley and the recorder taking their names in a bill, and calling them one by one, so many as answered to their names he sent to



Newgate. In the which number of them that answered, and that were sent to Newgate, were twenty-and-two.

These two-and-twenty were in the said prison of Newgate seven weeks before they were examined, to whom word was sent by Alexander the keeper, that if they would hear a mass, they should all be delivered. Of these foresaid two-and-twenty, were burnt thirteen; in Smithfield seven, at Brentford six.

In prison two died in Whitsun-week, the names of whom were Matthew Wythers and T. Taylor.

Seven of them which remained, escaped with their lives hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning; whose names were these: John Willes, Thomas Hinshaw, R. Baily, woolpacker; Robert Willes, * * * Hudleys, T. Coast, haberdasher; and Roger Sandy.

The first seven were brought forth to examination before Bonner; and so having their condemn-

ation, were burnt (as is said) in Smithfield. The other six followed not long after, and suffered at Brentford, whereof specially here followeth now in order of story to be seen.

The examination and condemnation of seven godly and faithful martyrs of Christ, burnt in Smithfield.

Concerning the examination and condemnation of these abovesaid, which were apprehended and taken at Islington, seven were first produced before Bonner the fourteenth of June, to make answer to such articles and interrogatories as by the said bishop should be ministered unto them. The names of these seven were Henry Pond, Reinald Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, Roger Holland: and to these seven constant and godly martyrs, produced before Bonner, certain articles were ministered in this effect as followeth.

"First, That ye, being within the city and diocess of London, have not, according to the common custom of the catholic church of this realm of England, come to your own parish church, nor yet to the cathedral church of this city and diocess of London, to hear devoutly and Christianly the matins,

the mass, the evensong, sung or said there in the Latin tongue, after the common usage and manner of the church of this realm.

"2. That ye have not come to any of the said churches to pray, to go in procession, or to exercise yourselves there in godly and laudable exercises.

"3. That you have not conformed yourselves duly to all the laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies of any the said churches.

"4. Ye have not been confessed at due times and places to your own curate, of your sins.

"5. Ye have not received at your said curate's hands (as of the minister of Christ) absolution of your sins.

"6. You have not at due times and places of your curate received reverently and duly the sacrament of the altar.

"7. Ye have not faithfully and truly believed, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of Christ.

"8. Ye have not by your mouth, nor otherwise by your deed, expressed or declared in any wise, that ye without wavering or doubting do think and believe, that the faith and religion now observed in the church of England, is a true faith and religion in all points.

"9. Ye have not made any signification that you do indeed approve, or allow in any wise, the common service in Latin, here observed and kept in the church of this realm of England.

"10. Ye have not believed, nor do believe at this present, that the service in Latin, commonly used and observed in the church of this realm, is good and lawful, and not against the word of God.

"11. Ye have in times past liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and so do like, allow, and approve at this present, the service in English, the Books of Common Prayer, the Books of Communion, the religion set forth and used in the time of King Edward the Sixth; especially as it was set forth and used in the latter days of the said King Edward.

"12. Ye have in times past been very desirous, and so are at this present, that the said English service, the said Book of Common Prayer, the said Book of Communion, and the said religion and faith so set forth and used in King Edward's time, might now again be restored, set forth, and used, and yourself freely at your liberty, without any restraint or lets to use it; and also in all points and things to do therein, as ye did, especially in the latter days of the said Edward the Sixth.

"13. Ye have of late been charitably sent to from me the bishop of London, and also by mouth exhorted, that whereas of late you did leave your churches, and went in the time of divine service

into the fields and profane places, to read English Psalms, and certain English books, ye would leave off that; and, being out of prison, and at your liberty, come into your own parish churches, there to hear matins, mass, and evensong, after the common order of the churches of this realm; and to make due confession of your sins to your own curate, and receive at his hands (as of the minister of Christ, having therein sufficient authority) absolution of your sins; hear mass; receive the sacrament of the altar with a true faith, according to the belief of the catholic church; and observe all other the rites and customs of the said catholic church used in this realm of England, as well in going in procession after the cross, as also otherwise generally.

"14. Ye, being so required, have refused and do refuse so to do, saying, amongst other vain and light words, that forasmuch as ye were imprisoned by the space of six weeks, not knowing wherewith ye were charged, your petition should be and was, that ye might first answer to your former cause, and then ye would be ready to answer me (the said bishop) to all that by me should be laid to your charge."

Unto the which articles all the forenamed seven, only Reinald Eastland excepted, made answer in effect as hereafter followeth.

The answers of the forenamed persons to the articles aforesaid.

"To the first article they answered affirmatively; Roger Holland adding, that he came not to their Latin service these two years before.

"Matthew Ricarby added, that he came not to the church since Latin service was renewed, because it is against the word of God, and idolatry is committed in creeping to the cross.

"Henry Pond added, if he had licence then to go to church, he would not.

"To the second they all answered affirmatively; Henry Pond adding as in the first article. John Floyd added, that the Latin service then used, was set up by man, and not by God: and this he learned (he said) in King Edward's days, which he believed to be true. Robert Southam added, that he refused to come to church, because it is furnished with idols, and because the sacrament of the altar he believed to be an idol.

"To the third they all answered affirmatively: for they said, that the customs, rites, and ceremonies of the church then used, are not agreeable to God's word.

"To the fourth and fifth they all answered affirmatively, adding, that they believed no priest hath power to remit sin.

"To the sixth John Holiday, Henry Pond, and

Robert Southam answered, that since the queen's Majesty's reign (but Robert Southam added, not for ten years before) they had [not] received the sacrament of the altar, either at their curate's hands, or any other priest's. John Floyd, Matthew Ricarby, and Roger Holland answered affirmatively, adding, in effect, that the sacrament of the altar is no sacrament approved by the word of God, &c.

"To the seventh, they all confessed the contents thereof to be true in every part; Henry Pond adding, that he knoweth not, nor believeth any such sacrament, called the sacrament of the altar; but confesseth the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and believeth that to be approved. John Floyd added, that those that kneel to and worship the sacrament of the altar, commit idolatry, &c.

"To the eighth, ninth, and tenth, they all confessed the contents of those articles to be true. But John Holiday, Henry Pond, and John Floyd added, that they do allow the Latin service for them that understand the same, so far as it agreeth with God's word: for some part thereof is not agreeable to God's word (they said); but to such as do not understand the said service in Latin, they do not allow it, for it doth not profit them. Robert Southam added and said, that it was a fond question to ask a simple man, whether the Latin service be good and lawful. Matthew Ricarby and Roger Holland denied the service in Latin to be good.

"To the eleventh, they all confessed the same to be true in every part; saving Henry Pond and Matthew Ricarby, who answered in effect, that they could not judge thereof, but leave them to be tried by the word of God.

"To the twelfth, they granted and confessed the same to be true, and desired of God that the service were in the English again.

"To the thirteenth, they all granted and confessed the same to be true.

"To the fourteenth article, they all granted and confessed the same to be true in every part."

Thus have ye the answers of these men to the foresaid articles, save that Reinald Eastland, required to answer thereunto, refused so to do, alleging that he knoweth that to end a strife an oath is lawful, but to begin a strife an oath is not lawful; and therefore he now refuseth to take his oath in the beginning of this matter against him. Whereupon being charged by the bishop, he said for his not answering to the articles, he was content to stand unto the order of the law for his punishment, whatsoever it should be.

The seventeenth day after of the said month of June, the said Eastland appeared again before the

bishop, who, standing firm in that he had said before, denied to make any answer in that case, &c.; whereupon the said Eastland, with the other six, his fellow prisoners, were assigned by the bishop to repair again to the same place at afternoon, who being there present in the foresaid consistory as they were commanded, and standing all together before the said bishop, he, beginning thus with them, asked them, if he had committed them to prison: they said, No; but Master Cholmley and the recorder of London committed them to Newgate.

Then being demanded further by the bishop, if he had done any thing or act to keep them in prison, or to hinder their liberty from prison; to this they answered, they could not tell. Then the foresaid articles being again recited to them, all they answered and knowledged them to be the articles, and that they would stand to their answers made to the same. Whereupon the bishop, dis severing them apart one from another, proceeded with them severally, first beginning with Reinald Eastland, who there declared that he had been uncharitably handled and talked withal since his first imprisonment in that behalf. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the catholic faith, and go from his opinions, he said, that he knew nothing why he should recant; and therefore would not conform himself in that behalf. And so the sentence was read against him, and he given to the secular power.

After him was called in John Holiday, who likewise being advertised to renounce his heresies, (as they called them,) and to return to the unity of their church, said, that he was no heretic, nor did hold any heresy, neither any opinion contrary to the catholic faith, and so would offer himself to be judged therein. Whereupon he likewise persisting in the same, the sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him was condemned, with the like sentence, Henry Pond, because he would not submit to the Romish church, saying to Bonner, that he had done or spoken nothing whereof he was or would be sorry; but that he did hold the truth of God, and no heresy, &c.

After whom next followed John Floyd, who likewise denied to be of the pope's church, and said his mind of the Latin service, that the prayers made to saints are idolatry, and that the service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to such as understand the Latin. Moreover, being charged by Bonner of heresy, and saying, that whatsoever he and such others now-a-days do, all is heresy; for this he was condemned with the same butcherly sentence, and so by the secular power was sent away.

Then Robert Southam, after him Matthew Ricar-

by, and last of all Roger Holland, were severally produced.

Thus Roger Holland with his fellows (as ye heard) standing to their answers, and refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church, were all together condemned, the sentence being read against them; and so all seven, by secular magistrates being sent away to Newgate the seventeenth

of June, not long after, about the twenty-seventh day of the said month, were had to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ's gospel; whose particular examinations came not to our hands; saving only the examinations of Roger Holland, which here follow in order and manner as we received them by the information of certain who were present at the same.

The examinations and condemnation of Roger Holland, martyr.



T

HIS Roger Holland, a merchant-tailor of London, was first an apprentice with one Master Kempton, at the Black

Boy in Watling Street, where he served his apprenticeship with much trouble unto his master in breaking him from his licentious liberty, which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting, and wanton company; and besides all this, being a stubborn and an obstinate papist, far unlike to come

to any such end as God called him unto; the which was as followeth:—

His master, notwithstanding this his lewdness, putting him in trust with his accounts, he had received for him certain money, to the sum of thirty pounds; and falling into ill company, lost the said money every groat at dice, being past all hope which way to answer it; and therefore he purposed to convey himself away beyond the seas, either into France or into Flanders.

Now having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the morning to a servant in the house, an ancient and discreet maid, whose name was Elizabeth, which professed the gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much

rebuking the wilful and obstinate papistry, as also the licentious living of this Roger Holland: to whom he said, "Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into; for this night have I lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him, and to make up mine accounts, I am not able. But thus much I pray you, desire my mistress, that she would entreat my master to take this bill of my hand, that I am thus much indebted unto him; and if I be ever able, I will see him paid: desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my kindred nor friends may ever understand this my lewd part; for if it should come unto my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs over-soon unto his grave." And so was he departing.

The maid considering that it might be his utter undoing, "Stay," said she; and having a piece of money lying by her, given unto her by the death of a kinsman of hers, (who, as it was thought, was Dr. Redman,) she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, "Roger, here is thus much money; I will let thee have it, and I will keep this bill. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelvence at either dice or cards, then will I show this thy bill unto my master. And furthermore, thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the sermon at Paul's every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of papistry and vain ballads, and get thee the Testament and Book of Service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still, for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray unto God fervently, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offend his majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy heart's desire."

After this time, within one half year God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest professor of the truth, and detested all papistry and evil company; so that he was in admiration to all them that had known him, and seen his former life and wickedness.

Then he repaired into Lancashire unto his father, and brought divers good books with him, and bestowed them upon his friends, so that his father and others began to taste of the gospel, and to detest the mass, idolatry, and superstition; and in the end his father gave him a stock of money to begin the world withal, to the sum of fifty pounds.

Then he repaired to London again, and came to the maid that lent him the money to pay his master withal, and said unto her, "Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee; and for the friendship, good will, and the good counsel I have received at thy hands, to recompense thee I am not able, otherwise than to make thee my wife." And soon after they were married, which was in the first year of Queen Mary. And having a child by her, he caused Master Rose to baptize his said child in his own house. Notwithstanding he was bewrayed unto the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papists should not have it in their anointing hands, Bonner caused his goods to be seized upon, and most cruelly used his wife.

After this he remained closely in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the last year of Queen Mary. Then he, with the six others aforesaid, were taken in, or not far from, St. John's Wood, and so brought to Newgate upon May-day, in the morning, anno 1558.

Then being called before the bishop, Dr. Chedsey, both the Harpsfields, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty persuasions of Dr. Chedsey, to allure him to their Babylonical church, thus the bishop began with him.

"Holland, I for my part do wish well unto thee, and the more for thy friends' sake. And, as Dr. Standish telleth me, you and he were both born in one parish, and he knoweth your father to be a very honest catholic gentleman. And Master Doctor told me, that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very wilfully addict to your own conceit. Divers of the city also have showed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of men's servants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations. But since you be now in the danger of the law, I would wish you to play a wise man's part; so shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for your own sake, and also for your friends', which be men of worship and credit, and wish you well: and by my troth, Roger, so do I."

Then said Master Eglestone, a gentleman of Lancashire, and near kinsman to Roger, being there present, "I thank your good Lordship; your Honour meaneth good unto my cousin; I beseech God he have the grace to follow your counsel."

Holland.—"Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his word."

Eglestone.—"Roger, hold your peace, lest you fare the worse at my Lord's hands."

Holland.—"No, I shall fare as it pleaseth

God ; for man can do no more than God doth permit him."

Then the bishop and the doctors, with Johnson the registrar, casting their heads together, in the end saith Johnson, "Roger, how sayest thou? wilt thou submit thyself unto my Lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?"

Holland.—"I never meant but to submit myself unto the magistrate, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii.;" and so he recited the text.

Chedsey.—"Then I see you are no Anabaptist."

Holland.—"I mean not yet to be a papist; for they and the Anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings."

Chedsey.—"Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my Lord hath promised he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeness of wit hath brought you into these errors."

Holland.—"Master Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me."

Then they whispered together again, and at the last said Bonner, "Roger, I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counsel, for any thing that either I, or your friends, or any others can say."

Holland.—"I may say to you, my Lord, as Paul said to Felix and unto the Jews, as doth appear in Acts xxii., and in 1 Cor. xv. It is not unknown unto my master whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of this your blind religion that now is taught, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the latter end of King Edward, in a manner; having that liberty under your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution, he for money doing some penance also for me, which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he passed, after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me, or no; so that lechery, swearing, and all other vices I accounted no offence of danger, so long as I could for money have them absolved. So straitly did I observe your rules of religion, that I would have ashes upon Ash Wednesday, though I had used never so much wickedness at night. And albeit I could not of conscience eat flesh upon the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry

and wicked life: for in Lancashire their blindness and whoredom is over-much more than may with chaste ears be heard. Yet these my friends, which are not clear in these notable crimes, think the priest with his mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and keep concubines besides their wives, as long as they live. Yea, I know some priests very devout, my Lord, yet such as have six or seven children by four or five sundry women.

"Master Doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and universality," for these Dr. Chedsey alleged as notes and tokens of their religion, "I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colours to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from Pope Nicholas, or Pope Joan! but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head; and so to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised, that their seed should multiply as the stars in the sky; and so to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning, unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises, were of the church, though the number were oftentimes but few and small; as in Elias's days, when he thought there were none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your mass, and your god Maozim; the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, whiles you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) closely to serve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, our church hath been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the true testimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you show? Yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old; and some of your masses are younger, as that mass of St. Thomas Becket the traitor, wherein you pray that you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service, although he

did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof; the priests do so champ them and chaw them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our Lady's Psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreams (which you defend with faggot and fire) to quench the light of the word of God; which, as David saith, should be a lantern to our feet. And again, Wherein shall a young man direct his ways, but by the word of God? and yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather in the church to have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity?

"The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand; neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiving all alone, your purgatory, your images, &c.

"As for the unity which is in your church, what is it else but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, wickedness? What unity was in your church, when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity, when you had a woman-pope?" . . .

Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed; but, saith the bishop, "Roger, these thy words are very blasphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, take him away."

The day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedsey said, "Roger, I trust you have now better considered of the church than you did before."

Holland.—"I consider thus much: that out of the church there is no salvation, as divers ancient doctors say."

Bonner.—"That is well said. Master Eglestone, I trust your kinsman will be a good catholic man. But Roger, you mean, I trust, the church of Rome?"

Holland.—"I mean that church which hath Christ for her Head; which also hath his word, and his sacraments according to his word and institution."

Then Chedsey interrupted him, and said, "Is that a Testament you have in your hand?"

Holland.—"Yea, Master Doctor, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the trans-

lation, I think. It is of your own translation, it is according to the great Bible."

Bonner.—"How say you? How do you know it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the church? for the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions."

"No," saith Roger, "the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition (I pray you) did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the asp: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot?"

Then said the bishop, "Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expositors of the Scripture. Would you then the ancient learned (as there be some here, as well as I) should be taught of you?"

Holland.—"Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But, my Lord, I suppose some of the old doctors say, If a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited afore the learned, though they be never so great doctors: for the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding, I am ready to be instructed by the church."

Bonner.—"That is very well said, Roger: but you must understand that the church of Rome is the catholic church. Roger, for thy friends' sake, (I promise thee,) I wish thee well, and I mean to do thee good.—Keeper! see he want nothing. Roger, if thou lack any money to pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want."

This he spake unto him alone, his fellows being apart, with many other fair promises; and so he was sent to prison again.

[The last examination of Roger Holland was, when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there excommunicated all, saving Roger, and ready to have their sentence of judgment given, with many threatening words to fear them withal: the Lord Strange, Sir Thomas Jarret, Master Eglestone, esquire, and divers other of worship both of Cheshire and Lancashire, that were Roger Holland's kinsmen and friends, being there present, which had been earnest suitors to the bishop in his favour, hoping for his safety of life. Now the bishop, hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner:]

Bonner.—"Roger, I have divers times called thee before home to my house, and have conferred

with thee; and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me thou art of a good memory, and of a very sensible talk, but something over-hasty, which is a natural disease to some men. And surely they are not the worst-natured men: for I myself shall now and then be hasty, but mine anger is soon past. So, Roger, surely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with these lewd fellows cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here (very good catholics, as it is reported unto me). And as I mean thee good, so, Roger, play the wise man's part, and come home with the lost son, and say, 'I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome;' and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church, that hath authority, shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheer withal; that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cherish the mind, so shalt thou find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry son that had been fed afore with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics that sever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they be worse," putting his hand to his cap for reverence sake, "than hogs: for they know the church, and will not follow it. If I should say thus much to a Turk, he would (I think) believe me. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you."

At these words, his friends that were there gave the bishop thanks for his good will and pains that he had taken in his and their behalf.

Bonner.—"Well, Roger, how say you? Do you not believe that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ really and corporally under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, that rose again the third day."

Holland.—"Your Lordship saith, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day: but you leave out, which ascended into heaven; and the Scripture saith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead! Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by *Hoc est corpus meum*, &c."

Bonner.—"Roger, I perceive my pains and good-will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful, (as all thy fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and foolish con-

ceit,) that thou wouldst still talk to no purpose this seven years, if thou mightest be suffered. Answer whether thou wilt confess the real and corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or wilt not."

Holland.—"My Lord, although God by his sufferance hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us his faithful servants; notwithstanding, your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ: and for all your words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God."

Bonner.—"If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to railing, as a frantic heretic."

"Roger!" saith the Lord Strange, "I perceive my Lord would have you tell him whether you will submit yourself to him, or no."

"Yea," saith Bonner, "and confess this presence that I have spoken of."

With this, Roger, turning him to the Lord Strange and the rest of his kinsmen and friends, very cheerfully kneeled down upon his knees, and said, "God, by the mouth of his servant St. Paul, hath said, Let every soul submit himself unto the higher powers, and he that resisteth receiveth his own damnation: and as you are a magistrate appointed by the will of God, so do I submit myself unto you, and to all such as are appointed for magistrates."

Bonner.—"That is well said; I see you are no Anabaptist. How say you then to the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar?"

Holland.—"I say, and beseech you all to mark and bear witness with me (for so you shall do before the judgment-seat of God) what I speak; for here is the conclusion; and ye, my dear friends, (turning him to his kinsmen,) I pray you show my father what I do say, that he may understand I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am therein fully persuaded by the Scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ's institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive by faith the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ in his human person sit at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith, I say) his death, his passion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry."

"I thought so much," said Bonner, suffering him to speak no more, "how he would prove a very blasphemous heretic as ever I heard. How un-reverently doth he speak of the blessed mass!" And so read his bloody sentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burnt.

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet: and when he should depart, he said, "My Lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words." The bishop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithstanding, being requested by one of his friends, he said, "Speak, what hast thou to say?"

Holland.—"Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his sufferance. And now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted saints, which daily you persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, (which by his Spirit I am moved to say,) that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his church. And this shall you in short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true; for after this day, in this place, shall there not be any by him put to the trial of fire and faggot."

And after this day there was none that suffered in Smithfield for the testimony of the gospel, God be thanked.

After these words spoken, said Bonner, "Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in these thy heresies as ever was Joan Boucher. In anger and fume thou wouldst become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the sort of you would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn, yea, I will burn all the sort of you that come in my hands, that will not worship the blessed sacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling." And so he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the gospel; and with that the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without his licence; and and if they did, they should be committed to prison. In the mean season Henry Pond and Roger spake still unto the people, exhorting them to stand in the truth; adding moreover, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

The day they suffered, a proclamation was made that none should be so bold to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or mainprize; with divers other cruel threatening words, contained in the same proclamation. Notwithstanding the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them; and they, likewise,

still prayed for the people, and the restoring of his word. At length Roger, embracing the stake and the reeds, said these words:

"Lord, I most humbly thank thy Majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts! And Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry."

And so he ended his life, looking up into heaven, praying and praising God, with the rest of his fellow saints: for whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised!

The martyrdom of six which suffered at Brentford, for the true testimony of Jesus Christ.

Not long after the death of the forenamed seven godly martyrs that suffered in Smithfield, were six other faithful witnesses of the Lord's true testament martyred at Brentford, seven miles from London, the fourteenth day of July, 1558; which said six were of that company that were apprehended in a close hard by Islington, (as is above specified,) and sent to prison; whose names and articles proposed to them, with their answers unto the same, hereafter follow: Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dynes, Stephen Wight, John Slade, and William Pikes, or Pikes, a tanner, martyrs.

These six forenamed martyrs, gentle reader, had their articles ministered unto them by Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, at sundry times; as Robert Mills the twentieth day of June, Stephen Wight the twenty-first day of the said month, Stephen Cotton and John Slade the twenty-second day, and Robert Dynes and William Pikes the twenty-third day. At which said times, though they were severally examined, yet had they all one manner of articles ministered to them, yea, and the selfsame articles that were ministered to John Holiday, Henry Pond, and their company aforesaid; which said articles I leave the reader to look for above in their story, and think it not necessary any more to rehearse them, but only to proceed with their answers to the same, which briefly and in sum hereafter follow.

"To the first article, they all granted the same; and added thereto for going to church, that Robert Mills and Stephen Wight came not there for three quarters of a year before, and John Slade and William Pikes not since the queen's reign, Stephen Cotton not for a twelvemonth before, and Robert Dynes not for two years before.

"The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, they all answered in effect, as the forenamed John Holi-

day, Henry Pond, and their company did, saving they added, that as their rites, customs, and ceremonies are against the word of God, so will they observe and keep no part of the same. Stephen Wight added further, that he received not their sacrament of the altar for two years before, nor John Slade and William Pikes since Queen Mary's reign, nor Stephen Cotton for a twelvemonth before, nor Robert Dynes for three years before.

"To the seventh, they all granted the same in every part like unto the aforementioned Henry Pond and his company; saving that Robert Dynes added, that it was no part of his belief.

"To the eighth, they all granted the same in every part as the forenamed William Holiday and his company: but Robert Mills added thereto, that he will not come to church, nor allow their religion, so long as the cross is crept to, and worshipped, and images are in the church. John Slade affirmed in effect as Robert Mills did; adding further, that there be not seven sacraments, but two sacraments, which are baptism and the supper of the Lord. Stephen Cotton would no further allow the popish religion, than it agreeth with God's word: and Robert Dynes affirmed in effect the like to Stephen Cotton also.

"To the ninth and tenth, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, that they do not allow the popish service then set forth, because it is against the truth, and in a strange language which the common people understand not. Robert Dynes and William Pikes will neither allow nor disallow the Latin service, because they understand it not. And Stephen Wight would make no direct answer to the articles at all, and to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles we find no answers recorded of the said Stephen Wight, but of the rest of his fellow prisoners we find answers to those articles which hereafter follow.

"To the eleventh, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, that concerning the books, faith, and religion specified in this article, they do allow them so far forth, as they agree with God's word, &c. Robert Dynes would make no answer thereto, because he thought himself unmeet to judge thereof: and William Pikes doth not remember that he hath misliked the service, and the faith and religion set forth in King Edward the Sixth's time.

"To the twelfth they grant, that if they might receive the sacrament as they did in King Edward the Sixth's days, they would with all their hearts so do.

"To the thirteenth and fourteenth articles, they confess and grant the contents of them to be true in every part."

When, at the days before specified, these good

men were produced before Bonner's chancellor, Thomas Darbyshire, and had the foresaid articles ministered unto them, and they (as ye have heard) had made answer unto the same; in the end the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the eleventh day of July after, in the said place at Paul's. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their opinions to the mother holy church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation, Whereunto they all answered, that they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the same while they lived.

Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two of the clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At which time, he sitting in judgment, talking with these godly and virtuous men, at last came into the said place Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, knights, two of Queen Mary's officers of her house; and being there, they sat them down over against the chancellor, in whose presence the said chancellor condemned those good poor lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power, who received and carried them to prison immediately, and there kept them in safety, till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the lord chancellor's office, from whence the next day after was sent a writ to burn them at Brentford aforesaid, which accordingly was accomplished in the same place, the said fourteenth day of July; whereunto they being brought, made their humble prayers unto the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, went joyfully to the stake, (whereunto they were bound,) and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they did suffer, and to whose protection I commend thee, gentle reader, Amen.

Among these six was one William Pikes, (as ye have heard,) who sometime dwelt in Ipswich in Suffolk, by his occupation a tanner, a very honest godly man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good keeper of hospitality, and beneficial to the persecuted in Queen Mary's days. This said William Pikes, in the third year of Queen Mary's reign, a little after Midsummer, being then at liberty, went into his garden, and took with him a Bible of Rogers's translation, where he, sitting with his face towards the south, reading on the said Bible, sud-

denly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelve o'clock of the day, four drops of fresh blood, and he knew not from whence it came. Then he, seeing the same, was sore astonished, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife and said, "In the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? will the Lord have four sacrifices? I see well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial! Wife, let us pray," said he, "for I fear the day draweth nigh." Afterward, he daily looked to be apprehended of the papists; and it came to pass accordingly, as ye have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to stir up our dull senses in considering the Lord's works, and reverently to honour the same. His name there-for be praised for evermore. Amen.

Here is to be noted, by the way, amongst those that suffered at Brentford, one there was of the said company, who, at his burning, desired of God some token to be given, whereby the people might know that they died in the right. After, coming to the place of execution, and being in the fire, there appeared in him that so prayed, in his breast, a miraculous white cross, as white as the paper; the breadth whereof extended from the one shoulder to the other, the length being as much as the breadth. The compass thereof in every place was as broad as a hand. This cross appeared so long till he fell down flat to the fire. Master Dean, aforesaid, did see it with his eyes; and he that saw, did justify it; and himself declared it to me with his own mouth, anno 1561, October 14th.

Moreover, concerning the said William Pikes, as he was in Newgate sore sick and at the point of death, so that no man looked he should live six hours, he declared to them that stood by, that he had been twice in persecution before, and that now he desired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his name at the stake; and so, as he prayed, it came to pass at Brentford.

Ye heard before, that of those two-and-twenty taken at Islington, thirteen were burnt, and six escaped, albeit very hardly, and some of them not without scourging by the hands of the bishop; in the which number was Thomas Hinshaw and John Milles.

The scourging of Thomas Hinshaw.

In the godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at Islington, there congregated together, for their exercise of prayer and reading, was this Thomas Hinshaw above named, a young man of the age of nineteen or twenty years, prentice

in Paul's churchyard with one Master Pugson, who, with the rest, was carried to the constables of Islington, and there every one of them searched, and led forthwith to the chief justice Master Cholmley, dwelling in the Old Bailey in London; and by him then the said Thomas Hinshaw was sent to Newgate, and there remaining prisoner without conference with any about eight weeks, at the last was sent for to Bonner, bishop of London, and by him, Harpsfield, and Cole, examined. After which examination he was sent to Newgate again, where he remained three weeks following; which time being overpassed, he was sent for again before the said bishop, the day being Saturday, and with him had much talk to little purpose. The next day after also, which was Sunday, they persuaded with him very much in like manner, and perceiving they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoon the bishop, going unto Fulham, took him with him, where, immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night with bread and water. The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he sent Master Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the said Thomas Hinshaw "peevish boy," and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or no, &c.: unto which the said Thomas answered, that he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the bishop thereof; whereat the bishop fumed and fretted, that scant for anger being able to speak, he said, "Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured." So he sent for a couple of rods and caused him to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where the said Thomas, without any enforcement of his part, offered himself to the beating, and did abide the fury of the said Bonner, so long as the fat-paunched bishop could endure with breath, and till for weariness he was fain to cease, and give place to his shameful act. He had two willow rods, but he wasted but one, and so left off.

Now after this scourging the said Thomas Hinshaw notwithstanding did sustain divers conflicts and examinations sundry times. At last, being brought before the said bishop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witnesses, and gathered articles against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any interrogatory there and then ministered, do what they could; the articles were these.

"Concerning palms, ashes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confession, receiving the sacrament at Easter, hearing divine service then set forth, &c.

"Whether he had received all these, or whether he would receive them or no.

"Item, What he thought of the service set forth in King Edward's time, in his latter days; and, in especial, what he thought of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament. In all which his answers, the said Thomas Hinshaw kept an upright conscience, and entangled himself with none of their ceremonies, so merciful was the Lord unto him."

Not long after this his examination, (about a fortnight or such a thing,) the foresaid examinee fell sick of a burning ague, whereby he was delivered upon entreaty unto his master, Martin Pugson, in Paul's churchyard aforesaid; for the bishop thought verily he was more likely to die than to live. The which his sickness endured a twelvemonth or more, so that in the mean time Queen Mary died. Then he, shortly after, recovered health, and escaped death, being at the writing of this yet alive, both witness and reporter of the same; the Lord therefore be praised! Amen.

The scourging of John Milles by Bishop Bonner.



Besides the above named, was scourged also by the hands of the said Bonner, one John Milles, a capper, a right

faithful and true honest man in all his dealings and conditions; who was rother to the foresaid R. Milles, burnt before at Brentford, as is above signified: who also was apprehended in the same

number with them at Islington, as is mentioned also before; and being brought before Bonner, and there examined, was commanded to the coal-house, with the foresaid Thomas Hinshaw, where they remained one night in the stocks. From thence he was sent to Fulham, where he, with the said Hinshaw, remained eight or ten days in the stocks, during which time he sustained divers conflicts with the said Bonner, who had him oftentimes in examination, urging him, and, with a stick which he had in his hand, oftentimes rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the

ears, saying, he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had assayed all manner of ways to cause him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands he beat him first with a willow rod; and that being worn well-nigh to the stumps, he called for a birchen rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cause why he so beat him was this: Bonner asked him when he had crept to the cross. He answered, not since he came to the years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn with wild horses. Then Bonner bade him make a cross in his forehead, which he refused to do; whereupon he had him incontinently to his orchard, and there calling for rods, showed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon Thomas Hinshaw, as is above declared.

This done, he had him immediately to the parish church at Fulham, with the said Thomas Hinshaw and Robert Milles, to whom, there being severally called before him, he ministered certain articles, asking if he would subscribe to the same: to the which the said John Milles made his answer according to his conscience, denying them all, except one article, which was concerning King Edward's service in English. Shortly after this beating, Bonner sent to him in prison a certain old priest lately come from Rome, to conjure out the evil spirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Milles, marvelling what the priest was about to do, said, he trusted no evil spirit to be within him; and laughed him to scorn, &c.

As this John Milles was divers times and oft called before Bonner, so much communication and talk passed between them; which to recite all, it were too long. And yet it were not unpleasant for the reader that lusteth to laugh, to see the blind and unsavoury reasons of that bishop, which he used to persuade the ignorant withal. As in the process of his other talk with this Milles, Bonner, going about to persuade him not to meddle with matters of the Scripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, which had more skill in the same, first asked if he did believe the Scripture.

"Yea," said Milles, "that I do."

Then the bishop: "Why," quoth he, "St. Paul saith, If the man sleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man. If thou wert asleep, having a wife, wouldest thou be content thy wife to take another man? and yet this is the Scripture. Item, If thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and such, then thou canst not go right. But if thou wilt believe me, &c., thou canst not err. And if thou

shouldst err, yet thou art in no peril: thy blood should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am," (for these were his terms,) "and ask the way to the head city, and he should say, 'Go this way;' and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for? So, if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other heretics, so shalt thou be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul. As truly as thou seest the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they err from the true church."

Oftimes speaking to the said John Milles, he would say, "They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all! I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would sew your mouths, and put you in sacks and drown you."

Now somewhat to say concerning the deliverance of the said John Milles. The same day that he was delivered, Bonner came unto the stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare. "Well," said Milles, "if it would please God I might have a little straw to lie or sit upon."

Then said Bonner, "Thou wilt show no token of a Christian man." And upon this his wife came in, unknown unto him, being very great with child, and looking every hour for her lying down, entreating the bishop for her husband, and saying, that she would not go out of the house, but there would lay herself in the bishop's house, unless she had her husband with her. "How sayest thou," quoth Bonner, "thou heretic? If thy wife miscarry, or thy child, or children, if she be with one or two, should perish, the blood of them would he require at thy hands." Then to this agreement he came, that he should hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one Robert Rouse) should bring the said Milles unto his house at Paul's the next day. Whereunto the said Milles said, he would not agree, except he might go home by and by. At length his wife being importunate for her husband, and seeing that she would go no further, but there remain, unless she had her husband with her, the bishop, fearing belike the rumour which might come upon his house thereby, bade the said Milles make a cross, and say, *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

Then the said Milles began to say, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." "No, no," saith Bonner, "say it me in

Latin, *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*" Milles, understanding the matter of that Latin to be but good, said the same, and so went home with his wife, his foresaid kinsman being charged to bring him the next day unto Paul's: "else," said Bonner, "if thou dost not bring him, thou art a heretic, as well as he." Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him, but he of his own voluntary accord came to the said bishop within a few days after, where the bishop put unto him a certain writing in Latin to subscribe unto, containing (as it seemed to him) no great matter that he needed greatly to stick at; albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so subscribed he to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Islington.

The story and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, Doctor Taylor's curate at Hadley, constantly suffering for the gospel's sake, July the tenth.

After the story of these twenty-two taken at Islington, proceeding now, (the Lord willing,) we will prosecute likewise the taking and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, minister; which Yeoman had been, before, Dr. Taylor's curate, a godly devout old man of seventy years, which had many years dwelt in Hadley, well seen in the Scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people. With him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure: but as soon as Master Newall had gotten the benefice, he drove away good Yeoman, as is before said, and set in a popish curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion, which now they thought fully stablished. Then wandered he long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully by God's word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the cross now laid upon them for their trial, with boldness to confess the truth before the adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins, and points, and such-like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things; and by that poor shift got himself somewhat to the sustaining of himself, his poor wife, and children.

At the last a justice of Kent, called Master Moyle, took poor Yeoman, and set him in the stocks a day and a night; but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So came he secretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-

house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year; all the which time the good old father abode in a chamber, locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool, which his wife did spin. His wife also did go and beg bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means sustained they themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were costly pampered at Jezebel's table.

At the last parson Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and, taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night-time, and brake up five doors upon Yeoman, whom he found in a bed with his poor wife and children: whom when he had so found, he irefully cried, saying, "I thought I should find a harlot and a whore together." And he would have plucked the clothes off from them; but Yeoman held fast the clothes, and said unto his wife, "Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes." And unto the parson he said, "Nay, parson, no harlot, nor whore, but a married man and his wife, according unto God's ordinance; and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery." Then led they Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

There was then also in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had sitten there three or four days, because when the said parson Newall with his curate executed the Romish service in the church, he spake openly unto him, and said, "O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your stony stomach? O indurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable sort, whom nothing can do good unto!"

These and like words he spake in ferventness of spirit against the superstitious religion of Rome. Wherefore, parson Newall caused him forthwith to be attached, and set in the stocks in the cage. So was he there kept till Sir Henry Doyle, a justice, came to Hadley.

Now when poor Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon Sir Henry Doyle to send them both to prison. Sir Henry Doyle earnestly laboured and entreated the parson, to consider the age of the men, and their poor estate; they were persons of no reputation, nor preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two,

and so to let them go—at the least John Dale, who was no priest; and therefore, seeing he had so long sitten in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of Christians. “Wherefore, I beseech you, sir,” quoth he, “according to your office, defend holy church, and help to suppress these sects of heresies which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the queen’s gracious proceedings.” Sir Henry Doyle, seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also his peril, if he should too much meddle in this matter, made out the writ, and caused the constables to carry them forth to Bury gaol. For now were all the justices, were they never so mighty, afraid of every shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did stand in fear of Annas and Caiaphas, and of the Pharisaical brood, which cried, Crucify him, Crucify him! If thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar’s friend. Wherefore, whatsoever their consciences were, yet, if they would escape danger, they must needs be the popish bishop’s slaves and vassals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale, pinioned; and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses’ bellies, and so carried them to the gaol at Bury, where they were tied in irons; and for that they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prison, and evil keeping, died in prison, whose body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-six years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, stedfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in King Edward’s time; for the which he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal glory, and the blessed paradise of everlasting felicity.

After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where, after strait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy King Edward the Sixth; and from that he would in no wise vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope, “I defy him,” quoth he, “and all his detestable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him.” The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the mass sacrifice.

Wherefore when he continued stedfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended he his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect saints.

The story of John Alcock.

There was also in Hadley a young man, named John Alcock, which came to Hadley seeking work, for he was a shearman by his occupation. This young man after the martyrdom of Dr. Taylor, and taking of Richard Yeoman, used first in the church of Hadley to read the service in English, as partly is above touched.

At length, after the coming of parson Newall, he, being in Hadley church upon a Sunday, when the parson came by with procession, would not once move his cap, nor show any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. Newall, perceiving this, when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man wrought, and asked, “Master Parson! what hath he done, that ye are in such a rage with him?”

“He is a heretic and a traitor,” quoth the parson, “and despiseth the queen’s proceedings. Wherefore I command you, in the queen’s name, have him to the stocks, and see he be forthcoming.” “Well,” quoth Rolfe, “he shall be forthcoming: proceed you in your business, and be quiet.”

“Have him to the stocks,” quoth the parson. “I am constable,” quoth Rolfe, “and may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not come in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming.” So went the good parson forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

At afternoon Rolfe said to this young man, “I am sorry for thee, for truly the parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him.” The young man answered, “Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myself, I am not sorry, but I do commit myself into God’s hands, and I trust he will give me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right.” “Well,” quoth Rolfe, “yet beware of him: for he is malicious and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me; and he will handle you the more cruelly because of displeasure against me.” “I fear not,” quoth the young man. “He shall do no more to me than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be, if God will call me to die for his truth’s sake.”

After this talk, they then went to the parson, who at the first asked him, "Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?" "I say," quoth he, "as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it, and ye are false idolatrous priests, all the sort of you." "I told you," quoth the parson, "he was a stout heretic."

So after long talk, the parson committed him to ward, and the next day rode he up to London, and carried the young man with him, and so came the young man no more again to Hadley, but, after long imprisonment in Newgate, where, after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where, with evil keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr for Christ's verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well-foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves. Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

The story of Thomas Benbridge, gentleman and martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death by the cruel papists, for the defence of the gospel of Christ Jesus.

Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman, single and unmarried, in the diocese of Winchester, although he might have lived a pleasant and a gentleman's life in the wealthy possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy pleasures present, with unquietness of conscience. Wherefore manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the doctrine of the gospel. For the which cause he being apprehended for an adversary of the Romish religion, was forthwith had to examination before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, where he sustained sundry conflicts for the truth, against the said bishop and his colleagues. The articles of the bishop ministered to him, with his answers to the same annexed, be here following.

"First, We articulate against you, that the church of God ministereth rightly, according to the rite apostolical."

To this he answered, that baptism is not administered at this present, so as it was in the apos-

ties' time, for that it is not ministered in the English tongue.

"2. Item, We articulate that the church of God doth believe and hold, that in the sacrament of thanksgiving, after the words of consecration pronounced of the priest, the true and natural body of Christ is present really."

He answered, that he believeth not that in the sacrament is contained the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, saying, "This is the mark that ye shoot at."

"3. Item, We articulate that the church holdeth and believeth, that confirmation is a sacrament in the church, and that by imposition of hands of a bishop cometh grace."

He answered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a sacrament or not, and whether the bishop giveth grace or not; he knoweth not the order and fashion of ministration.

"4. Item, We articulate that penance is a sacrament in the church, and that by auricular confession and absolution, pronounced by the priest, sins be forgiven."

He answered negatively, denying sins to be forgiven by absolution pronounced of a priest; and that it is not necessary for a man to recite all his sins to a priest.

5. "Item, We articulate against thee, that the church doth believe and hold the same authority to be now in the church, which Christ gave to his apostles."

He answered negatively, for that the church hath not the same power and strength to work.

"6. Item, we articulate that the church believeth and holdeth, that the order of ministers, now being in the church of Christ, is instituted of Christ himself."

He answered, he believed not the bishops to be the successors of the apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that grace.

"7. Item, We articulate that the church believeth and holdeth the pope to be supreme head in the church, and the vicar of Christ in earth."

He answered, that it is not the pope, but it is the devil, that is supreme head of the church which you speak of.

"8. Item, We articulate that the church doth hold and believe that it is necessary to be baptized."

He denied not the same.

"9. Item, We articulate that the church doth hold and believe that there is purgatory, and that the souls of the dead be relieved with the alms and prayers of the living."

He answered and saith, as touching purgatory, he will not believe as their church doth believe

"10. Item, We articulate that the church holdeth and believeth that matrimony is a sacrament of the church."

He answered, that he will not say that matrimony is a sacrament, but to be a sacred order and sign of a holy thing, &c.

Moreover, happening into the mention of Martin Luther, he said, that the said Martin Luther died a good Christian man, whose doctrine and life he did approve and allow.

Thus have ye the articles ministered by the bishop, and also the answers of the said Master Benbridge unto the same, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of martyrdom by the sheriff, called Sir Richard Pecksal; where he, standing at the stake, began to untie his points, and to prepare himself. Then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon. But when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming and doltish doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Master Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holdeth his hands in his memento, the said Dr. Seaton came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, "Away, Babylonian, away!"

Then said one that stood by, "Sir, cut out his tongue;" and another, being a temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Seaton did a great deal, who, as is thought, was set on by some other.

Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to fire; and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, wherewith he nothing shrank at all. Then it came on the other side, and took his legs; and the nether stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, "I recant." And suddenly therewith he thrust the fire from him; and having two or three of his friends by, that wished his life, they stept to the fire, and helped to take it from him also; who for their labour were sent to prison. The sheriff also of his own authority took him from the stake, and sent him to prison again, for the which he was sent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certain time. But before

he was taken from the stake, the said Seaton wrote articles to have him to subscribe unto them, as touching the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But the said Master Benbridge made much ado ere he could subscribe them, insomuch that Dr. Seaton willed them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he subscribed to them upon a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, unto which he had subscribed; for he was grieved that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon expressing his conscience, he was, the same day seven-night after, burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance!

The unjust execution and martyrdom of four, burnt at St. Edmund's Bury.

In this year aforesaid, which was the last of Queen Mary's reign, Dr. Hopton being bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Spenser bearing the room of his chancellor, about St. James's tide, at St. Edmund's Bury, were wrongfully put to death four Christian martyrs, to wit, John Cooke, a sawyer; Robert Miles, alias Plummer, a shearman; Alexander Lane, a wheelwright; and James Ashley, bachelor.

The examination of these forenamed persons, being severally called before the bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgrave, with others, was partly upon these articles following.

"First, Sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, 'How fortuneth it, that you go not to church?'

"John Cooke said, 'I have been there.'

"Sir Edward said, 'What is the cause that you go not thither now, in these days?'

"John Cooke said, 'Because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and,' saith he, 'the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.'

"Sir Edward said, 'O thou rank traitor! if I had as good commission to cut out thy tongue as I have to sit here this day, thou shouldst be sure to have it cut out.'

"Then commanded he the constable to have him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

"Then he called Robert Miles, and said, 'How fortuneth it, that you go not to the church?'

"Robert Miles answered, 'Because I will follow no false gods.'

"Then said the bishop, 'Who told thee that it is a god?'

"Then said Miles, 'Even you, and such as you are.'

"Then the bishop commanded him aside, and to appear before him the next day.

"Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him, how it chanced, that he would not go to the church?"

"He said, that his conscience would not serve him so to do.

"Then Sir Edward said, 'How dost thou believe?'

"Then said Lane, 'Even as it is written in God's book.'

"Then Sir Edward commanded him to say his belief.

"Then the said Lane being somewhat abashed, said his belief to these words, which he missed unawares, 'Born of the Virgin Mary.'

"Then Sir Edward said, 'What! was he not born of the Virgin Mary?'

"'Yes,' said Lane, 'I would have said so.'

"'Nay,' said Sir Edward, 'you are one of Cooke's scholars!' And so commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

"After the like manner they passed also with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewise to appear before them again. So in fine they, appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs and servants of Christ innocently suffered together at St. Edmund's Bury, as is aforesaid, about the beginning of August, not long before the sickness of Queen Mary."

The martyrdom of Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver, two godly persons suffering at Ipswich for the gospel of Christ, and his everlasting testament.

Master Noone, a justice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martlesham, hunting after good men to apprehend them, (as he was a bloody tyrant in the days of trial,) at the length had understanding of one Gouch of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife of Grundisburgh, to be at Grundisburgh together, a little from his house; and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent search for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to step into a hay-golph, to hide themselves from their cruelty. At the last they came to search the hay for them, and by gauging thereof with pitchforks, at the last found them: so they took them and led them to Melton gaol, where they, remaining a time, at the length were carried to Bury, against the assize at St. James's tide; and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly stand to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope with all his papistical trash. And among other things

Driver's wife likened Queen Mary in her persecution to Jezebel; and so in that sense calling her Jezebel, for that Sir Clement Higham, being chief judge there, adjudged her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ.

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a man of the age of thirty-six years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation was a weaver of shredding-coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Ufford in the same county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of thirty years, and dwelt at Grundisburgh, where they were taken, in Suffolk: her husband did use husbandry. These two were carried from Melton gaol to Ipswich, where they remained and were examined; the which their examination, as it came to our hands, hereafter followeth.

First, she coming into the place where she should be examined with a smiling countenance, Dr. Spenser said, "Why, woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?"

Alice.—"Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be."

Then the chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

Alice.—"Wherefore? I think I need not tell you; for ye know it better than I."

Spenser.—"No, by my troth, woman, I know not why."

"Then have ye done me much wrong," quoth she, "thus to imprison me, and know no cause why: for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God; and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done, justly."

Spenser.—"Woman, woman, what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? dost thou not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words be spoken of consecration?"

Driver's wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed priest that stood by spake, and asked her, why she made not the chancellor an answer. With that, the said Driver's wife looked upon him austerely, and said, "Why, priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy master: but, if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy master to hold his peace." And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

"Sir," said she, "pardon me though I make no

answer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby : for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the Scripture."

Spenser.—"Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?"

Alice.—"I have (I thank God) read God's book."

Spenser.—"Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?"

Alice.—"It is the Old and New Testament. What call you it?"

Spenser.—"That is God's book indeed, I cannot deny."

Alice.—"That same book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any such sacrament there; and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord's supper; and therefore, seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you show me what a sacrament is."

Spenser.—"It is a sign." And one Dr. Gascoine, being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Alice.—"You have said the truth, sir," said she: "it is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it; and therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own saying."

Then stood up the said Gascoine, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to purpose, both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, "Yes;" and said, "I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promised."

Gascoine.—"Very well. Then he said to his disciples, Take, eat, this is my body: ergo, it was his body. For he was able to perform that he spake, and God useth not to lie."

Alice.—"I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?"

Gascoine.—"Those be the words. Can you deny it?"

Alice.—"No, they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it: but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?"

Gascoine.—"No, it was his body."

Alice.—"Then was it his body that they did eat over-night?"

Gascoine.—"Yea, it was his body."

Alice.—"What body was it, then, that was crucified the next day?"

Gascoine.—"It was Christ's body."

Alice.—"How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him over-night, except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had? one they did eat over-night, and another was crucified the next day. Such a doctor, such doctrine! Be you not ashamed to teach the people, that Christ had two bodies? In Luke xxii., He took bread and brake it to his disciples, saying, Take, &c.; and do this in remembrance of me. St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi., Do this in remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come: and therefore I marvel you blush not before all this people to lie so manifestly as ye do." With that Gascoine held his peace, and made her no answer; for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the chancellor lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

"Now," said she, "ye be not able to resist the truth, ye command me to prison again. Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. I wis, I wis, this gear will go for no payment then." So went she with the gaoler away.

Another examination before Drs. Spenser and Gascoine.

The next day she came before them again, and the chancellor then asked her, What she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Alice.—"I will say nothing to it; for you will neither believe me nor yourselves. For yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said it was a sign, and I agreed thereto, and said it was the truth, confirming it by the Scriptures; so that I went not from your own words: and now ye come and ask me again of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures."

Spenser.—"Thou liest, naughty woman! we did not say that it was a sign."

Alice.—"Why, masters, be ye not the men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speak the same?"

Then stood up Dr. Gascoine, and said, she was deceived; for there are three churches—the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Alice.—"Sir, is there mention made of so many churches in the Scripture?"

Gascoine.—"Yea."

Alice.—"I pray you where find you this word 'church' written in the Scripture?"

Gascoine.—"It is written in the New Testament."

Alice.—"I pray you, sir, show the place where it is written."

Gascoine.—"I cannot tell the place, but there it is." With that she desired him to look in his Testament. Then he fumbled and sought about him for one: but, at that time, he had none; and that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At the last she said, "Have ye none here, sir?"

Gascoine.—"No."

Alice.—"I thought so much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withal. Surely, you be a good doctor. You say you sit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgment, and have not the book of the law with you?" At which words Gascoine was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one.

Alice.—"No," said she.

Then said he, "I am as good a doctor as you."

Alice.—"Well, sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take from me Christ, if you could); and since, would ye not suffer me to have any book at all, so burning is your charity. But you may well know, (I thank God,) that I have exercised the same; else could I not have answered you (to God's glory be it spoken) as I have." Thus she put them all to silence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to speak.

Alice.—"Have you no more to say? God be honoured! You be not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the university, as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time (I thank God): yet, notwithstanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my Master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the same, and if I had a thousand lives, they should go for payment thereof."

So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence in Latin of condemnation, and committed her to the secular power: and so went she to prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

Alexander Gouch, martyr.

At which time Alexander Gouch also was examined, who was taken with her, as before is said, whose examination hereafter followeth.

This Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church; and for that his belief was, that Christ was

ascended into heaven, and there remaineth, and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and the pope to be the supreme head of Christ's church. For these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver at Ipswich, the fourth of November, which was the Monday after All Saints, 1558, Dr. Miles Spenser being chancellor; they both ending their lives with earnest zeal, nothing fearing to speak their conscience, when they were commanded to the contrary.

These two godly persons being come to the place where the stake was set, by seven of the clock in the morning, (notwithstanding they came the selfsame morning from Melton gaol, which is six miles from Ipswich,) being in their prayers, and singing of psalms both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell, then being sheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of their prayers (they kneeling upon a broom-faggot): one of the bailiffs, whose name was Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, saying, "On, on, have done; make an end; nail them to the stake;" yet they continued in prayer.

Then Sir Henry sent one of his men, whose name was Richard Cove, that they should make an end.

Then Gouch stood up and said unto the sheriff, "I pray you, Master Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here."

Then said the bailiff, "Come off, have them to the fire."

Then the said Gouch and Alice Driver said, "Why, Master Sheriff and Master Bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?"

"Away," said Sir Henry, "to the stake with them!"

Gouch answered, "Take heed, Master Sheriff. If you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads." Then they, being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, "Oh!" said she, "here is a goodly neckerchief; blessed be God for it."

Then divers came, and took them by the hands, as they were bound, standing at the stake. The sheriff cried, "Lay hands on them, lay hands on them!" With that a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate, a barber, a busy doer about them, who, having then a frieze gown upon him, sold it immediately, saying, It stank of heretics, with other foul words more. After this, within three or four weeks, God's hand was upon him, and so he died very miserably in Ipswich.

The martyrdom of Philip Humfrey, and John and Henry David, three which were burnt at Bury, for the true testimony of Jesus Christ.

Although our history hasteth apace (the Lord be praised) to the happy death of Queen Mary, yet she died not so soon, but some there were burnt before, and more should have been burnt soon after them, if God's provision had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which suffered in the same month when Queen Mary died, were three that were burnt at Bury, whose names were these: Philip Humfrey, John David, and Henry David, his brother.

Concerning the burning of these three, here is to be noted, that Sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, did sue out a writ for the burning of these three aforesaid godly and blessed martyrs, notwithstanding that the queen was then known to be past remedy of her sickness.

The trouble and martyrdom of Prest's wife, a godly poor woman which suffered at Exeter.

Although in such an innumerable company of godly martyrs, which in sundry quarters of this realm were put to torments of fire in Queen Mary's time, it be hard so exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some escape us, either unknown or omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, and a silly creature, burnt under the said queen's reign, in the city of Exeter, (whose name I have not yet learned,) who dwelling sometime about Cornwall, having a husband and children there much addicted to the superstitious sect of popery, was many times rebuked of them, and driven to go to the church, to their idols and ceremonies, to shrift, to follow the cross in procession, to give thanks to God for restoring antichrist again in this realm, &c.: which when her spirit could not abide to do, she made her prayer unto God, calling for help and mercy; and so, at length, lying in her bed, about midnight she thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of singular comfort. Whereupon, in short space, she began to grow in contempt of her husband and children; and so taking nothing from them, but even as she went, departed from them, seeking her living by labour and spinning as well as she could, here and there for a time. In which time, notwithstanding, she never ceased to utter her mind as well as she durst; howbeit she at that time was brought home to her husband again, where at last she was accused by her neighbours, and so brought to Exeter, to be presented to the bishop and his clergy. The name

of the bishop which had her in examination, was Dr. Turberville: his chancellor (as I gather) was Blackstone. The chiefest matter whereupon she was charged and condemned, was for the sacrament, (which they call of the altar,) and for speaking against idols, as by the declaration of those which were present, I understand, which report the talk between her and the bishop on this wise.

"Thou foolish woman," quoth the bishop, "I hear say, that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Fic for shame! Thou art an unlearned person, and a woman. Wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of so high mysteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and tow to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned."

"My Lord," said she, "I trust your Lordship will hear me speak." "Yea, marry," quoth he; "therefore I sent for thee."

Woman.—"I am a poor woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly; and of that I get, I give part to the poor."

Bishop.—"That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?" And here the bishop entered into talk of her husband. To whom she answered again, declaring that she had a husband and children; and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children: "But now, standing here as I do," said she, "in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ or my husband, I am contented to stick only to Christ my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other."

And here she, making mention of the words of Christ, "He that leaveth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband," &c., the bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy martyrs, which died because they would not do sacrifice to the false gods.

Woman.—"Surely, sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that foul idol, which with your mass you make a god."

Bishop.—"Yea, you callet, will you say that the sacrament of the altar is a foul idol?"

"Yea truly," quoth she, "there was never such an idol as your sacrament is made of your priests, and commanded to be worshipped of all men, with many fond fantasies; whereas Christ did command it to be eaten and drunken in remembrance of his most blessed passion for our redemption."

Bishop.—"See this prattling woman. Dost thou not hear, that Christ did say over the bread,

'This is my body, and over the cup, This is my blood?'

Woman.—"Yes, forsooth, he said so; but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally."

Bishop.—"Lo, she hath heard prattling among these new preachers, or heard some peevish book. Alas, poor woman! thou art deceived."

Woman.—"No, my Lord, that I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reason, why I will not worship the sacrament."

Bishop.—"Marry, say on, I am sure it will be goodly gear."

Woman.—"Truly such gear, as I will lose this poor life of mine for."

Bishop.—"Then you will be a martyr, good wife."

Woman.—"Indeed, if the denying to worship that bready god be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart."

Bishop.—"Say thy mind."

"You must bear with me, a poor woman," quoth she.

"So I will," quoth he.

Woman.—"I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth say, that Christ perpetually doth sit at the right hand of his Father, both body and soul, until he come again; or whether he be there in heaven our advocate, and do make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be so, he is not here in the earth, in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, shall we seek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you, with a false offering, make all unperfect? If he be to be worshipped in spirit and truth, why do you worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drunken in faith and truth; if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you say, you make his body and flesh, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas! I am a poor woman, but rather than I would do as you do, I would live no longer. I have said, sir."

Bishop.—"I promise you, you are a jolly protestant! I pray you, in what schools have you been brought up?"

Woman.—"I have upon the Sundays visited the sermons; and there have I learned such things as are so fixed in my breast, that death shall not separate them."

Bishop.—"O foolish woman! who will waste his breath upon thee, or such as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wentest away from thy hus-

band? If thou wert an honest woman, thou wouldest not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive."

Woman.—"Sir, I laboured for my living; and, as my Master Christ counselleth me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled into another."

Bishop.—"Who persecuted thee?"

Woman.—"My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worship God in heaven, he would not hear me; but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft; but because I would be no partaker with him and his of that foul idol the mass. And wheresoever I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundays and holy days, I made excuses not to go to the popish church."

Bishop.—"Belike then you are a good housewife, to fly from your husband, and also from the church."

Woman.—"My housewifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true church."

Bishop.—"The true church! what dost thou mean?"

Woman.—"Not your popish church, full of idols and abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go, as long as I live."

Bishop.—"Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to prison, until we send for her husband."

Woman.—"No, I have but one husband, which is here already in this city and in prison with me, from whom I will never depart." And so their communication for that day brake off.

Blackstone and others persuaded the bishop that she was a mazed creature, and not in her perfect wit (which is no new thing, for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to carnal men of this world); and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty, and go at large. So the keeper of the bishop's prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did all other work as a servant in the said keeper's house, and went about the city, when and whither she would, and divers had delight to talk with her. And ever she continued talking of the sacrament of the altar, which of all things they could least abide. Then was her husband sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blemish of the cause and religion, in defence whereof she there stood before the bishop and the priests.

Then divers of the priests had her in handling, persuading her to leave her wicked opinion about the sacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ. But she made them

answer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the natural body of Christ, which bread doth waste, and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned : "And," said she, "God's own body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes. Let it be your god, it shall not be mine; for my Saviour sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that sacramental or significative bread instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, it is very foolishness and devilish deceit."

"Now truly," said they, "the devil hath deceived thee."

"No," said she, "I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused me to understand the right use of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth use, but the false church doth abuse."

Then stept forth an old friar, and asked her what she said of the holy pope.

"I," said she, "say, that he is antichrist and the devil." Then they all laughed. "Nay," said she, "you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be sorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon: I defy him and all his falsehood. And get you away from me: you do but trouble my conscience. You would have me follow your doings: I will first lose my life. I pray you depart."

"Why, thou foolish woman," said they, "we come to thee for thy profit and soul's health."

"O Lord God," said she, "what profit riseth by you that teach nothing but lies for truth? How save you souls, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and destroy souls?"

"How provest thou that?" said they.

"Do you not damn souls," said she, "when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks and stones, the works of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making, of a piece of bread? and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say, they be damned if they confess not all; when God's word saith, Who can number his sins? Do you not promise them trentals and diriges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Do ye not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto saints, and say

they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray devils? Do you not a thousand more abominations? and yet you say, you come for my profit and to save my soul! No, no; one hath saved me. Farewell you with your salvation!"

Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to be expressed.

In the mean time, during this her month's liberty granted to her by the bishop, which we spake of before, it happened that she, entering into St. Peter's church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman, how he made new noses to certain fine images which were disfigured in King Edward's time: "What a mad-man art thou," said she, "to make them new noses, which within a few days shall all lose their heads!" The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, "Thou art accursed, and so are thy images." He called her "whore." "Nay," said she, "thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for doth not God say, You go a whoring after strange gods, figures of your own making? And thou art one of them." Then was she sent for, and clapped fast; and from that time she had no more liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment, divers resorted to her to visit her, some sent of the bishop, some of their own voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel, a great doer and preacher sometime of the gospel, in the days of King Edward, in those parts of Cornwall and Devonshire: whom after that she perceived by his own confession to have revolted from that which he preached before, through the grievous imprisonments, as he said, and fear of persecution, which he had partly sustained by the cruel justices in those parts, earnestly she exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Moreover, there resorted to her a certain worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Raleigh, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who coming to the prison, and talking with her, she said her creed to the gentlewoman; and when she came to the article, "He ascended," there she stayed, and bade the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in heaven, and not in earth; and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; and that sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of his blessed passion; "and yet," said she, "as they now use it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which," said she, "will not long continue; and so take it, good mistress." So that as soon as she came home to her husband, she declared to him, that in her life she never heard a woman (of such simplicity to see to) talk so godly, so perfectly, so

sincerely, and so earnestly ; insomuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things, "to the which I am not able to answer her," said she, "who can read, and she cannot."

Also there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whose father, R. Kede, all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the gospel. These two good and faithful brethren were present with her, both in the hall, and also at the prison, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant ; and such godly exhortations as she gave them.

Thus this good matron, the very servant and handmaid of Christ, was by many ways tried, both by hard imprisonment, threatenings, taunts, and scorns ; called an Anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would ; she was tried by flattery, with many fair promises ; she was tried with her husband, her goods and children ; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed ; she had cast her anchor, utterly condemning this wicked world ; a rare ensample of constancy to all professors of Christ's gospel.

In the bill of my information, it is so reported to me, that albeit she was of such simplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but she would tell you the chapter ; yea, she would recite you the names of all the books of the Bible. For which cause one Gregory Basset, a rank papist, said she was out of her wit, and talked of the Scripture, as a dog rangeth far off from his master when he walketh in the fields, or as a stolen sheep out of his master's hands, she wist not whereat, as all heretics do ; with many other such taunts, which she utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praised, working so mightily in such a weak vessel, so men of stronger and stouter nature have also to take example how to stand in like case, when as we see this poor woman, how manfully she went through with such constancy and patience.

At the last, when they perceived her to be past remedy, and had consumed all their threatenings, that neither by prisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to sing any other song, nor win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, "An Anabaptist, an Anabaptist !" Then, at a day, they brought her from the bishop's prison to the Guildhall ; and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their custom, where she was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to

leave her fond opinions : "and go home to thy husband," said they ; "thou art an unlearned woman ; thou art not able to answer to such high matters." "I am not," said she, "yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christ's death : and I pray you make no longer delay with me. My heart is fixed ; I will never otherwise say, nor turn to their superstitious doings."

Then the bishop said, the devil did lead her.

"No, my Lord," said she, "it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me." Then was there a great shout and laughing among the priests and others.

During the time that this good poor woman was thus under these priests' hands, amongst many other baitings and sore conflicts which she sustained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that Master Blackstone aforesaid, being the treasurer of the church, had a concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his gossips ; so that always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house, there to make his minion with the rest of the company some mirth, he examining her with such mocking and grinning, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any Christian heart to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this Christian martyr, in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving that sometimes he would send for her, when his aforesaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, these vile wretches, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions,) when they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, at length, condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power.

Then the indictment being given and read, which was, that she should go to the place whence she came, and from thence be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till she should be consumed ; she lifted up her voice, and thanked God, saying, "I thank thee, my Lord, my God ; this day have I found that which I have long sought." But such outcries as there were again, and such mockings, were never seen upon a poor silly woman ; all which she most patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. "Nay, that I will not," said she : "God forbid that I should lose the life eternal, for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly Husband to my earthly husband ; from the fellowship of angels, to mor-

tal children. And if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs. God is my Father, God is my Mother; God is my Sister, my Brother, my Kinsman; God is my Friend most faithful."

Then was she delivered to the sheriff, and innumerable people beholding her, she was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southernhay, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still, "God be merciful to me a sinner, God be merciful to me a sinner!" And so, while they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with the flames and fire consumed. And so ended this mortal life, as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth. She was as simple a woman to see

to, as any man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for that day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; most patient of her words and answers; sober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle; a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble, money, she said, she would take none; "for," she said, "I am going to a city, where money beareth no mastery; while I am here God hath promised to feed me." Thus was her mortal life ended: for whose constancy God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

Touching the name of this woman, (as I have now learned,) she was the wife of one called Prest, dwelling in the diocess of Exeter, not far from Launceston.



The persecution and martyrdom of Richard Sharp, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale, three godly men burnt at Bristol, about the latter years of Queen Mary's reign.

In writing of the blessed saints which suffered in the

bloody days of Queen Mary, I had almost overpassed the names and story of three godly martyrs, which with their blood gave testimony likewise to the gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in

the town of Bristol. The names of whom were these: Richard Sharp, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale.

First, Richard Sharp, weaver, of Bristol, was brought the ninth day of March, anno 1556, before Master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristol; and after examination, concerning the sacrament of the altar, was persuaded by the said Dalby and others to recant; and the twenty-ninth of the same month was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body; who shortly after, upon Sunday, came into his parish church, called Temple, and after high mass, came to the choir-door, and said with a loud voice, "Neighbours! bear me record that yonder idol," and pointed to the altar, "is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God." Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him; but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. After, by night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate; and shortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ; and said, it was an idol; and therefore was condemned to be burnt, by the said Dalby. He was burnt the seventh of May, 1557; and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

The Thursday in the night before Easter, anno 1557, came one Master David Herris, alderman, and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, a shoemaker of Bristol, and caused him to rise out of his bed, and brought him forth of his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said, "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do you with it:" who, being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the twenty-fourth of April, the year aforesaid, was brought before Master Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to prison, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for saying the sacrament of the altar to be an idol. He was burned the seventh of May with the foresaid Richard Sharp, and godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the fire with his arms.

Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were burnt both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

Thomas Benion, a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought by a constable, the thirteenth day of August, anno 1557, before Master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed

him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the said August, he was condemned to be burnt by the said Dalby, for denying five of their sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the twenty-seventh of the said month and year, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, with confessing the articles of our Christian faith.

The martyrdom of five constant Christians, which suffered the last of all others in the time of Queen Mary.

The last that suffered in Queen Mary's time, were five at Canterbury, burnt about six days before the death of Queen Mary, whose names follow hereunder written: John Cornesford, of Wrotham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Herst, of Ashford; Alice Snoth; and Katharine Knight, otherwise called Katharine Tynley, an aged woman.

These five, (to close up the final rage of Queen Mary's persecution,) for the testimony of that word, for which so many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists: which papists, although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of Queen Mary; yet such was the implacable despite of that generation, that some there be that say, the archdeacon of Canterbury the same time being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, incontinently made all post-haste home to despatch these, whom, before then, he had in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was this:—

"For believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received; saying moreover, that we receive another thing also besides Christ's body, which we see, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, The things that be seen, be temporal, &c.

"Item, For confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's body, Because no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father.

"Item, That it is idolatry to creep to the cross; and St. John forbidding it, saith, Beware of images.

"Item, For confessing that we should not pray to our Lady, and other saints, because they be not omnipotent."

For these and other such articles of Christian doctrine, were these five committed to the fire. Against whom when the sentence should be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the

papists, one of them, John Corneford by name, stirred with a vehement spirit of the zeal of God, proceeding in a more true excommunication against the papists, in the name of them all, pronounced sentence against them, in these words as follow :

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy catholic and apostolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers and heretics, that do maintain any error against his most holy word, or do condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church or feigned religion ; so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, so be it. Amen."

This sentence of excommunication, being the same time openly pronounced and registered, proceeding so, as it seemeth, from an inward faith and hearty zeal to God's truth and religion, took such effect against the enemy, that within six days after Queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all English papists with her. Albeit, notwithstanding the sickness and death of that queen, whereof they were not ignorant ; yet the archdeacon, with others of Canterbury, thought to despatch the martyrdom of these men before. In the which fact, the tyranny of this archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of Bonner ; who, notwithstanding he had certain the same time under his custody, yet he was not so importune in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Living and his wife, and divers others, who, being the same time under the custody and danger of Bonner, were delivered by the death of Queen Mary, and remain yet some of them alive.

These godly martyrs, in their prayers which they made before their martyrdom, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

This Katharine Tynley was the mother of one Robert Tynley, now dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all Queen Mary's time ; to whom his mother, coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of Scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the Scripture, (for she had yet in manner no taste of religion,) but had found it by chance in a book of prayers : I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy ; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants, and upon the maids, in those days, will I pour my Spirit, &c. : which

place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof ; and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such young women as were burnt at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Snoth here in this story mentioned, or else to be Agnes Snoth above storied, (for they were both burnt,) that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice, hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to show them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they, hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her ; and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the commandments of God ; and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf, and they said, No.

"Then," said she, "I die a Christian woman, bear witness of me." And so cruelly in fire was she consumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly ; and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were first baptized.

The story and condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, ready to be burnt, but who, by the death of Queen Mary, escaped the fire.

Besides these martyrs above named, divers there were in divers other places of the realm imprisoned, whereof some were but newly taken and not yet examined ; some begun to be examined, but were not yet condemned ; certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of writ they escaped.

Others there were also, both condemned, and the writ also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of Queen Mary happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after ; in the number of whom was one John Hunt and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury : touching which history something here is to be showed.

First, these two good men and faithful servants of the Lord above named, to wit, John Hunt and Richard White, had remained long time in prison at Salisbury, and other places thereabout, the space

of two years and more. During which time, oft-times they were called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the bishops and the priests. All whose examinations, as I thought not much needful here to prosecute or to search out, for the length of the volume; so neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the same, but some part to express, namely, of the examination of Richard White, before the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Gloucester, with the chancellor and other priests, not unworthy, perchance, to be rehearsed.

The bishop of Salisbury at that time was Dr. Capon. The bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brooks. These, with Dr. Geffery, the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests sitting in judgment, Richard White was brought before them; with whom first the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

Bishop Brooks.—"Is this the prisoner?"

The chancellor.—"Yea, my Lord."

Brooks.—"Friend, wherefore camest thou hither?"

White.—"My Lord, I trust to know the cause: for the law saith, In the mouth of two or three witnesses, things must stand."

Dr. Capon.—"Did not I examine thee of thy faith, when thou camest hither?"

White.—"No, my Lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollards' Tower, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accuser."

Then the registrar said, "The mayor of Marlborough did apprehend you for words that you spake there; and, for that, I commanded you to be conveyed hither to prison."

White.—"You had the examination of me in Marlborough. Say what I have said; and I will answer you."

Geffery.—"Thou shalt confess thy faith ere thou depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed so to do."

White.—"I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation unto all that believe: and St. Peter saith, If any man do ask thee a reason of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct answer, and that with meekness. Who shall have the examination of me?"

Chancellor.—"My Lord of Gloucester shall have the examination of thee."

White.—"My Lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my blood? Be not guilty thereof; I warn you beforehand!"

Brooks.—"I will do nothing contrary to our law."

White.—"My Lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?"

Brooks.—"I will appose thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the sacrament of the altar: How dost thou believe of the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was hanged on the cross, and that suffered for our sins?" And at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White.—"My Lord, what is a sacrament?"

Brooks.—"It is the thing itself the which it representeth."

White.—"My Lord, that cannot be; for he that representeth a prince, cannot be the prince himself."

Brooks.—"How many sacraments findest thou in the Scriptures, called by the name of sacraments?"

White.—"I find two sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of sacraments. But I think St. Augustine gave them the first name of sacraments."

Brooks.—"Then thou findest not that word sacrament in the Scriptures?"

White.—"No, my Lord."

Brooks.—"Did not Christ say, This is my body? and are not his words true?"

White.—"I am sure the words are true; but you play by me, as the devil did by Christ, for he said, If thou be, &c., for it is written, &c. But the words that followed after he clean left out, which are these: Thou shalt walk upon the lion and asp, &c. These words the devil left out, because they were spoken against himself; and even so do you recite the Scriptures."

Brooks.—"Declare thy faith upon the sacrament."

White.—"Christ and his sacraments are like, because of the natures; for in Christ are two natures, a divine and a human nature: so likewise in the sacraments of Christ's body and blood there be two natures, the which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine: the internal part is the invisible grace, which by the same is represented. So is there an external receiving of the same sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear: the internal is by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which worketh in me faith. Whereby I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying the same wholly unto my salvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it."

Dr. Hoskins.—"This is Ecolampadius's doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people."

Brooks.—"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration there is the natural presence of Christ's body?"

White.—"My Lord, I will answer you, if you will answer me to one question. Is not this article of our belief true: 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty?' If he be come from thence to judgment, say so."

Brooks.—"No: but if thou wilt believe the Scriptures, I will prove to thee that Christ was both in heaven and in earth at one time."

White.—"As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place."

Brooks.—"St. Paul saith, Last of all he was seen of me, &c. Here St. Paul saith he saw Christ; and St. Paul was not in heaven."

White.—"St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in heaven; like as he was seen of Stephen sitting at the right hand of God? St. Augustine saith, the Head that was in heaven did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and said, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might see Christ? as he witnesseth in 1 Cor. xv. For there he doth but only say he saw Christ, but concerning the place he speaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of Scripture proveth not that Christ was both in heaven and earth at one time."

Brooks.—"I told you before, he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Ecolampadians, and we the catholics. If you the Ecolampadians have the truth, then the Lutherans, and we the catholics, be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Ecolampadians, and we the catholics, be out of the way. But if we the catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans, and you the Ecolampadians, are out of the way; as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics."

White.—"My Lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures."

Brooks.—"Did I not tell you it was not possible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the Lollards' Tower, and despatch him as soon as ye can?"

"This was the effect of my first examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out."

Amongst many other examinations of the foresaid Richard White, at divers and sundry times sus-

tained, it happened one time, that Dr. Blackstone, chancellor of Exeter, sat upon him with divers other, who, alleging certain doctors (as Chrysostom, Cyprian, Tertullian) against the said Richard, and being reproved by him for his false patching of the doctors, fell in such a quaking and shaking, (his conscience belike remorsing him,) that he was fain, stooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to stay his body from trembling.

Then the said John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery, the bishop's chancellor, there to be condemned; and so they were. The high sheriff at that present was one named Sir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the sessions, was there charged with these two condemned persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise the same time, to see the execution of death ministered unto them.

In the mean time Master Clifford of Boscombe in Wiltshire, son-in-law to the said Sir Anthony Hungerford the sheriff, cometh to his father, exhorting him and counselling him earnestly in no case to meddle with the death of these two innocent persons; and if the chancellor and priests would needs be instant upon him, yet he should first require the writ to be sent down *de comburendo*, for his discharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and understanding Justice Brown to be in the town the same time, went to him to ask his advice and counsel in the matter; who told him that without the writ sent down from the superior powers, he could not be discharged; and if the writ were sent, then he must by the law do his charge.

The sheriff, understanding by Justice Brown how far he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after, taking his horse, departed.

The chancellor all this while marvelling what the sheriff meant, and yet disdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other should have come first to him, at last hearing that he was ridden away, taketh his horse and rideth after him; who, at length overtaking the said sheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned prisoners to his hand, whose duty had been to see execution done: the matter he said was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it, how he would answer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherein note, gentle reader! by the way, the close and covert hypocrisy of the papists in their dealings; who, in the form and style of their own

sentence condemnatory, pretend a petition unto the secular power, "that the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and their life may be spared." And how standeth this now with their own doings and dealings, when this chancellor (as ye see) is not only contented to give sentence against them, but also hunteth after the officer, not suffering him to spare them, although he would? What dissimulation is this of men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profession! But let us return to our matter again.

The sheriff hearing the chancellor's words, and seeing him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do. "Why," saith the chancellor, "did I not give you a writ, with my hand, and eight more of the close, set unto the same?" "Well," quoth the sheriff, "that is no sufficient discharge for me; and therefore, as I told you, if ye have a sufficient writ and warrant from the superior powers, I know then what I have to do in my office: otherwise, if you have no other writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all," &c.

Where note again, good reader! how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor saints and martyrs of God, such as had been burnt at Salisbury before, were burnt belike without any authorized or sufficient writ from the superiors, but only upon the information of the chancellor and of the close, through the uncircumspect negligence of the sheriffs, which should have looked more substantially upon the matter. But this I leave and refer unto the magistrates. Let us return to the story again.

Dr. Geffery the chancellor, thus sent away from

the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same; for anger belike, as they signified unto me, which were the parties themselves, both godly and grave persons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet alive.

The under-sheriff to this Sir Anthony Hungerford above named, was one Master Michel, likewise a right and a perfect godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White and John Hunt: but the under-sheriff, receiving the said writ, said, "I will not be guilty," quoth he, "of these men's blood;" and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the chancellor died; concerning whose death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two foresaid, John Hunt and Richard White, being the same time in a low and dark dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accustomed manner) fell to evening prayer; who, kneeling there together, as they should begin their prayer, suddenly fell both to such a strange weeping, and tenderness of heart, (but how, they could not tell,) that they could not pray one word, but so continued a great space, bursting out in tears. After that night was past, and the morning come, the first word they heard was, that the chancellor their great enemy was dead; the time of whose death they found to be the same hour when as they fell in such a sudden weeping. The Lord in all his works be praised, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked chancellor

This Richard White and the said John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of Queen Elizabeth; and so were at liberty.

The martyrdom of a young lad of eight years old, scourged to death in Bishop Bonner's house in London.



I

F bloody torments and cruel death of a poor innocent, suffering for no cause of his own, but in the truth of Christ and his

religion, do make a martyr, no less deserveth the child of one John Fetty to be reputed in the catalogue of holy martyrs, who in the house of Bishop Bonner unmercifully was scourged to death, as by the sequel of this story here following may appear.

Amongst those that were persecuted and miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one John Fetty, a simple and godly poor man, dwelling in the parish of Clerkenwell, and was by vocation a tailor, of the age of forty-two years or thereabout, who was accused and complained of unto one Brokenbury, a priest and parson of the same parish, by his own wife, for that he would

not come unto the church, and be partaker of their idolatry and superstition; and therefore, through the said priest's procurement, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner and his fellow constables there, and one Martin the headborough. Howbeit immediately upon his apprehension, his wife (by the just judgment of God) was stricken mad, and distract of her wits; which declared a marvellous example of the justice of God against such unfaithful and most unnatural treachery. And although this example, perhaps for lack of knowledge and instruction in such cases, little moved the consciences of those simple poor men to surcease their persecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought so in their hearts, that for the preservation and sustentation of her and her two children, (like otherwise to perish,) they for that present let her husband alone, and would not carry him to prison, but yet suffered him to remain quietly in his own house; during which time, he, as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his wife, did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the space of three weeks, (through God's merciful providence,) she

was well amended, and had recovered again some stay of her wits and senses.

But such was the power of Satan in the malicious heart of that wicked woman, that notwithstanding his gentle dealing with her, yet she, so soon as she had recovered some health, did again accuse her husband; whereupon he was the second time apprehended, and carried unto Sir John Mordant, knight, one of the queen's commissioners, and he, upon examination, sent him by Cluney the bishop's sumner unto the Lollards' Tower, where he was (even at the first) put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it: to what purpose God knoweth, except it were to show that he should look for little other sustenance; which is credible enough, if we consider their like practices upon divers before mentioned in this history, as, amongst others, upon Richard Smith, who died through their cruel imprisonment; touching whom, when a godly woman came to Dr. Story, to have leave that she might bury him, he asked her if he had any straw or blood in his mouth: but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the godly wise.

After the aforesaid Fetty had thus lain in the prison by the space of fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, sometimes by the one leg, and the one arm, sometimes by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children, (a boy of the age of eight or nine years,) came unto the bishop's house, to see if he could get leave to speak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The child answered, that he came to see his father. The chaplain asked again, who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards' Tower, showed him that his father was there in prison. "Why," quoth the priest, "thy father is a heretic." The child, being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, "My father is no heretic; for you have Balaam's mark."

With that the priest took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's house, (whether to the bishop or not, I know not, but like enough he did,) and there, amongst them, they did most shamefully and without all pity so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore-blood; and then, in jolly brag of their catholic tyranny, they caused Cluney, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his shirt unto his father being in prison, the blood running down by his heels.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and asked his blessing. The poor man then beholding his child, and seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cried out for sorrow, and said, "Alas, Will! who hath done this to thee?" The boy answered, that as he was seeking how to come to see his father, a priest with Balaam's mark took him into the bishop's house, and there was he so handled. Cluney therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after. And at the three days' end, Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor man, for this their horrible fact) determined to release him; and therefore caused him early in a morning to be brought out of Lollards' Tower into his bed-chamber, where he found the bishop basting of himself against a great fire; and at his first entering into the chamber, Fetty said, "God be here, and peace." "God be here, and peace!" quoth Bonner; "that is neither God speed, nor Good morrow." "If ye kick against this peace," said Fetty, "then this is not the place that I seek for."

A chaplain of the bishop's standing by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to deface him, said in mocking-wise, "What have we here, a player?" Whilst this Fetty was standing in the bishop's chamber, he espied hanging about the bishop's bed a great pair of black beads: whereupon he said, "My Lord, I think the hangman is not far off; for the halter" (pointing to the beads) "is here already." At which words the bishop was in a marvellous rage.

Then, immediately after, he espied also standing in the said bishop's chamber in the window, a little crucifix (before which, belike, Bonner used to kneel in the time of his hypocritical prayers). Then he asked the bishop what it was; and he answered that it was Christ. "Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured?" quoth Fetty.

"Yea, that he was," said the bishop.

"And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you. For you are unto God's people, as Caiaphas was unto Christ."

The bishop being in a great fury, said, "Thou art a vile heretic; and I will burn thee, or else I will spend all that I have, unto my gown." "Nay, my Lord," said Fetty, "ye were better to give it a poor body, that he may pray for you."

But yet Bonner, bethinking in himself of the danger that the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him; which thing was accomplished. Whereupon, after this and such-like talk, the bishop

at last discharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his child with him; which he so did, and that with a heavy heart, to see his poor boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after, the child died, whether through this cruel scourging, or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all secrets, and also to the discreet judgment of the wise reader. But howsoever it was, the Lord yet used their cruel and detestable fact as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful Christian: his name be ever praised there-for. Amen.

The cruel handling and burning of Nicholas Burton, Englishman and merchant, in Spain; also the trouble of John Fronton there.

Forasmuch as in our former book of Acts and Monuments mention was made of the martyrdom of Nicholas Burton, I thought here also not to omit the same: the story being such as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the profitable example of his singular constancy, as also for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruel ravening of those catholic inquisitors of Spain, who, under the pretended visor of religion, do nothing but seek their own private gain and commodity, with crafty defrauding and spoiling of other men's goods, as by the noting of this story may appear.

The fifth day of the month of November, about the year of our Lord God 1560, this Nicholas Burton, citizen sometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchandise, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the parts of Andalusia in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas, or (as they term them) a familiar of the fathers of the inquisition; who, in asking for the said Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to deliver to his own hands; by which means he spake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the said promoter or familiar, at the motion of the devil, his master, whose messenger he was, invented another lie, and said, that he would take lading for London in such ships as the said Nicholas Burton had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the alguazil or sergeant of the said inquisition might come and apprehend the body of the said Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently. Burton then, well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him, that he had written, spoken, or done any thing there, in that country, against

the ecclesiastical or temporal laws of the same realm, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did arrest him, and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Notwithstanding they answered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

And so they carried him to the cruel and filthy common prison of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongst thieves. All which time he so instructed the poor prisoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish tongue to utter the same, that in short space he had well reclaimed sundry of those superstitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popish traditions. Which being known unto the officers of the inquisition, they conveyed him, laden with irons, from thence to a city called Seville, into a more cruel and straiter prison called Triana, where the said fathers of the inquisition proceeded against him secretly, according to their accustomed cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or to speak to any of his nation; so that to this day it is unknown who was his accuser.

Afterward, the twentieth day of December, in the foresaid year, they brought the said Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true Christian religion, into the city of Seville, to a place where the said inquisitors sat in judgment, which they called the Auto, with a canvass coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the huge figure of a devil, tormenting a soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a coping tank of the same work. His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his conscience and faith to the people; and so he was set with another Englishman of Southampton, and divers other men condemned for religion, as well Frenchmen as Spaniards, upon a scaffold over against the said inquisition, where their sentences and judgments were read and pronounced against them. And immediately after the said sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the city, where they most cruelly burnt him: for whose constant faith, God be praised.

This Nicholas Burton, by the way and in the flames of the fire, made so cheerful a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladness, that the tormentors and enemies which stood by, said that the devil had his soul before he came to the fire; and therefore they said his senses of feeling were past him.

It happened that after the arrest of this Nicholas Burton aforesaid, immediately all the goods and merchandise which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffic, were (according to their common usage) seized and taken into the sequester; among the which they also rolled up much that appertained to another English merchant, wherewith he was credited as factor; whereof so soon as news was brought to the merchant, as well of the imprisonment of his factor, as of the arrest made upon his goods, he sent his attorney into Spain, with authority from him, to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whose name was John Fronton, citizen of Bristol.

When his attorney was landed at Seville, and had showed all his letters and writings to the Holy House, requiring them that such goods might be redelivered into his possession, answer was made him that he must sue by bill, and retain an advocate (but all was doubtless to delay him); and they forsooth, of courtesy, assigned him one to frame his supplication for him, and other such bills of petition as he had to exhibit into their holy court, demanding for each bill eight rials, albeit they stood him in no more stead, than if he had put up none at all. And for the space of three or four months this fellow missed not twice a day, attending every morning and afternoon at the inquisitor's palace, suing unto them upon his knees for his despatch, but especially to the bishop of Tarragona, who was at that very time chief in the inquisition at Seville, that he, of his absolute authority, would command restitution to be made thereof; but the booty was so good and so great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At the length, after he had spent four whole months in suits and requests, and all to no purpose, he received this answer from them, that he must show better evidence, and bring more sufficient certificates out of England for proof of his matter, than those which he had already presented to the court: whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speed returned to Seville again with more ample and large letters testimonial, and certificates, according to their request, and exhibited them to the court.

Notwithstanding the inquisitors still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, and for that they were occupied in greater and more weighty affairs; and with such answers delayed him other four months after.

At the last, when the party had well-nigh spent all his money, and therefore sued the more earnestly for his despatch, they referred the matter wholly to the bishop; of whom, when he repaired unto him,

he made this answer: That for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained unto the other commissioners as well as unto him: and thus by posting and passing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his suit. Yet, for his importunity's sake, they were resolved to despatch him. It was on this sort: one of the inquisitors, called Gasco, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after dinner. The fellow, being glad to hear these news, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose, to talk with the other that was in prison, to confer with him about their accounts, the rather through a little misunderstanding, hearing the inquisitor cast out a word, that it should be needful for him to talk with the prisoner; and being thereupon more than half persuaded, that at the length they meant good faith, did so, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his coming, the gaoler was forthwith charged with him, to shut him up close in such a certain prison, where they appointed him. The party, hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself contrary to his expectation cast into a dark dungeon, perceived at the length that the world went with him far otherwise than he supposed it would have done. But within two or three days after, he was brought forth into the court, where he began to demand his goods; and because it was a device that well served their turn, without any more circumstance they bade him say his Ave Maria. The party began, and said it after this manner: *Ave Maria, gratie plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen.*

The same was written word by word as he spake it; and without any more talk of claiming his goods, because it was bootless, they command him to prison again, and enter an action against him as a heretic, forasmuch as he did not say his Ave Maria after the Romish fashion, but ended it very suspiciously: for he should have added moreover, *Sancta Maria mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus*: by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (said they) that he did not allow the mediation of saints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in prison a longer season, and afterwards brought him forth into their stage disguised after their manner; where sentence was given, that he should lose all the goods which he sued for, (though they were not his own,) and besides this, suffer a year's imprisonment.

The martyrdom of another Englishman in Spain.

At what time this blessed martyr of Christ suffered, which was the year of our Lord 1560, December the twenty-second, there suffered also another Englishman, with other thirteen, one of them being a nun, another a friar, both constant in the Lord, of which thirteen read before.

John Baker and William Burgate, martyrs in Spain.

John Baker and William Burgate, both Englishmen in Cadiz, in the country of Spain, were apprehended, and, in the city of Seville, burnt the second day of November.

Mark Burges, martyr in Portugal, and William Hoker.

Mark Burges, an Englishman, master of an English ship, called the Minion, was burnt in Lisbon, a city in Portugal, anno 1560.

William Hoker, a young man, about the age of sixteen years, being an Englishman, was stoned to death of certain young men there in the city of Seville, for the confession of his faith, anno 1560.

But of these and such other acts and matters past in Spain, because they fell not within the compass of Queen Mary's reign, but since her time, another place shall serve hereafter, (the Lord willing,) to entreat more at large of the same, when we come to the years and reign of the queen that now is, where we have more conveniently to infer not only of these matters of the martyrs, (whereof somewhat also hath been touched before,) but also of the whole inquisition of Spain, Picardy, and of Flanders, with the tragical tumults and troubles happening within the last memory of these our later days, according as it shall please the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeavour with grace and space to the accomplishment thereof.

A chapter or treatise concerning such as were scourged and whipped by the papists in the true cause of Christ's gospel.

And thus, through the merciful assistance and favourable aid of Christ our Saviour, thou hast, as in a general register, good reader, the story collected, if not of all, yet of the most part; or at least, not many I trust omitted, of such good saints and martyrs as have lost their lives, and given their blood, or died in prison, for the testimony of Christ's true doctrine and sacraments, from the time of the cruel statute *ex officio*, first given out by King

Henry the Fourth, unto this present time; and especially under the reign of Queen Mary.

Now after this bloody slaughter of God's good saints and servants thus ended and discoursed, let us proceed (by the good pleasure of the Lord) somewhat likewise to entreat of such as for the same cause of religion have been, although not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the adversaries of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who, about the time of Anne Askew, were pitifully rent and tormented with scourges and stripes for their faithful standing to Christ, and to his truth, as by the story and examination both of the said Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, now following, may appear.

After the first recantation of Dr. Crome for his sermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent at St. Thomas of Acres, being the Mercer's chapel, his sermon was on the epistle of the same day, written in Heb. x.; wherein he proved very learnedly by the same place of Scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests, forasmuch as Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that once for all: for the which sermon he was apprehended of Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors sitting before him: but he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached; for the which the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced. But Bishop Bonner with his champions were not therewith pleased, but yet notwithstanding they had him home with them, and so handled him among that wolfish generation, that they made him come to the Cross again that next Sunday. And because the magistrates should now hear him, and be witnesses of this recantation, which was most blasphemous, to deny Christ's sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: because (I say) that they would have the nobles to hear this blasphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the council to be there present.

Now to come to our matter, at this time, the same week, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wil-

mot, being apprentice in Bow Lane, being of the age of eighteen years, and sitting at his work in his master's shop, the Tuesday, in the month of July, one Lewes a Welshman, being one of the guard, came into the shop, having things to do for himself.

One asked him, what news at the court, and he answered, that the old heretic Dr. Crome had recanted now indeed before the council, and that he should on Sunday next be at Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot, sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoicing in the same, began to speak unto him, saying, that he was sorry to hear these news: "for," said he, "if Crome should say otherwise than he hath said, then is it contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which shall before God accuse him."

Lewes answered and said, that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's word written, but that he proved his doctrine, and that sufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes then asked him how he knew that.

Wilmot answered, by the Scriptures of God, wherein he shall find God's will and pleasure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he should prove and try all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewes said it was never merry since the Bible was in English; and that he was both a heretic and a traitor that caused it to be translated into English, (meaning Cromwell,) and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered again, what his deserts and offences were to his prince, a great many do not know, neither doth it force whether they do or no; only he was sure that he lost his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution; adding moreover, concerning that man, that he thought it pleased God to raise him up from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this—that he should do that which all the bishops in the realm yet never did, in restoring again God's holy word, which being hid long before from the people in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad amongst us, will bring our bishops and priests (said he) in less estimation among the people.

Lewes asked, Why so?

Wilmot said, Because their doctrine and living were not according to his word.

Then said Lewes, "I never heard but that all men should learn of the bishops and priests, be-

cause they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives: wherefore they must needs know the truth. And our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning; and I think they did well, for the world was far better then, than it is now."

Wilmot answered, "I will not say so; for we must not believe them because they are bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time; and indeed those people our forefathers believed as they taught; and as they did think, so did the people think. But for all this, Christ calleth them false prophets, thieves, murderers, blind leaders of the blind; willing the people to take heed of them, lest they should both fall into the ditch. Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests, and learned men have been commonly resisters of the truth from time to time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors did persecute our Saviour Christ and his disciples in the new law. We must take heed, therefore, that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto the which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command, any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them: for it is better for us to obey God than man."

"Marry, sir," quoth Lewes, "you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not suffer you to look upon books; and so would your master, if he were wise." And with that in came his master, and a young man with him, which was servant with Master Daubney in Watling Street.

His master asked, What the matter was.

Lewes said, that he had a knavish boy here to his servant; and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him, than keep him in his house.

Then his master, being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They said, "They began to talk about Dr. Crome."

Then his master asked him what he had said; swearing a great oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He said, that he trusted he had said nothing, whereby either he or Master Lewes might justly be offended. "I pray you," quoth Wilmot, "ask him what I said."

"Marry, sir," said Lewes, "this he said, that Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recant on Sunday next, he would be sorry to hear it; and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience. And more he saith, that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching; for (saith he) they be hinderers of God's word, and persecutors of that: and how Cromwell did more good (that traitor!) in setting forth the Bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years:" thus reporting the matter worse than he had said.

Then said Wilmot, that in many things he made his tale worse than it was. His master hearing of this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, that either he would be hanged or burnt; swearing that he would take away all his books, and burn them.

The young man (Master Daubney's servant) standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part unto Lewes: and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewes hearing this man's talk as well as the others, went his way in a rage unto the court.

On the morrow they heard news, so that the said Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax were sent for, to come to the lord mayor. The messenger was Master Smart, swordbearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's house, and were commanded to sit down at dinner in the hall; and when the dinner was done, they were both called into a parlour, where the mayor and Sir Roger Cholmley were, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their talk with them was this; Sir Roger Cholmley said unto the foresaid Wilmot, that my Lord Mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to send for him and his companion, and to examine them of certain things which were laid unto their charge. Then said Master Cholmley to him, "Sirrah, what countryman art thou?" He answered, that he was born in Cambridgeshire, and in such a town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the city. He told him. Then he asked what learning he had. He said, "Little learning and small knowledge."

Then, deridingly, he asked how long he had known Dr. Crome. He said, But a while; about two years. He said that he was a lying boy, and said he (the said Wilmot) was his son. The other

said unto him, That was unlike, for that he never saw his mother, nor she him. Cholmley said, he lied. Wilmot said, he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his sermon, that he made at St. Thomas of Acres' chapel, in Lent. He said that indeed he heard him not. He said, Yes, and the other, Nay. Then said he, "What say you to his sermon made at the Cross, the last day? heard you not that?"

Wilmot.—"Yes, and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people."

Cholmley.—"How so?"

Wilmot.—"For that they looked that he should have recanted his doctrine that he taught before; and did not, but rather confirmed it."

Cholmley.—"Yea, sir, but how say you now to him? for he hath recanted before the council; and hath promised on Sunday next to be at the Cross again; how think ye in that?"

Wilmot.—"If he so did, I am the more sorry to hear it;" and said, he thought he did it for fear and safeguard of his life.

Cholmley.—"But what say you? was his first sermon heresy or not?"

Wilmot.—"No, I suppose it was no heresy: for if it were, St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul a heretic that preached such doctrine. But God forbid that any Christian man should so think of the holy apostle; neither do I so think."

Cholmley.—"Why, how knowest thou that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?"

Wilmot.—"I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the Scripture of God, and last will and testament of Christ Jesus."

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said that it was pity that his master did suffer him so to do, and that he was not set better to work; and, in fine, said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my Lord of Winchester and Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and councillors of this realm, for the which his fact he saw no other but he must suffer as was due to the same. And Master Cholmley said, "Yea, my Lord, there are such a sort of heretics and traitorly knaves taken now in Essex by my Lord Riche, that it is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent up to the bishop shortly, and shall be hanged and burnt all."

Wilmot.—"I am sorry to hear that of my Lord

Riche, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptism."

Cholmley asked him when he spake with him. He said, not these twelve years.

Cholmley.—"If he knew that he were such a one, he would do the like by him; and in so doing he should do God great service."

Wilmot.—"I have read the same saying in the gospel, that Christ said to his disciples, The time shall come, saith he, that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shall do God high service."

"Well, sir," said Cholmley, "because you are so full of your Scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a quiet place to study in. Therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I would wish you to study how you will answer to the council of those things which they have to charge you with, for else it is like to cost you your best joint. I know my Lord of Winchester will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much."

Then was the officer called in, to have Wilmot to the Compter in the Poultry, and Fairfax to the other Compter, one of them not to see another. And thus remained they eight days; in the which time their masters made great labour unto the lord mayor and to Sir Roger Cholmley to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of Drapers, to labour with him in their suit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council; but at that time they could find no grace at Winchester's hand, and Sir Anthony Browne's, but that they had deserved death, and that they should have the law.

At length, through entreatance, he granted them thus much favour, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day; and the mayor and the wardens of the company kneeled before them to have this open punishment released, forasmuch as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall before the wardens and certain of the company. At length it was granted, but with condition, as some said, as shall be hereafter declared.

Then were they sent before the masters the next day to the hall, both their masters being also present, and there were laid to their charge the heinous offences by them committed, how they were both heretics and traitors, and have deserved death for the same. And this was declared with a long process by the master of the company, whose name was

Master Brooks, declaring what great labour and suit the mayor and the wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame, which they should have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail; and from these two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great suit and also charge. "For," saith he, "the company hath promised unto the council for this their mercy and favour showed towards them, being of such a worshipful company, a hundred pounds: notwithstanding we must see them punished in our hall, within ourselves, for those their offences." After these and many other words, he commanded them to address themselves to receive their punishment.

Then were they put asunder, and stripped from the waist upward one after another, and had into the hall; and in the midst of the hall, where they use to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to the which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their feet thereto fast tied. Then came two men down, disguised in mummers' apparel, with visors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods until the blood did follow in their bodies. As concerning this Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed six nights after, for Brooks played the tyrant with them.

So it was, that with the beating, and the flight, and fear, they were never in health since, as the said Wilmot with his own mouth hath credibly ascertained us, and we can no less but testify the same. Thus have we briefly rehearsed this little tragedy, wherein ye may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those which profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree soever they be, according to the apostle's saying, It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him. To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

Next after these two above specified, followeth the beating of one Thomas Green; who, in the time of Queen Mary, was caused likewise to be scourged and beaten by Dr. Story. What the cause was, here followeth in the story and examination to be seen, which he penned with his own hand, as the thing itself will declare to the reader. The copy and words of the same, as he wrote them, here follow; wherein as thou mayest note, gentle reader, the simplicity of the one, I pray thee mark the cruelty of the other part.

The scourging of Thomas Green.

"In the reign of Queen Mary, I Thomas Green being brought before Dr. Story by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called Antichrist, which had been distributed to cer-

tain honest men, he asked me where I had the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he said, It was no heresy, but treason; and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered. And so he called for Cluney, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bade him set me fast in the stocks.

"I was not in the Lollards' Tower two hours, but Cluney came and took me out, and carried me to the coal-house; and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks; and he took him out, and put on my right leg a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and said, 'Let us shift your hand and leg, because you shall not be lame;' and he made as though he pitied me, and said, 'Tell me truth, and I will be your friend.'

"And I said, I had told the truth, and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my leg in the stocks, and so went his way; and there I remained six days, and could come to no answer.

"Then Dr. Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I said, 'I came acquainted with him in Newgate. I, coming to my friends which were put in for God's word and truth's sake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends also, there we did talk together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our friends, in the fear of God.'

"Then Story scoffed at me, and said, 'Then there was brother in Christ, and brother in Christ,' and reviled me, and called me a heretic, and asked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I said, no; and I told him, as I went on my business in the street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also: so, falling in communication, he showed me that book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

"In this examination Story said, it was a great book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then said he, I was a thief, and had stolen my master's money. And I said, 'A little money served, for I gave him but fourpence; but I promised him that, at our next meeting, I would give twelvepence more.' And he said that was boldly done, for such a book as spake both treason and heresy.

"Then Story required me to bring him two sureties, and watch for him that I had the book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then said he, 'This is but a lie;' and so called for Cluney, and bade him lay me fast in the coal-house, saying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming. And so I lay in the stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat; and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

"Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth. I said, I could tell him no other truth than I had, nor would. And while I was there standing, there were two brought, which I took to be prisoners.

"Then Mistress Story fell in a rage, and swore a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, 'and I myself,' said she, 'would set it on fire.' So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

"Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the garden, and there I found with him my Lord of Windsor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more; and he told them all what they had said and done. They said, The book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treason and heresy in it. Then they asked me what I said by the book. And I said, 'I know no evil by it.'

"At which words Story chafed, and said, he would hang me up by the hands with a rope; and said also, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alleged two or three things unto me out of the book. And I answered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore I could give no judgment of the book.

"Then my Lord of Windsor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aside, and entreated me very gently, saying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and we will save you harmless. I made them answer, I had told all that I could to Dr. Story: and began to tell it them again, but they said, they knew that already. So they left that talk, and went again to Story with me.

"Then Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic: whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ which died and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, 'What is the right hand of God?' I made him answer, 'I thought it was

his glory.' Then said he, 'So they say all.' And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then inferred my Lord of Windsor's chaplain, asking me what I said by the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant; for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin. And since the time that I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men as have taught the same; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

"Moreover he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, 'As for the mass, I cannot understand it; but in the New Testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again. And I told them another sentence, where Christ saith, 'The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always.'

"Then Master Chaplain put to me many questions more, to the which I could make him no answer. Among all others, he brought Chrysostom and St. Jerome for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they alleged them right, or no; but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

"Then Dr. Story called for Cluney, and bade him take me away, and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the coal-house, where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen prisoners: but I was kept still alone without company, in a prison called the Salthouse, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons; and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on, but bare stones or a board.

"On a time, while I lay there in prison, the bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the backside untrussed, in his hose and doublet, looked in at the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

"I made him answer, that I was put in for a book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, 'You are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in;' and said it was a very wicked book, and bade me confess the truth to Story. I said, I had told the truth to him already; and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of prison, for they had kept me there long. And he said, he

could not meddle with it; Story hath begun it, and he must end it.

"Then I was removed out of the Salthouse to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and put in the stocks; and there I found two prisoners, one called Lyon, a Frenchman, and another with him: and so I was kept in the stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my keeper which brought me meat.

"Thus we three being together, Lyon the Frenchman sang a psalm in the French tongue, and we sang with him, so that we were heard down into the street; and the keeper, coming up in a great rage, swore that he would put us all in the stocks; and so took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

"After this, I being in the Lollards' Tower seven days, at my last being with Story, he swore a great oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story sending for me, commanded me to be brought to Walbrook, where he and the commissioners dined; and by the way my keeper told me that I should go to the Tower, and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and so there I stood before them; and some said, I was worthy to be hanged for having such heretical books. After I had staid a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards' Tower again; and said, 'I have other matters of the queen's to do with the commissioners, but I will find another time for him.' Whilst I lay yet in the Lollards' Tower, the woman which brought the books over, being taken, and her books, was put in the Clink in Southwark, by Hussey, one of the Arches; and I, Thomas Green, testify before God, now, that I neither desied the man nor the woman, the which I had the books of.

"Then I, lying in the Lollards' Tower, being sent for before Master Hussey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards' Tower, and by whom: to whom I made answer, that I was put there by Dr. Story, for a book called Antichrist. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and said he knew my friends, and my father and mother; and bade me tell him of whom I had the book, and said, 'Come on, tell me the truth.' I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

"Then he was very angry, and said, 'I love thee well, and therefore I sent for thee:' and looked for a further truth, but I would tell him no other; whereupon he sent me again to the Lollards' Tower.

At my going away, he called me back again, and said that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birchin Lane; and I said, he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained seven days and more.

"Then Master Hussey sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

"Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom I had the books, the which had made the matter manifest afore; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could myself, insomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a sack full of the books in his house, and knew where the woman lay, better than I myself. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it profited not me to stand in the matter. He asked me where I had done the books; and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

"Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being prentice with Master Tottle. So he promised me before and after, and as he should be saved before God, that he should have no harm. And I, kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, 'Because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by others and not by you, being so long in prison, tell me if you will stand to my judgment.' I said, 'Yea; take my blood, and hurt not the young man.'

"Then he made me answer, I should be whipped like a thief and a vagabond; and so I thanked him, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days; and so was brought by the keeper, Cluney, by the commandment of the commissioners, to Christ's hospital, sometime the Grey Friars; and accordingly had there, for the time, the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and so was delivered to Trinian the porter, and put into a stinking dungeon.

"Then after a few days, I, finding friendship, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the day-time, and so remained prisoner a month and more.

"Thither at length Dr. Story came, and two gentlemen with him, and called for me; and so I was brought into a counting-house before them. Then he said to the gentlemen, 'Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichrist:' and began to tell them how many times I had been be-

fore him, and said, 'I have entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till that it was found out by others.' Then said he, 'It were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves.' And the gentlemen said, 'Nay, that were pity.' Then he asked, if that I would not become an honest man; and I said, 'Yes, for I have offended God many ways.' Whereupon he burdened me with my faith. I told him that I had made him answer of my faith before my Lord Windsor's chaplain, as much as I could.

"So in the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me, and called for two of the beadle and the whips to whip me; and the two beadle came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and so they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story asked me, if I would go unto my master again; and I said, Nay. And he said, 'I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before: but let me alone,' quoth he, 'I will find him out, if he be in England.' And so, with many other things which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my ways."

Dr. Story commanded that he should have a hundred stripes, but the gentlemen so entreated, that he had not so many; Story saying, "If I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue."

Of the scourging of Master Bartlet Green, also of John Milles, and of Thomas Hinshaw, ye heard before. In like manner was ordered Stephen Cotton, burnt before at Brentford, who testifieth himself to be twice beaten by Bonner, in a letter of his written to his brother, as by the same, here following, for the more evidence may appear.

"Brother, in the name of the Lord Jesus I commend me unto you; and I do heartily thank you for your godly exhortation and counsel in your last letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter, you are informed, that as we are divers persons in number, so we are of contrary sects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your last being with us in Newgate; be you most assured, good brother, in the Lord Jesus, we are all of one mind, one faith, one assured hope in the Lord Jesus, whom I trust we all together, with one spirit, one brotherly love, do

daily call upon for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives; and by whose precious blood-shedding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, do go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind. And I trust one day to see you again, although now I am in God's prison, which is a joyful school to them that love their Lord God, and to me being a simple scholar most joyful of all.

"Good brother, once again I do, in the name of our Lord Jesus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight strongly in the Lord's battle, to be a good soldier to my Captain, Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire my sister also to do the same. And do not ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble; for I trust to be loosed out of this dungeon shortly, and to go to everlasting joy, which never shall have end. I heard how ye were with the commissioners for me, and how you were suspected to be one of our company: I pray you sue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I shall desire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witness with me that I shall die, I trust in God, a true Christian, and (I hope) all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not these evil-disposed people, who are the authors of all untruths.

"I pray you provide me a long shirt against the day of our deliverance: for the shirt you gave me last, I have given to one of my companions, who had more need than I; and as for the money and meat you sent us, the bishop's servants delivered none to us, neither he whom you had so great trust in. Brother, there is none of them to trust to, for *qualis magister, talis scireus*. I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again, by the bishop himself. I suppose we shall go into the country to Fulham, to the bishop's house, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can: for when we shall go, it shall be suddenly done. Thus fare you well.

"From the coal-house, this present Friday.

"Your brother,

"STEPHEN COTTON."

The scourging of James Harris.

In this society, of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one James Harris, of Billericay in Essex, a

stripling of the age of seventeen years; who, being apprehended and sent up to Bonner, in the company of Margaret Ellis, by Sir John Mordant, knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, justices of peace, (as appeareth by their own letters before mentioned,) was by Bonner divers times straitly examined; in the which examinations he was charged not to have come to his parish church by the space of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confessing therewithal, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popish sacrament of the altar; for the which he was heartily sorry, detesting the same with all his heart.

After this and such-like answers, Bonner (the better to try him) persuaded him to go to shrift. The lad, somewhat to fulfil his request, consented to go, and did. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. "Why," quoth the priest, "sayest thou nothing?" "What shall I say?" said Harris. "Thou must confess thy sins," said the priest. "My sins," saith he, "be so many that they cannot be numbered." With that the priest told Bonner what he had said; and he, of his accustomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, gathered out of a cherry-tree, did most cruelly whip him.

The scourging of Robert Williams, a smith.

Over and besides these above mentioned, was one Robert Williams, who, being apprehended in the same company, was also tormented after the like maner with rods, in Bonner's arbour, who, there subscribing and yielding himself by promise to obey the laws, after being let go, refused so to do; whereupon he was earnestly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himself close, and went not abroad but by stealth. And now in the mean time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and so escaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever, Amen.

And forasmuch as I have begun to write of Bonner's scourging, by the occasion thereof cometh to mind to infer by the way, his beating of other boys and children, and drawing them naked through the nettles, in his journey rowing toward Fulham. The story, although it touch no matter of religion, yet because it toucheth something the nature and disposition of that man, and may refresh the reader, wearied percase with other doleful stories, I thought not here to omit.

Bonner causeth certain boys to be beaten.



B

onner, passing from London to Fulham by barge, having John Milles and Thomas Hinslaw above mentioned with

him, both prisoners for religion, by the way as he went by water, was saying evensong with Harpsfield his chaplain in the barge, and being about the middle of their devout orisons, they espied a sort of young boys swimming and washing themselves in the Thames over against Lambeth, or a little above: unto whom he went, and gave very gentle language and fair speech, until he had set his men a land. That done, his men ran after the boys to get them, as the bishop commanded them before, beating some with nettles, drawing some through bushes of nettles naked; and some they made leap into the Thames to save themselves, that it was marvel they were not drowned.

Now as the children for fear did cry, and as this skirmishing was between them, immediately came

a greater lad thither, to know what the matter meant, that the boys made such a noise; whom when the bishop espied, he asked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young fellow made answer stoutly, Yea. Then the bishop commanded him to be taken also; but he ran away with speed, and thereby avoided the bishop's blessing. Now when the bishop saw him to flee away, and another man sitting upon a rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewise to stop the boy; and because he would not, he commanded his men to fetch that man to him also: but he, hearing that, ran away as fast as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, escaped the bishop in like manner.

Then the bishop, seeing the success of his battle to prove no better, cried to a couple of ferry-boys to run, and hold him that last ran away. And for that they said they could not, (as indeed it was true,) therefore he caused his men by and by to take and beat them. The boys, hearing that, leapt into the water to save themselves; notwithstanding they were caught, and in the water, by the bishop's men, were holden and beaten.

Now, after the end of this great skirmish, the bishop's men returned to their master again into the barge, and he, and Harpsfield his chaplain, went to their evensong afresh, where they left; and so forth the rest of their service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance, (if it be his will,) and grace to become a new man! Amen.

The whipping of a beggar at Salisbury.

Unto these above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved beggar, who, because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter in the town of Collingborough, was brought to Salisbury with bills and glaves to the chancellor, Dr. Jeffery, who cast him into the dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped of two catchpoles; the sight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be showed upon such a simple and silly wretch: for they which saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple creature. But what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists?

Besides these above named, divers others also suffered the like scourgings and whippings in their bodies, for their faithful standing in the truth; of whom it may be said, as it is written of the apostles in the Acts, Which departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus.

Another treatise of such as being pursued in Queen Mary's time, were in great danger: and yet, through the good providence of God, mercifully were preserved.

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, which disposeth all things, suffered a great number of his faithful servants, both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies' hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, famine, with burning of hands, with plucking of beards, with burning also both hand, beard, and body, &c.; yet, notwithstanding, some there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously, by the merciful providence of God, against all men's expectation, in safety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by voiding the realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the persecutors, or disposing the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his servants, as not only ought to stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About what time it began to be known that Queen Mary was sick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the realm; some at Bury; some at Salisbury, as John Hunt and Richard White, of whom we have storied before; and some at London, amongst whom were William Living with his wife, and John Lithall, of whom something remaineth now compendiously to be touched.

The trouble and deliverance of William Living with his wife, and of John Lithall, ministers.

About the time of the latter end of Queen Mary, she then being sick, came one Cox, a promoter, to the house of William Living, about six of the clock, accompanied with one John Launce of the Greyhound. They being not ready, they demanded for buttons, saying they should be as well paid for them, as ever was any; and he would come again, about three hours after, for them. In the mean while he had gotten the constable, called Master Dean, and George Hancock, the beadle of that ward, and searching his books, found a book of astronomy, called "The work of Johannis Jacobus Manlius de Bosco, 'de Sphæra,'" with figures, some round, some triangular, some quadrilateral; which book, because it was gilt, seemed to him the chiefest book there; and that he carried open in the street, saying, "I have found him at length. It is no marvel the queen be sick, seeing there be such conjurers in privy corners; but now, I trust, he shall conjure no more:" and so brought him and his wife from Shoe Lane, through Fleet Street, into Paul's churchyard, with the constable, the beadle, and two others following them, till they were entered into Darbshire's house, who was Bishop Bonner's chancellor: and after the constable and they had talked with Darbshire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, saying these words:

Darbshire.—"What is your name?"

Living.—"William Living."

Darbshire.—"What are you? a priest?"

Living.—"Yea."

Darbshire.—"Is this your wife, that is come with you?"

Living.—"That she is."

Darbshire.—"Where were you made priest?"

Living.—"At Aubourn."

Darbshire.—"In what bishop's days?"

Living.—"By the bishop of Lincoln, that was King Henry's ghostly father in Cardinal Wolsey's time."

Darbshire.—"You are a schismatic and a traitor."

Living.—"I would be sorry that were true. I am certain I never was traitor, but always have taught obedience, according to the tenor of God's

word; and when tumults and schisms have been stirred, I have preached God's word, and suaged them, as in the time of King Edward."

Darbishire.—"What, you are a schismatic. You be not in the unity of the catholic church: for you pray not as the Church of Rome doth. You pray in English."

Living.—"We are certain we be in the true church."

Darbishire.—"There be that doubt thereof, forasmuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will learn against I talk with you again, to know the Church of Rome, and to be a member thereof."

Living.—"If the Church of Rome be of that church whereof Christ is the head, then am I a member thereof; for I know no other church but that."

Darbishire.—"Well, Cluney, take him with thee to the coal-house."

Then called he Cluney again, and spake secretly to him; what, I know not.

Then said Cluney, "Wilt thou not come?" and so plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own house in Paternoster Row, where he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva; and then brought me to the coal-house, to put me in the stocks, saying, "Put in both your legs and your hands also; and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck." "What is the fine?" quoth I. "Forty shillings," quoth he. "I am never able to pay it," said I.

"Then," said he, "you have friends that be able." I denied it; and so he put both my legs into the stocks till supper time, which was six of the clock; and then a cousin of my wife's brought me meat, who, seeing me to sit there, said, "I will give you forty pence, and let him go at liberty." And he took her money, and presently let me forth in her sight, to eat my supper. And at seven of the clock, he put me into the stocks again; and so I remained till two of the clock the next day, and so he let me forth till night. This woman above mentioned, was Griffin's first wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and yet alive in Cheapside.

The Thursday following at afternoon was I called to the Lollards' Tower, and there put in the stocks, having the favour to put my leg in that hole that Master John Philpot's leg was in; and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me, either with meat or drink.

At eleven of the clock on the Friday, Cluney came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one of the clock he brought me to Darbishire's house, who drew forth a scroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I know none of

them but Foster. And so I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not inquire thereof any further. And with that came forth two godly women, which said, "Master Darbishire, it is enough;" and so became sureties for me, and paid to Cluney fifteen shillings for my fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whose answers to Darbishire the chancellor, here likewise follow.

Darbishire.—"Ah, sirrah; I see by your gown, you be one of the sisters."

Julian.—"I wear not my gown for sisterhood, neither for nunnery, but to keep me warm."

Darbishire.—"Nun! No, I dare say you be none. Is that man your husband?"

Julian.—"Yea."

Darbishire.—"He is a priest."

Julian.—"No, he saith no mass."

Darbishire.—"What then? he is a priest. How darest thou marry him?"

Then he showed me a roll of certain names of citizens. To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, "You shall be made to know them."

Then said I, "Do no other but justice and right; for the day will come, that you shall answer for it."

Darbishire.—"Why, woman, thinkest thou not that I have a soul?"

Julian.—"Yes, I know you have a soul: but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell."

Darbishire.—"O, Cluney! have her to the Lollards' Tower." And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was one Dale, a promoter, which said to me, "Alas, good woman, wherefore be you here?" "What is that to you?" said I.

"You be not ashamed," quoth Dale, "to tell wherefore you came hither." "No," quoth I, "that I am not; for it is for Christ's testament."

"Christ's testament!" quoth he, "it is the devil's testament." "O Lord," quoth I, "God forbid that any man should speak any such word."

"Well, well," quoth he, "you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning," quoth he, "God's blood! there must be some other means found for you." "What," quoth I, "will you find any worse than you have found?"

"Well," quoth he, "you hope, and you hope: but your hope shall be aslope. For though the queen fail, she that you hope for shall never come at it: for there is my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and many more between her and it." "Then," quoth I, "my hope is in none but God."

Then said Cluney, "Come with me;" and so went I to the Lollards' Tower. On the next day Darbshire sent for me again, and inquired again of those citizens that he inquired of before. I answered, I knew them not.

"Where were you," quoth he, "at the communion on Sunday was a fortnight?" and I said, "In no place."

Then the constable of St. Bride's, being there, made suit for me; and Darbshire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me. He answered, Yea, and so he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Christmas.

Then Darbshire said, "You be constable, and should give her good counsel." "So do I," quoth he, "for I bid her go to mass, and to say as you say. For, by the mass, if you say the crow is white, I will say so too."

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou seest here delivered, through the request of women, his sureties; yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sickness of Queen Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of those papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

But yet the archdeacon of Canterbury would remit none of his extreme tyranny, in burning those five, above named, at Canterbury.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, through the merciful aid and supportation of Christ our Lord most favourably assisting us in the same, the full history and discourse, with the names and places, of all the godly martyrs who suffered, both in the time of Queen Mary, and also before, for the true reformation of Christ's church; which, after the blood of so many saints, the Lord at length hath given us, to whom there-for be praise for ever, Amen.

This done, next followeth consequently now to be seen, the general and ordinary certificatory of the bishops, which they used to send up to the prince, at their condemning of Christ's innocent servants to death.

A certificate from the bishop to the prince.

"Excellentissimis et illustrissimis in Christo principibus, Philippo et Mariæ, Dei gratiâ regi et reginæ Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hierusalem, et Hiberniæ, fidei defensoribus, principibus Hispaniarum et Siciliæ, archiducibus Austriæ, ducibus Mediolani, Burgundiæ, et Brabantæ, comitibus Hasspurgi, Flandriæ, et Tyrolis, , servus vester humilis et devotus, permissione divinâ episcopus N., reveren-

tiam, obedientiam, ac salutem in Eo, per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur. Quia per acta inactitata coram nobis in quodam hereticæ pravitatis negotio contra R. P., nostrarum diocesis et jurisdictionis, nuper, et per suas confessiones, in hac parte in judicio respective habita, facta, et emissas, comperimus et invenimus luculenter eundem fuisse et esse hereticum et hereticæ pravitatis scelere innodatum et involutum, eo præsertim quod contra veram Christi corporis in eucharistiâ præsentiam multipliciter et sæpe damnata dogmata tenuisset et defendisset, ac in eodem scelere pertinaciter stetisset et continuasset, nulla pœnitentiæ signa in eâ parte aliquo modo ostendendo; ac ob id eundem manifestum, obstinatum et pertinacem, incorrigibilem et impœnitentem hæreticum fuisse et esse, ac pœnâ hæresis puniendum et seculari potestati tradendum fore, inter cætera, per nostram sententiam diffinitivam in eâ parte judicialiter in scriptis latam et promulgatam pronuntiavimus et declaravimus; necnon ipsum provido viro M., uni vicecomitum vestræ civitatis N., ad hoc una nobiscum et cum majore dictæ vestræ civitatis N. in judicio personaliter presenti, juxta juris exigentiam reliquimus et tradidimus:—vestræ igitur Regiæ Majestati excellentissimæ tenore præsentium significamus, innotescimus, et certificamus, omnia et singula præmissa sic per nos fuisse et esse gesta et facta, et veritatem in se omnino habere et continere: supplicantes nihilominus, et in visceribus Jesu Christi obsecrantes, ut severitatis ultio et severa executio, quæ ex legibus et more regni vestri in hoc casu fieri at haberi solet et consuevit, sic mitigetur, ut idem charitative reformetur, et ejus delicta (quatenus fieri potest) cum omni mansuetudine et lenitate corrigantur; sic quod rigor non sit valde rigidus, et quod clementia omnino sit ad salutem, metumque aliis inculat a similibus sceleribus abstinendi, potius quam fiduciam præbeat dicta scelera perpetrandi. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum N. die mensis , anno Domini secundum computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, etc."

A note or scholium upon this certificate.

Note, good reader, in this certificate above written, the crafty and cruel hypocrisy and hypocritical cruelty of these dissembling prelates. First, by their sentence, they condemn the poor innocents, and give them to the secular power; then, by their canon, they themselves prescribe the secular power to burn them; and yet here, in this certificate before the king and queen, they put on a visor of clemency, making as though they, from the inward bowels of their heart, would make intercession for their lives, when they mean nothing else indeed but their death.

If the pope, with his popelings, would not the rigour of the law to be showed, why doth he so charge them in his canon to burn them? why be the prelates so busy to attach them? so inquisitive to entrap them? so hasty to condemn them? so insulting and insolent upon them being condemned, as Bonner was to Tankerfield and to a jerkin-maker—bidding one of them now go make pies, the other to make jerkins, when he had condemned them?

Contrary, if the pope with his papists do, (as they do indeed,) and mean nothing else than to make havoc of God's people, why then would they have the world believe as though they wrought all with clemency and pity, desiring the superior powers to remit the rigour and sharpness of their swords?—when, in very deed, they themselves thrust them violently upon the sword, for them to chop off their necks.

The trouble and deliverance of John Lithall.

At the taking of William Living, it happened that certain of his books were in the custody of one John Lithall; which known, the constable of the ward of Southwark, with other of the queen's servants, were sent to his house, who, breaking open his doors and chests, took a way not only the book of the said William Living, but also all his own books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Avaless and certain of the queen's servants beset his house all the night with such careful watch, that as he in the morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, John Avaless, suddenly bursting out upon him, cried, "Stop the traitor! stop the traitor!" whereat Lithall being amazed, looked back.

And so John Avaless came running to him, with other that were with him, saying, "Ah, sirrah! you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed; we have had somewhat to do to get you." To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the queen's Majesty than he: "for you," said he, "are commanded by God to keep holy the sabbath day, and you seek to shed your neighbour's blood on the sabbath day. Remember that you must answer there-for to God." But he said, "Come on, you villain! you must go before the council." So was Lithall brought into Paul's churchyard to the bishop's chancellor, by John Avaless, saying, that he had there caught the captain of these fellows; and so caused him to be called to examination before Dr. Darbishire, who entered talk with him in this wise:

Bishop's chancellor.—"What countryman are you?"

Lithall.—"I am an Englishman, born in Staffordshire."

Chancellor.—"Where were you brought up?"

Lithall.—"In this our country of England."

Chancellor.—"In what university?"

Lithall.—"In no university, but in a free-school."

Chancellor.—"We have had certain books from your house, and writings, wherein are both treason and heresy."

Lithall.—"Sir, there is neither treason nor heresy in them."

Then he asked for certain other me^t that I knew.

Lithall.—"If you have aught to lay to my charge, I will answer it: but I will have no other man's blood upon my head."

Chancellor.—"Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own parish church?"

Lithall.—"I am of the church of Christ, the fountain of all goodness."

Chancellor.—"Have you no ministers of your church, but Christ?"

Lithall.—"We have others."

Chancellor.—"Where be they?"

Lithall.—"In the whole world, dispersed, preaching and professing the gospel and faith only in our Saviour Jesus, as he commanded them."

Chancellor.—"You boast much, every one of you, of your faith and belief; let me hear therefore the effect, how you believe."

Lithall.—"I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man."

Chancellor.—"Faith cannot save without works."

Lithall.—"That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles."

Chancellor.—"John Avaless! you and the keeper have this fellow to prison."

Then John Avaless and Cluney the keeper had me into Paul's, and would have had me to have seen the apostles' mass.

Lithall.—"I know none the apostles had, and therefore I will see none."

Cluney and John Avaless.—"Come and kneel down before the rood, and say a Pater-noster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds."

Lithall.—"I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore I will not."

Then they pulled me with great extremity, the one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time

more strength than both these, his name be praised for it.

Then, when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, neither to see the mass, there gathered a great company about us, and all against me. Some spat on me, and said, "Fie on thee, heretic!" and others said, It was pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to Lollards' Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

Then I offered the keeper certain money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I should lie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that should be against my conscience: and though you have lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So, shortly after, he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought) than for any other affection; and within four or five days my wife got leave of Master Chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me; and there I lay five weeks and odd days, in the which time divers of my neighbours and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance: the bishop, as they said, at that time being at Fulham, sick. So my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor sent for me out of the Lollards' Tower to his own house, and said as followeth:

Chancellor.—"Lithall! here be of thy neighbours which have been with me to entreat for thee; and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and quiet neighbour among them, and I think it be God's will that I should deliver thee before my Lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter."

Lithall.—"I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbours for their good report."

Chancellor.—"Lithall, if thy neighbours will be bound for thy forthcoming whensoever thou shalt be called for; and also if thou wilt be an obedient subject, I shall be content to deliver thee."

Neighbours.—"If it please your Worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods."

Chancellor.—"I will require no such bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds a piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called."

Lithall.—"Where find you, Master Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the church of God did

bind any man for the profession of his faith? which profession you have heard of me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation, cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and all the inventions and works of men, be they never so glorious, be altogether vain, as the wise man saith."

Chancellor.—"Lo, where he is now! I put no such matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James saith, that a man is justified by works."

Lithall.—"St. James spake to them that boasted themselves of faith, and showed no works of faith: but, O Master Chancellor! remember, I pray you, how all the promises and prophecies of the Holy Scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, and so even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his merits, all that believe shall be saved from all their sins and offences. Esaias saith, I am found of them that sought me not, and am manifest to them that asked not after me: but against Israel he saith, All day long have I stretched out my hand to a people that believe not. And when the jailer asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and all thy household. Again, St. John saith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor in earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the book or the seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Saviour. And St. Paul saith, With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified."

Chancellor.—"With vain-glory you rehearse much Scripture, as all the sort of you do; but you have no more understanding than a many of sheep. But to the purpose: Will you that your neighbours shall enter into bonds for you, or not?"

Lithall.—"By my mind, they shall not. Wherefore I desire you that you would not bind me, but let me serve God with my conscience freely; for it is written, They that lead into captivity shall go into captivity; and they that strike with the sword shall perish with the sword. Also it is written in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, That whoso doth offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea: of the which I am assured by his Holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well assured that such mercy as you show, unto you shall be showed the like."

Chancellor.—"You are a mad-man. I would not bind you, but that I must needs have somewhat

to show for your deliverance." Then he called two of my neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, which offered themselves to be bound; and called me before them, and said, "I have a letter of his own hand-writing, with his name and seal at it, with a book also against the regiment of women, for the which I could make him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, on my faith, I will him no more hurt, than I mean to my own soul."

Lithall.—"I desire you that be my neighbours and friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me; for you know not the danger thereof, neither I myself. It goeth against my conscience that ye should so do."

Chancellor.—"Why, I will not bind you to do any thing against your conscience."

Then they made the bond and sealed to it, and willed me that I should seal to it also; and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set to my hand.

Chancellor.—"It is pity that thou hast so much favour showed thee: yet for these honest men's sakes I will discharge thee."

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of Master Darbishire, pretending for favour of his sureties to set him at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so to do; but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and unrecoverable sickness of Queen Mary, which then began somewhat to assuage the cruel proceeding of these persecutors, whereby they durst not do that they would: for else, Lithall was not like to have escaped so easily.

Edward Grew, a priest.

Moreover, there was one Edward Grew, priest, and Appline, his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a town called Broke; and the man, being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good conscience.

At the last, he was taken and laid in Colchester castle, where he remained till Queen Elizabeth came to her regal seat, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife (good woman) was in great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

William Browne, parson of Little Stonham.

William Browne, parson of Little Stonham, in the county of Suffolk, made a sermon in the said town, incontinently after the burial of our good King Edward, and in his sermon he said, "There goeth a report that our good king is buried with a mass by the bishop of Winchester, he having a mitre upon his head. But if it were so," saith he,

"they are all traitors that so do; because it is both against the truth, and the laws of this realm; and it is great idolatry and blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and they are no friends either to God, the king, or yet unto the realm, that so do." For this his preaching, one Robert Blomefield, an adversary to the truth, being then constable of the said town, and bailiff unto Sir John Jerningham, knight, (the chief lord of the town,) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Golding, which was then under-sheriff, Sir Thomas Cornwallis being then high-sheriff.

So the said Golding and Blomefield sent for certain men of the said town, and examined them for the sermon; whereunto they made but a small answer. Then the sheriff made a bill, and so feared the men, that two or three of them set to their hands, and one of them never joyed after, but it was a grief to him till he died.

Then did they take men with them unto the parson's house, and in the night they took him, and with watchmen kept him until it was day. Then should he have been carried the next day to the council; but the said Robert Blomefield was taken so sick, that he was like to die, so that he could not carry him for his life. Then the said sheriff sent him to Ipswich again, and there he was for a time. Then he was sent to Bury prison, and from thence to the council, and then into the Fleet: and so he lay in prison from the beginning of harvest till it was nigh Christmas, and said, God gave him such answers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietness of conscience. And having his liberty, he came again unto the aforesaid town; and because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to fly here and there for life and conscience. In the last year of Queen Mary's reign God did take him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this Robert Blomefield above-named, immediately after he had apprehended the said Browne, fell very sick; and although at that time he was a wealthy man and of great substance, (beside his land, which was better than twenty pounds a year,) after this time, God so plagued his household, that his eldest son died, and his wife had a pining sickness till she departed this life also.

Then married he another, a rich widow; but all would not help, and nothing would prosper: for he had a sore pining sickness, being full of botches and sores, whereby he wasted away both in body and goods, till he died.

So when he died he was above ninescore pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he

had. But a little before his death he bragged, and threatened a good man, one Simon Harlston, to put him forth to the officers, because he did wear no surplice when he said service: wherefore it is pity such baits of popery are left to the enemies, to take Christians in. God take them away, or ease

us from them! for God knoweth they be the cause of much blindness and strife amongst men.

Furthermore, out of the said town were constrained to fly Robert Boela and John Trapne, because they would not go to mass and receive their sacrament of the altar.

Elizabeth Young



I heard before, in the treatise of the scourging of Thomas Green, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Story, for a cer-

tain book called "Antichrist," which he received of a woman, because in no case he would detect her. This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who, coming from Embden to England, brought with her divers books, and dispersed them abroad in London; for the which she, being at length espied and laid fast, was brought to examination thirteen times before the catholic inquisitors of heretical pravity: of the which her examinations, nine have come to our hands; wherein how fiercely she was assaulted, how

shamefully she was reviled, how miserably handled, and what answers she made unto the adversaries in her own defence; and finally, after all this, how she escaped and passed through the pikes, (being yet, as I hear say, alive,) as I thought to give the reader here to see and understand.

The first examination of Elizabeth Young, before Master Hussey.

Master Hussey examined her of many things: first, where she was born, who was her father and mother.

Elizabeth Young.—"Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superfluous. It is to fill my head with phantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for. Ye have not (I think) put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hither for."

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Hussey.—"Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?"

Elizabeth.—"To keep my conscience clean."

Hussey.—"When wast thou at mass?"

Elizabeth.—"Not these three years."

Hussey.—"Then wast thou not there three years before that?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were, I had evil luck."

Hussey.—"How old art thou?"

Elizabeth.—"Forty and upwards."

Hussey.—"Twenty of those years thou wentest to mass."

Elizabeth.—"Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wise as I went thither first; for I understand it not."

Hussey.—"Why wilt thou not go to the mass?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, my conscience will not suffer me; for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own conscience."

Hussey.—"What if a louse or a flea stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh? thou must make a conscience in taking her off: is there not a conscience in it?"

Elizabeth.—"That is but an easy argument to displace the Scriptures, and especially in such a part as my salvation dependeth upon: for it is but an easy conscience, that a man can make."

Hussey.—"But why wilt thou not swear upon the evangelists before a judge?"

Elizabeth.—"Because I know not what a book-oath is?"

Then he began to teach her the book-oath.

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore I will not learn it."

Then said he, "Thou *wilt* not understand it:" and with that he rose up and went his way.

The second examination, before Dr. Martin.

Dr. Martin said to her, "Woman, thou art come from beyond the sea, and hast brought with thee books of heresy and treason, and thou must confess to us, who translated them, printed them, and who sent them over, (for once I knew thee to be but a messenger,) and in so doing the queen's Highness will be good to thee, (for she hath forgiven greater things than this,) and thou shalt find as much favour as is possible. But if thou be stubborn, and wilt not confess, thou wilt be wondrous evil handled; for we know the truth already: but this we do, only to see whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, ye have my confession, and more than that I cannot say."

Martin.—"Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Dost thou think that we will be fully an-

swered by this examination that thou hast made? Thou rebel whore and traitor heretic! thou dost refuse to swear upon the evangelists before a judge, I hear say. Thou shalt be racked inch-meal, thou traitorly whore and heretic! but thou shalt swear before a judge before thou go: yea, and thou shalt be made to confess how many books thou hast sold, and to whom."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I understand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no such thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for those books that I had, your commissioners have them all."

Martin.—"Thou traitorly whore! we know that thou hast sold a number of books, yea, and to whom; and how many times thou hast been here, and where thou liest, and every place that thou hast been in. Dost thou think that thou hast fools in hand?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, ye be too wise for me; for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myself. But if it were in Turkey, I should have meat and drink and lodging for my money."

Martin.—"Thou rebel whore! thou hast spoken evil words by the queen, and thou dwellest amongst a sort of traitors and rebels, that cannot give the queen a good word."

Elizabeth.—"I am not able to accuse any man thereof, neither yet is there any man that can prove any such things by me, as ye lay unto my charge. For I know by God's word, and God's book hath taught me, what is my duty to God, and unto my queen, and therefore (as I said) I am assured that no man living upon the earth can prove any such things by me."

Martin.—"Thou rebel and traitorly whore, thou shalt be so racked and handled, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorly whores and heretics; and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy evangelists, and confess to whom thou hast sold all and every one of these heretical books that thou hast sold: for we know what number thou hast sold and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confess in spite of thy blood."

Elizabeth.—"Here is my carcass: do with it what you will. And more than that you cannot have, Master Martin; ye can have no more but my blood."

Then fared he as though he had been stark mad, and said, "Martin! why callest thou me Martin?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I know well enough: for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at Westminster."

Martin.—"Where didst thou dwell then?"

Elizabeth.—"I dwelt in the Minories."

Martin.—"I delivered thee and thy husband

both; and I thought then, that thou wouldest have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any bishop in England, and said the words that thou didst before me, thou hadst fried a faggot: and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet."

Martin.—"I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which shall be smally to thine ease."

Elizabeth.—"Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more ye shall not." And then he arose and so departed, and went to the keeper's house, and said to the wife, "Whom hast thou suffered to come to this vile traitorly whore and heretic, to speak with her?" Then said the keeper's wife, "As God receive my soul, here came neither man, woman, nor child, to ask for her."

Martin.—"If any man, woman, or child, come to ask for her, I charge thee, in pain of death, that they be laid fast; and give her one day bread, and another day water."

Elizabeth.—"If ye take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger."

And so he departed and said, "that was too good for her:" and then was she shut up under two locks in the Clink where she was before.

The third examination, before Dr. Martin again.

Then was she brought before him in his chamber, within my Lord Chancellor's house, who asked her, saying, "Elizabeth, wilt thou confess these things that thou hast been examined upon? for thou knowest that I have been thy friend; and in so doing, I will be thy friend again:" giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the seas.

Elizabeth.—"It is too much for me to tell you how many there are on the other side."

Martin.—"No, I mean but in Frankfort and Embden, where thou hast been."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I look not for."

Martin.—"When shall I hear a true word come out of thy mouth?"

Elizabeth.—"I have told you the truth; but because that it soundeth not to your mind, therefore ye will not credit it."

Martin.—"Wilt thou yet confess? and if thou wilt, that that I have promised, I will do: and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must go even hence to the rack; and therefore confess."

Elizabeth.—"I can say no more than I have said."

Martin.—"Well, forasmuch as she will confess no more, have her away to the rack, and then she will be married." Then answered a priest that sat there, and said, "Woman, take an oath, and confess. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?"

Elizabeth.—"I can confess no more than I have. Do with my carcass what ye will."

Martin.—"Did ye ever hear the like of this heretic? What a stout heretic is this! We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether she will confess. There is no remedy but she must needs to the rack, and therefore away with her:" and so commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and said to him, "There is no remedy but this heretic must be racked;" and talked with him more, but what it was she heard not.

Then he called her in again, and said, "Wilt thou not confess, and keep thee from the rack? I advise thee so to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain thereof yet, but thou shalt do."

Elizabeth.—"I can confess no more. Do with my carcass what ye will."

Martin.—"Keeper, away with her; thou knowest what I said: let her know the pain of the rack!" And so she departed, thinking no less, but that she should have gone to the rack, till she saw the keeper turn toward the Clink again.

And thus did God alienate their hearts and diminish their tyrannous power, unto the time of further examinations; for she was brought before the bishop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commissioners, first and last, thirteen times.

The fourth examination, before the bishop of London, Sir Roger Cholmley, Dr. Cooke the recorder of London, Dr. Roper of Kent, and Dr. Martin.

First, she being presented by Dr. Martin before the bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare against her, saying, "The lord chancellor hath sent you here a woman, which hath brought books over from Embden, where all these books of heresy and treason are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treason and heresy, neither yet will she confess who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them over: wherefore my Lord Chancellor committeth her unto my Lord of London, he to do with her as he shall think good. For she will confess nothing, but that she bought these said books in Amsterdam, and so brought them over to sell for gain."

Dr. Cooke.—"Let her head be trussed in a small line, and make her to confess."

Martin.—"The book is called Antichrist, and so may it be well called; for it speaketh against Jesus Christ and the queen. Besides that, she hath a certain spark of the Anabaptists, for she refuseth to swear upon the four evangelists before a judge: for I myself and Master Hussey have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to swear. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor would that she should abstain and fast, for she hath not fasted a great while; for she hath lien in the Clink a good while, where she had too much her liberty."

Then said the bishop, "Why wilt thou not swear before a judge! That is the right trade of the Anabaptists."

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine."

"No!" said the bishop, "and why?"

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, Christ saith, that whatsoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is; and therefore I will take no such thing upon me."

Then said Cholmley, "Twenty pounds, it is a man in a woman's clothes! twenty pounds, it is a man!"

Bonner.—"Think you so, my Lord?"

Cholmley.—"Yea, my Lord," &c.

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, I am a woman."

Bishop.—"Swear her upon a book, seeing it is but a question asked."

Then said Cholmley, "I will lay twenty pounds, it is a man."

Then Dr. Cooke brought her a book, commanding her to lay thereon her hand.

Elizabeth.—"No, my Lord, I will not swear: for I know not what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and have children."

Bishop.—"That know not we: wherefore swear?"

Cholmley.—"Thou ill-favoured whore, lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine:" and so he laid his hand upon the book.

Elizabeth.—"So will not I mine."

Then the bishop spake a word in Latin, out of St. Paul, as concerning swearing.

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I understand you not."

Bishop.—"I dare swear that thou dost not."

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, St. Paul saith, that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a foreign or strange tongue, which is unknown."

Dr. Cooke.—"Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman."

Elizabeth.—"If ye will not believe me, then send for women into a secret place, and I will be tried."

Cholmley.—"Thou art an ill-favoured whore."

Then said the bishop, "How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?"

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, if it will please you that I shall declare mine own faith, I will."

The bishop.—"Tell me, how believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?"

Elizabeth.—"Will it please you that I shall declare my faith? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I will believe it."

Dr. Cooke.—"That is well said: declare thy faith."

Elizabeth.—"I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God. I believe all the articles of my Creed. I believe all things written in the Holy Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. I believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to save sinners; and that in him, by him, and through him, I am made clean from my sins; and without him I could not. I believe that in the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and ordain, and left among his disciples that night before he was betrayed, when I do receive this sacrament in faith and spirit, I do receive Christ."

Bishop.—"No more, I warrant you, but the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, received but in spirit and faith, with these heretics."

Cholmley.—"Ah whore! spirit and faith, whore!"

Elizabeth.—"This sacrament never man could or did make, but only He, that did what no man could do."

Martin.—"Then thou must allow that grass is a sacrament; for who could make grass, but he only?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, he hath suffered, and made a sufficient sacrifice once for all, and so hath he made his sacrament sufficient once for all; for there was never man that could say, Take, eat; this is my body, that is broken for you; but only Jesus Christ, who had his body broken for the sins of the world; which sacrament he hath left here amongst us for a testimonial of his death, even to the world's end."

Martin.—"Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?"

Elizabeth.—"Yea, Bishop Scory and others that I have heard."

Bishop.—"Why, is Scory bishop now?"

Elizabeth.—"If that do offend you, call him Dr. Scory, if ye will."

Roper.—"I knew when he was but a poor doctor."

Martin.—"What do ye call Scory?"

Elizabeth.—"Our superintendent."

Bishop.—"Lo! their superintendent."

Martin.—"And what are ye called?"

Elizabeth.—"Christ's congregation."

Bishop.—"Lo! Christ's congregation, I warrant you."

Dr. Cooke.—"What living hath Scory?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, as far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no man that giveth him aught."

Recorder.—"Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough sent him out of England."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I know no such thing."

Cholmley.—"Hark! whore, hark! hark! how I do believe."

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, I have told you my belief."

Cholmley.—"Hark, thou ill-favoured whore, how I do believe. When the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very body that was born of the Virgin Mary, was hanged on the cross, was dead and buried, and descended into hell, and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. The same body, when the priest hath spoken the words, cometh down, and when the priest lifteth up his body on this wise," he, lifting up his hands, said, "there it is."

Elizabeth.—"I have told you also how I do believe."

Martin.—"Away with her."

Cholmley.—"Ah, evil-favoured whore! nothing but spirit and faith, whore!"

Martin.—"Away with her, we have more to talk withal."

Then was she carried into the coal-house, and searched for books, and then put into the stock-house, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

The fifth examination, before the bishop of London's chancellor.

Then was she brought out of the stock-house, and brought before the bishop's chancellor, who required of her, what age she was of.

Elizabeth.—"Sir, forty years and upwards."

The bishop's chancellor.—"Why, thou art a woman of fair years; what shouldst thou meddle with the Scriptures? It is necessary for thee to

believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy distaff, than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into prison."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if ye find any thing therein that is not fit for a Christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it."

Chancellor.—"Well said. But who shall judge between thee and me?"

Elizabeth.—"The Scripture."

Chancellor.—"Wilt thou stand by that?"

Elizabeth.—"Yea, sir."

Chancellor.—"Well, go thy way out at the door a little while, for I am busy, and I will call for thee anon again."

Then he called me again, and said, "Now woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head."

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him, as she had done before the bishop.

Chancellor.—"Woman, spirit and faith I do allow; but dost not thou believe that thou dost receive the body of Christ, really, corporally, and substantially?"

Elizabeth.—"These words, really and corporally, I understand not; as for substantially, I take it, ye mean I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once); and that believe not I."

Chancellor.—"Thou must believe this, or else thou art damned."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, can ye give me belief or faith?"

Chancellor.—"No, God must give it thee."

Elizabeth.—"God hath given me no such faith or belief."

The chancellor then declared a text of St. Paul in Latin, and then in English, saying, I could make thee believe, but that thou hast a cankered heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?"

Elizabeth.—"You said even now, that faith or belief cometh of God; and so believe I, and then may not I believe an untruth to be a truth."

Chancellor.—"Dost thou not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, I believe not that; for my flesh shall putrefy and rot."

Chancellor.—"Christ said, My flesh is flesh in flesh."

Elizabeth.—"Whoso receiveth him fleshly, shall have a fleshly resurrection."

Chancellor.—"Christ saith in the sixth of John, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Elizabeth.—"Christ preached to the Capernaïtes, saying, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you: and the Capernaïtes murmured at it. And his disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, This is a hard saying, and who can abide it? Christ understood their meaning, and said, Are ye also offended? will ye also go away? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up to heaven, from whence he came? will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. I pray you, sir, what meaneth Christ by that?"

Chancellor.—"O, God forbid. Would ye have me to interpret the Scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancient fathers, which have studied Scriptures a long time, and have the Holy Ghost given unto them."

Elizabeth.—"Why, sir, have you not the Holy Ghost given and revealed unto you?"

Chancellor.—"No, God forbid that I should so believe; but I hope, I hope. But ye say, ye are of the Spirit: will you say that ye have no profit in Christ's flesh?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, we have our profit in Christ's flesh, but not as the Capernaïtes did understand it; for they understood, that they must eat his flesh as they did eat ox-flesh and other, and drink his blood as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But so we must not receive it. But our profit that we have by Christ, is to believe that his body was broken upon the cross, and his blood shed for our sins: that is the very meaning of Christ, that so we should eat his flesh, and drink his blood, when he said, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Chancellor.—"How doth thy body live, if Christ's flesh is not flesh in thy flesh?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I was a body before I had a soul; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it shall please God to dissolve my life, my flesh will offer itself unto the place from whence it came; and through the merits of Christ, my soul will offer itself to the place from whence it came."

Chancellor.—"Yea, but if thou do not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh, thou canst not be saved."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I do not believe that."

Chancellor.—"Why, doth not Christ say, My

flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed? Canst thou deny that?"

Elizabeth.—"I deny not that; for Christ's flesh and blood is meat and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whosoever believeth that Jesus Christ the Son of God hath died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feedeth thereon for ever."

Chancellor.—"When thou receivest the sacrament of the altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christ's body?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, when I do receive the sacrament which Christ did institute and ordain the night before he was betrayed, and left among his disciples, as often (I say) as I receive it, I believe that spiritually, and by faith, I receive Christ. And of this sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the author, and none but he. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith."

Chancellor.—"Why, did not Christ take bread, and give thanks, and break it, and give it to his disciples, and say, Take, eat; this is my body that is given for you? Did he give them his body, or no?"

Elizabeth.—"He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it unto his disciples, saying, Drink ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for many. Now I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or else the wine that was in the cup?"

Then was he very angry, and said, "Dost thou think that thou hast a hedge-priest in hand?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, I take you not to be a hedge-priest. I take you for a doctor."

Chancellor.—"So methinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me."

Elizabeth.—"No, sir; but I let you know what I know; and by argument, one shall know more. Christ said, As oft as ye do this, do it in the remembrance of me: but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also St. Paul saith, So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death till he come: then we may not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?' But if he shall not come before he come to judgment, then how is he here present in your sacrament of the altar? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Christ occupieth no more but one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there."

The sixth examination, before the bishop's chancellor.

The bishop's chancellor said unto her, "Woman, the last time that thou wast before me, our talk was concerning the sacrament."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, true it is, and I trust that I said nothing that ye can deny by the Scriptures."

Chancellor.—"Yes, thou wilt not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh."

Elizabeth.—"No, sir; God hath given me no such belief; for it cannot be found by the Scriptures."

Chancellor.—"Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the Scripture? Why, how many sacraments dost thou find in the Scripture?"

Elizabeth.—"The church of Christ doth set down twain."

Chancellor.—"I will as well find seven by the Scripture, as thou shalt find twain."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I talk not to you thereof: but I say that the church of Christ setteth out twain, and I have been taught no more."

Chancellor.—"What are those twain?"

Elizabeth.—"The sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the sacrament of baptism."

Chancellor.—"What sayest thou by the sacrament of wedlock?"

Elizabeth.—"I have not heard it called a sacrament, but the holy estate of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them."

Chancellor.—"How sayest thou by priests? Is it good that they should marry? is it to be kept of them?"

Elizabeth.—"I come not hither to reason any such matters, for I am no divine; and also it is no part of my faith."

Chancellor.—"Can ye not tell? ye shall tell or ever you go."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, then must ye keep me a good while: for I have not studied the Scriptures for it."

Chancellor.—"No! why, ye will not be ashamed to flee unto the highest mystery, even to the sacrament, at the first dash; and ye are not afraid to argue with the best doctor in the land."

Elizabeth.—"God's mysteries I will not meddle with; but all things that are written, are written for our edification."

Chancellor.—"What say you by prayer for the dead? Is it not meet that if a man's friend be dead, his friend commend his soul unto God?"

Elizabeth.—"There is no Christian man that will commend his friend or his foe unto the devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, sure I am, that it is good when he is alive."

Chancellor.—"Then ihou allowest not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of purgatory; but in the Scriptures I have heard of heaven and hell."

Chancellor.—"Why, ye have nothing but the skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Testament, that a priest shall take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, that could never be found in the Bible, nor Testament, as far as I could hear."

Chancellor.—"Whom dost thou hear read either the Bible or Testament, but a sort of schismatics, bawdy bishops, and hedge-priests, (which have brought into the church a stinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England,) which have deceived the king, and all the nobility, and all the whole realm?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, it is a vile name that ye give them all."

Chancellor.—"Where are all the hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their answer?"

Elizabeth.—"Answer, sir? why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their blood. And then where were you, that ye came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but twain, and that was not for God's word; it was for their disobedience."

Chancellor.—"No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burnt, and headed?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I never knew that any of you ever were either hanged, killed, burnt, or headed."

Chancellor.—"No! did ye never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head, for the supremacy of the bishops of Rome?"

Elizabeth.—"Then he died not for God's word."

Chancellor.—"Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canst thou find the sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the sabbath? for the right sabbath day will I prove to be Saturday: or where canst thou find the articles of the Creed in the Scripture by the name of the articles? or where canst thou find in the Scripture, that Christ went down into hell?"

Elizabeth.—"What place or part in the Scripture can ye find to disprove any of these things?"

Chancellor.—"What priest hast thou lien with-

al, that thou hast so much Scripture? Thou art some priest's woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reason, and teach the best doctor in all the land, thou!"

Elizabeth.—"I was never yet priest's wife, nor yet priest's woman."

Chancellor.—"Have I touched your conscience?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, ye have not touched my conscience; but beware ye hurt not your own."

Chancellor.—"Thou hast read a little in the Bible or Testament, and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a doctor that hath gone to school thirty years; and, before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew, as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may say by you, as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying, O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldest not. And so would we gather you together in one faith, but ye will not: and therefore your own blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest heretics that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the Scripture: and therefore thou art damned."

Elizabeth.—"I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ; and shall I be damned because I believe the truth, and will not believe an untruth?"

Then the chancellor called the keeper, saying, "Cluney, take her away! thou knowest what thou hast to do with her."

And so she departed, and was brought again to the stock-house, and there she lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterward she was removed into the Lollards' Tower, and there she remained with both her feet in the stocks and irons, till the next time of examination.

The seventh examination, before the chancellor and the bishop's scribe.

When she was brought before the said chancellor and the scribe, the chancellor said unto her; "Woman, thou hast been twice before me, but thou and I could not agree; and here be certain articles that my Lord the bishop of London would that thou shouldst make answer unto me, which are these: First, how many sacraments thou dost allow."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, as many as Christ's church doth allow, and that is twain."

Then said the scribe, "Thou wast taught seven, before King Edward's days."

Chancellor.—"Which two sacraments be those that thou dost allow?"

Elizabeth.—"The sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the sacrament of baptism."

Chancellor.—"Dost thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, no man can be the head of Christ's church; for Christ himself is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, wheresoever they be scattered abroad."

Chancellor.—"Dost thou not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins, heretical, detestable, and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin; and that is Jesus Christ, which died for my sins."

Chancellor.—"Dost thou not know that the pope sent over his jubilees, that all that ever would fast and pray, and go to the church, should have their sins forgiven them?"

The scribe.—"Sir, I think that she was not in the realm then."

Chancellor.—"Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?"

Elizabeth.—"Yes, that I have."

Chancellor.—"And art thou not sorry for it?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, not a whit."

Chancellor.—"Hast thou not said, that the mass was wicked, and the sacrament of the altar most abominable?"

Elizabeth.—"Yes, that I have."

Chancellor.—"And art thou not sorry for it?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, not a whit."

Chancellor.—"Art thou not content to go to the church, and hear mass?"

Elizabeth.—"I will not go to the church, either to mass or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language." And always the scribe did write every of these articles, as they were demanded, and answered unto.

Then the scribe asked her from whence she came.

The chancellor said, "This is she that brought over all these books of heresy and treason."

Then said the scribe to her, "Woman, where hadst thou all these books?"

Elizabeth.—"I bought them in Amsterdam, and brought them over to sell, thinking to gain thereby."

Then said the scribe, "What is the name of the book?"

Elizabeth.—"I cannot tell."

The scribe.—"Why wouldst thou buy books, and know not their names?"

Then said Cluney the keeper, "Sir, my Lord Bishop did send for her by name, that she should come to mass, but she would not."

Chancellor.—"Yea, did my Lord send for her by name, and would she not go to mass?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, I will never go to mass, till I do understand it, by the leave of God."

Chancellor.—"Understand it! Why, who the devil can make thee to understand Latin, thou being so old?"

Then the scribe commanded her to set her hand to all the said things.

Elizabeth said, "Sir, then let me hear it read first."

Then said the scribe, "Master Chancellor! shall she hear it read?"

Chancellor.—"Yea, let the heretic hear it read."

Then she heard it read, and so she set to her hand.

The eighth examination, before the bishop.

When she was brought before the bishop, he asked the keeper, "Is this the woman that hath the three children?" And the keeper said, "Yea, my Lord."

Bishop.—"Woman, here is a supplication put unto my hands for thee. In like case there was another supplication put up to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madest as though that I should keep thy children."

Elizabeth.—"My Lord, I did not know of this supplication, nor yet of the other."

Then said the bishop, "Master Dean, is this the woman you have sued so earnestly for?"

Dean.—"Yea, my Lord."

Dean.—"Woman, what remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, when and after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration?"

Elizabeth.—"A piece of bread. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and leave amongst his disciples the night before he was betrayed, ministered according to his word, that sacrament I do believe."

Dean.—"How dost thou believe concerning the body of Christ? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, in heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of God."

Dean.—"From whence came his human body?"

Elizabeth.—"He took it of the Virgin Mary."

Dean.—"That is flesh, blood, and bones, as mine

is. But what shape hath his spiritual body? hath it face, hands, and feet?"

Elizabeth.—"I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he said, This is my body which is given for you; and this is my blood which shall be shed for you. Whereby he plainly meaneth that body, and no other, which he took of the Virgin Mary, having the perfect shape and proportion of a human body."

Then said Story, "Ye have a wise body; for ye must go to the stake."

Dean.—"Art thou content to believe in the faith of Christ's church? But to ask of thee what Christ's church is, or where it is, I let it pass."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and from it I purpose never to turn, by God's help."

Dean.—"Wouldst thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, if it please God to give me leave."

Dean.—"Art thou content to confess thyself to be an ignorant and foolish woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth, and as the lord cardinal's Grace doth, and as my Lord the bishop of London thine ordinary doth, and as the king's Grace, and the queen's Grace, and all the nobility of England do; yea, and the emperor's Grace, and all the noble princes of Christendom?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I never was wise, but in few words I shall make you a brief answer how I do believe. I do believe all things that are written in the Scriptures given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. Hereon I ground my faith, and on no man."

Then said Story, "And who shall be judge?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, the Scripture."

Story.—"And who shall read it?"

Elizabeth.—"He unto whom God hath given the understanding."

Bishop.—"Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone; and Master Dean here hath earnestly sued for thee."

Dean.—"Woman, I have sued for thee indeed, and I promise thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good unto thee."

Elizabeth.—"I have been before my Lord Bishop, and before Master Chancellor three times, and have declared my faith."

Dean.—"And yet I know that Master Chancellor will say, that thou art a rank heretic."

Story.—"Away with her."

Bishop.—"Master Dean, ye know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her keeper bring

her home to your own chamber soon, at four o'clock at afternoon; and if that ye find her reasonable, then let her go, for I would that she were gone." Then said the dean, "With a good will, my Lord."

And so she was sent unto the place from whence she came, until it was four of the clock at afternoon.

The ninth examination, before the dean, by whom it pleased God to deliver her.

When it was four of the clock at afternoon, as the hour was appointed, and the dean was set, he asked her, "Art thou a fool now, as thou wast to-day?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I have learned but small wisdom since."

Dean.—"Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?"

Elizabeth.—"Yes, sir, that I do."

Dean.—"Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?"

Elizabeth.—"Yea, sir, and if it please God that ye will."

Dean.—"Then I will do thee good indeed. What dost thou receive, when thou receivest the sacrament which Christ left among his disciples the night before he was betrayed?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, that that his disciples did receive."

Dean.—"What did they receive?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, that that Christ gave them, they received."

Dean.—"What answer is this? was Christ there present?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own sacrament."

Dean.—"He took bread; and he brake it, and he gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which shall be broken for you. When thou receivest it, dost thou believe that thou receivest his body?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Christ."

Dean.—"Dost thou believe that Christ is there?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him."

Dean.—"He also took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Drink ye all hereof: this is the cup of the new testament in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. When thou dost receive it after the institution that Christ ordained among his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, dost thou believe that Christ is there?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, by faith I believe that he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him."

Dean.—"Now thou hast answered me. Remember that thou sayest, that when thou dost receive according to the institution of Christ, thou dost receive Christ."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I believe Christ not to be absent from his own sacrament."

Dean.—"How long wilt thou continue in that belief?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God: for it is, and hath been, my belief."

Dean.—"Wilt thou say this before my Lord?"

Elizabeth.—"Yea, sir."

Dean.—"Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf! why wouldst thou not say so to-day?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, ye asked me no such question."

Dean.—"Then ye would stand in disputation how many bodies Christ had."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, indeed that question ye did ask me."

Dean.—"Who shall be thy sureties that thou wilt appear before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I have no sureties, nor know I where to have any."

Then spake the dean unto two women that stood there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying, "Women, will ye be her sureties, that she shall appear before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next."

The women.—"Yea, sir, and it please you."

Dean.—"Take heed that I find you no more a brabblor in the Scripture."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I am no brabblor in the Scripture, nor yet any man can burden me therewith."

Dean.—"Yes, I have heard of you well enough, what ye are."

Then said he to the two women, "What if a man should touch your conscience; do ye not smell a little of heresy also?"

The women.—"No, sir."

Dean.—"Yes, a little of the frying-pan, or else wherefore have ye twain so earnestly sued for her?"

The one woman answered, "Because that her children were like to perish, and therefore God put me in mind to sue for her."

Then said the other woman, "And I gat her child a nurse, and I am threatened to stand to the keeping of her child; and therefore it standeth me in hand to sue to have her out."

Dean.—"Woman, give thanks unto these honest women, who have so earnestly sued for thee, and I promise thee so have I. These great heretics will receive nothing but in spirit and faith." And so he rose and departed.

Elizabeth.—"Sir, God be praised, and I thank you for your goodness and theirs also."

And so he went away; and upon the Friday next, because she was accused, her two sureties went thither, and were discharged.

Elizabeth Lawson.

In the town of Bedfield, and in the county of Suffolk, was dwelling an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawson, about the age of sixty years. This Elizabeth was apprehended as a heretic by the constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year of our Lord 1556, because she would not go to church, to hear mass, and receive the sacrament and believe in it. First, they laid her in a dungeon; and, after that, she was carried unto Norwich, and from thence to Bury gaol, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time Sir John Sylliard had her home unto his house, he being high sheriff that year; where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they by no means could move her to recant, she was sent to prison again with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison the space of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there was burnt her son, and many more, whereby she would often say, "Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well, good Lord! thy blessed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this (most happily) followed the death of Queen Mary, after whom succeeded our queen that now is; at which time this Elizabeth Lawson remained yet still in Bury prison, till at last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For she being a condemned person, neither temporalty, nor yet spiritual authority, would discharge her without sureties.

Now, she being abroad, and her sureties made afraid by wicked men, they said, they would cast her again in prison, except she would see them discharged.

Then she got a supplication to go unto the queen's Majesty, and came to a friend of hers, to have his counsel therein; who willed her to stay a while, because she was old, the days short, and the expenses great, and winter foul, (for it was a little before Christmas,) and to tarry until summer. In the mean time God brake the bond, and shortened her journey; for he took her home to himself out of this life in peace.

This good old woman, long before she went to prison, had the falling-sickness, and told a friend of hers, one Simon Harlston, after she was apprehend-

ed, that she never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Christ.

She had a very unkind man to her husband, who, while she was in prison, sold away her raiment, and would not help her; and after she was out of prison, she returned home unto him, yet would he show her no kindness, nor help her neither; and yet the house and land that he dwelt in, he had by her: wherefore, as long as she lived, she was found of the congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawson also had a sister, wife to one Robert Hollon in Mickfield in the same county of Suffolk, which likewise was persecuted and driven out from house to house, and a young man her son with her, because they would not go to church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar.

Thomas Christenmass and William Wats.

In this perilous rage of Queen Mary's reign were two men persecuted, one called Thomas Christenmass, the other William Wats, of Tunbridge in Kent. As these travelled from place to place, not resting two nights in one place, it happened them on a time to come to Rochester in Kent, where, as they [were] entering into the town, even at the town's end, [they] met with a little damsel of eight years of age; but whither she went they knew not. It was then night, and they weary; and fain therefore would have lien in the same town, but could not tell where, they feared so the bloody catholics. At last they devised to ask the damsel, whether there were any heretics in the town, or no? and she said, Yea. They asked her, Where? She answered them, At such an inn: telling them the name, and where the inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themselves better, and God so moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and asked her how she knew that the innkeeper (of whom she spake before) was a heretic. "Marry," quoth she, "well enough, and his wife also." "How knowest thou, pretty maiden?" said they: "I pray thee tell us." "How know I?" said she; "marry, because they go to the church; and those that will not hold up their hands there, they will present them. And he himself goeth from house to house, to compel them to come to church." When these two men heard this they gave God praise, and avoided that house, taking the warning of that maid, (of good bringing-up, as it should seem,) to be God's marvellous providence towards them.

Another escape of William Wats.

The foresaid William Wats, dwelling in Queen

Mary's days at Seal in Kent, the last year of her reign save one, was apprehended by his enemies, and brought by the constables before the bishop and justices of Tunbridge, where the bishop and justices would have persuaded him all they could, to turn from the truth; howbeit in vain, for they could not remove him, although they spent all the forenoon thereabout, with many flattering words; so merciful was the Lord unto him.

Now when dinner-time was come, as they should rise, they committed the prisoner to the constables again, and so rose up to go to dinner. The constables took Wats, and led him to a victualling-house, where, after they had well filled themselves, they fell asleep, supposing their prisoner to be sure enough under their hands. Wats's wife being then in the house with her husband, and very careful for his well doing, seeing the constables thus fast asleep, desired her husband to depart and go thence, forasmuch as the Lord had made such a way for him; unto which her words he would not consent, although she persuaded him all that she could.

At the last, (they replying one against another,) a stranger heard them, and asked her what the matter was, that she was so earnest with her husband. The wife told him. Ther said the stranger unto Wats these words, "Father! go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee." Whereupon the said Wats went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her house at Seal, thinking her husband had gone another way. Now as she was going in at her door, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came the said Wats in also, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haste to get him away; for they thought there would be search for him immediately.

Then Wats said, he would eat meat first, and also pray; which he did, and afterward departed thence. So soon as he was out of the doors, and had hid himself in a holly-bush, immediately came the said constables with thirty persons into the said house to search for him, where they pierced the featherbeds, broke up his chests, and made such havoc, that it was wonderful. And ever anon as they were searching, the constable cried, "I will have Wats, I will have Wats; I tell thee, I will have Wats." But (God be thanked) Wats could not be found. And when they saw it boot not to search for him, in the end they took his wife, and set her in a pair of stocks, where she remained two days; and she was very bold in the truth, and at the last delivered, through the providence of God; whose name be glorified in all his works, Amen.

John Glover of Mancetter, gentleman.

What a fatherly and manifest providence of the Lord likewise did appear in the preserving of Master John Glover, of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, in the town of Mancetter, first, at the taking of Robert, his brother: at which time, although the commission came down for him, yet so God ordered the matter, that his brother being sick was apprehended, and yet he, being whole, escaped, whereof mention is made before.

And again, another time how miraculously the merciful providence of the Lord wrought his escape out of his enemies' hands, they being at his chamber-door, and drawing the latch to search for him; and how his wife the same time was taken and sent to Lichfield, read before.

One Dabney, a painter.

There was at London a certain honest godly person, a painter, named Dabney, whom John Avalet, in the time of Queen Mary, had brought before Bonner, to be examined for his faith. It happened the same time, as the said Dabney was there, that the bishop was occupied with the examination of others, so that he was bid to stand by, and to wait the bishop's leisure. Upon the same, or not long after, suddenly cometh word to the bishop to prepare him in all speed; the general procession tarried for him. The bishop hearing that, setting all business apart, bustleth himself with all speed possible to the church, there to furnish the procession; by reason whereof Dabney, who newly came to the house, was there left alone, while every man else was busied in preparing and setting themselves forward, according as the case required.

To be short, as the time called on, Bonner with his household maketh haste so fast as they can, out of the doors to the procession. Dabney, being left alone, cometh down to the outward court next the gate, there walking with himself all heavy, looking for nothing less than to escape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man to walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen there left behind and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. "Yea," said he, "with a good will, if ye will let me out." "With all my heart," quoth the porter, "and I pray you so do."

And thus the said Dabney, taking the occasion offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf's mouth. The procession being done, when the bishop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found: whereupon search was made. But especially John Avalet laid much

privy wait for him; who, after long searching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife, to let him alone when he should see him; and so that good man escaped.

Alexander Wimshurst, minister.

A like example of God Almighty's goodness towards his afflicted servants in that dangerous time of persecution, may also appear evidently in one Alexander Wimshurst, a priest sometime of Magdalene College, in Oxford, and then the pope's own knight, but since an earnest enemy to antichrist, and a man better instructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one had promoted him to Bonner for religion, upon what occasion I do not understand. According to the old manner in such cases provided, he sent forth Robin Caly, otherwise called Robin Papist, one of his whelps, to bring in the game, and to cause this silly poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, bestirreth him in his business, and smelleth him out; and when he had gotten him, bringeth him along by Cheapside, not suffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though there were of his old friends of Oxford that offered to speak unto him.

When they came into Paul's, it happened this Alexander to espy Dr. Chedsey, there walking up and down; to whom, because he was able in such a case to do pleasure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in Oxford, he was very desirous to speak to him ere he went through. Chedsey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon him, said that he durst not meddle in the matter. "Yes," saith little Robin, "you may talk with him if it please you, Master Doctor!" To be short, Alexander openeth his case, and in the end desireth, for old acquaintance' sake, that he would find means he might be rather brought before Dr. Martin to be examined, than any other. "Nay," saith he, (alleging the words of Christ unto Peter in the last chapter of St. John,) "you remember, brother, what is written in the gospel: When thou wast young, thou didst gird thyself, and wentest whither thou wouldest: but being aged, other men shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldest not." Thus abusing the Scripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithstanding he might easily have accomplished so small a request, if it had liked him.

Thence was he carried to Story and Cook, commissioners, there to learn what should become of him: before them he did use himself boldly and stoutly, as they on the other side did urge him with captious questions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor man their fill, they asked him

where his whore was. "She is not my whore," said he, "but my lawful wife." "She is thy whore," said they. "She is not my whore," said he again, "but my wife, I tell you." So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attribute to them so much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to prison.

And now mark well the providence of God in his preservation. He was brought into Cluney's house at Paternoster Row, thence to be carried to Lollards' Tower out of hand, but that Cluney, (as it happened,) his wife, and his maid, were so earnestly occupied about present business, that as then they had not leisure to lock up their prisoner. In the hall where Alexander sat, was a strange woman, whose husband was then presently in trouble for religion, which perceived by some one occasion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cause. "Alack, good man," saith she, "if you will, you may escape the cruel hands of your enemies, forasmuch as they be all away, that should look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore lose not the opportunity thereof, if you be wise." With those and such-like words being then persuaded, he gat out of the doors, and went away without any haste-making at all; so that if any had followed, he might have been easily recovered again. But undoubtedly it was God's will that he should so escape the fury of his adversaries, and be preserved from all dangers of death and imprisonment.

The story of one Bosome's wife.

As the works of the Lord are not to be kept secret, whatsoever the persons be in whom it pleaseth him to work; so cometh to remembrance the story of one Bosome's wife, not unworthy to be considered. This good woman, being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly called upon, and urged to come to church. At length, through importunate crying and calling upon, she granted unto them, and came. Being in the church, and sitting with her mother in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the papists, she behaved herself: to wit, when they kneeled she stood; when they turned forward she turned backward, &c.

This being notorious in the church, at length the constable, and churchwarden named Sanders, attached her in the queen's name, charging her, with her mother, the next day to appear at Kingston, who, at their command, so did.

The next day, according as they were assigned, they came to Kingston to appear before the fore-said officers, who, at the same time, (as it chanced,)

were going over the ferry, and meeting them by the way, saluted them by their names; but at that time had no further power to speak unto them. Afterward, as they were in the boat going over, they knocked their hands, stamped and stared, lamenting that they had let them so pass their hands. This the ferry-man declared unto them, and what they said in the boat. Whereupon the good woman, taking her journey to London, escaped their cruelty, through the secret working (no doubt) of the Lord, who in all his works, and evermore, be praised; Amen.

The Lady Knevet, of Wymondham, in Norfolk.

Among the number of the godly, that were kept under the providence of the Lord in those perilous days, I may not forget an ancient good lady of much worship, called Lady Anne Knevet, who, till her death, dwelt in Norfolk, in a town named Wymondham, six miles from Norwich; which said good lady, in Queen Mary's days, being judged by the common people to be more than a hundred years of age, and by her own estimation well toward a hundred, kept herself from their popish church, or having any papistical trash ministered in her house, but only the service that was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, which daily she had said before her, either by one Master Tollin, who was then by God's providence preserved in her house, or else by one of her gentlewomen or household servants, that could serve the place in the said Master Tollin's absence.

Now this worshipful lady continuing in this manner of true serving of God, she and her family were many times threatened by messengers, that the bishop would visit her there-for. Unto which messengers she would always answer, that if his Lordship sent word before what day he would come, he should thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whose providence ruleth the raging seas, never suffered them all that toiling time to molest her: although oftentimes, when she had service before her, there were very great enemies to the truth, and of much authority, that came in, and kneeled to prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her there-for.

This good lady, gentle reader, kept good hospitality, as any in that country, of her living. She also succoured many persecuted, that came to her house in the said Queen Mary's days. Were they never so simple, they were esteemed of her as the friends of the gospel, and departed not from her without money and meat. Born she was long before King Edward the Fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord Jesus's peace, about the beginning

of the second year of our most sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth's reign, as one in blessed peace, falling into a most sweet sleep. Unto whom not unworthily may be compared the Lady Elizabeth Vane, who likewise, being a great harbourer and supporter of the afflicted martyrs and confessors of Christ, was in great hazards and dangers of the enemies, and yet notwithstanding, through the merciful providence of the Lord, remained still untouched. But of this Lady Vane thou hast read before.

John Davis, a child under twelve years of age.

Anno Domini 1546, and the last year of King Henry the Eighth, John Davis, a child of twelve years and under, who, dwelling in the house of Master Johnson, apothecary, in the town of Worcester, his uncle, (using sometimes to read of the Testament and other good English books,) was complained of by Alice Johnson his mistress; which Alice, being an obstinate person, consulted with one Thomas Parton, and one Alice, wife to Nicholas Brooke, organ-maker, with certain of the canons, and Master Johnson, chancellor to Dr. Heath, their bishop. The means whereby he was entrapped were wrought by the foresaid Alice Brooke, who procured Oliver her son, school-fellow with the said John Davis, to feign friendship with him, and, under pretence to be instructed, to see his English books, and especially to get something of his writing against the Six Articles; which being had, was soon brought to the canons of the church, and the chancellor. Whereupon Thomas Parton, whether being sent, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his uncle was forced, against his will, to bind the poor boy's arms behind him; and so he was brought to the officers of the town, where he lay from the fourteenth of August till the last of September. Then was he commanded to the freeman's prison, where one Richard Hawborough, coming to persuade him from burning, willed him to prove first with a candle; who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it, a good space, yet (as the party himself to me assureth) felt no burning thereof; neither would the other that held the candle believe him a great while, till he had looked, and saw no scorching of the candle at all appeared.

Then was the child removed from thence to an inner prison, called Peephole, where the low bailiff, called Robert Yould, laid upon him a pair of bolts, so that he could not lift up his small legs, but leaning on a staff, slipt them forward upon the ground; the coldness of which irons he feeleth yet in his ancles, and shall so long as he liveth: with these bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of straw nor cloth to cover him, save



only two sheepskins; neither durst father or mother, or any of his friends, come at him. Besides this, and many great

threats of the papists, there was a mad-man put to him in the prison, with a knife about him, wherewith he oftentimes, in his frantic rage, proffered to thrust him in.

After this came to him one Joyliff and N. Yewer, two canons, which had his writings against the Six Articles, and his ballad, called, "Come down, for all your shaven crown," to see whether he would stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after sat Master Johnson, the chancellor, in the Guildhall, upon the poor lad; where first were brought in his accusers, and sworn. Then were sworn also twenty-four men which went on his quest, and found him guilty; but he never came before the chancellor. Upon this he was sent to the common gaol among thieves and murderers, there to tarry the coming of the judges, and so to be had straight to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the de-

solate and miserable when all other help is past, so provided for this silly condemned lad, that the purpose of all his hard-hearted enemies was disappointed; for before the judges came, God took away Henry the Eighth out of this life, by reason whereof the force of the law was then stayed. Howbeit he was nevertheless arraigned, being holden up in a man's arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven; who, when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped; but Master John Bourne, esquire, declared to the judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in prison, he had him home to his house, his wife anointed his legs herself with ointment, which then were stiff and numbed with irons, till at length, when Master Bourne and his wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their sacrament, they put him away, lest he should infect their son Anthony, as they thought, with heresy.

Thus John Davis, of the age aforesaid, in what damage he was for the gospel ye see, and how the Lord preserved him ye understand. He endured in prison from the fourteenth day of August, till within seven days of Easter; who is yet alive, and a profitable minister this day in the church of England: blessed be the Lord.

Mistress Roberts, of Hawkhurst, in Kent.

Furthermore, to both these may be also associate another gentlewoman, to make the third, named Mrs. Roberts, yet living and dwelling (as I understand) in the town of Hawkhurst, in Kent. She, being earnestly addicted to the truth of Christ's gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, so kept herself during all the brunt of Queen Mary's time, that she never came to their popish service, nor would pollute her conscience with hearing their idolatrous mass. There dwelt the same time not far off a justice, called Sir John Guildford, who, being as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of Queen Mary, thought to prove masteries with this gentlewoman, in forcing her into the church. And first, sending his wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle persuasions to conform herself to the prince's laws, and to come, as other Christian people did, to the church. Notwithstanding she, constantly persisting in the sincerity of the truth, would by no persuasions be won to do therein against her conscience; and so kept at home a certain space, till again, the second time, Master Guildford, thinking not to give her over so, sent his officers and servants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her house to the church; and so did: where, by the way, she for grief of conscience swooned, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time dispensed withal.

The third time, yet the unquiet spirit of Master Guildford being not content, after the time that she recovered health again, he would needs come in his own person to compel her, will'd she, nill'd she, to the church. But, as the proverb goeth, "Who can let that, God would have done?" for when Master Guildford had purposed as pleased him, the Lord so disposed for his servant, that as the said Master Guildford was coming up the stairs toward her chamber, suddenly his old disease the gout so took him, and terribly tormented him, that he could go no further. And so he, that purposed to carry her to the church against her will, was fain himself to be carried home to his house to his pain; protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more; and no more he did.

Mistress Anne Lacy, a widow in Nottinghamshire.

In this number of good gentlewomen being in trouble and danger for God's word, is not to be omitted the memory of one Mistress Anne Lacy, widow in Nottinghamshire, who was in great danger in Queen Mary's time, insomuch that the process

was forth against her, and she ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other books in a dunghill. Master Lacy her brother was then justice of peace; but to whom (as I have heard) she was but smally beholden. Nevertheless, where kindred faileth, yet God's grace never faileth such as stick to him; for in this mean time, as the process came out against her, Queen Mary died, and so she escaped.

Crossman's wife, of Tibenham, in Norfolk.

One Crossman's wife, of Tibenham Long Row in Norfolk, in Queen Mary's time, for not going to church, was sought for at her house by one Barber of the said town, then constable of the hundred, who when he came to her house, she, being at home, with a child sucking in her arms, stepped into a corner on the one side of the chimney; and they seeking the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there: and so by this means the Lord preserved her.

The congregation at Stoke, in Suffolk.

There were some likewise which avoided the violent rage of the adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual concord in godliness, wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado, none well could be troubled: whereof we have example in a certain town of Suffolk called Stoke. After the three sharp years of Queen Mary's persecution being past, yet, notwithstanding, the inhabitants of the town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their church to receive, after the popish manner, the sacrament; who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped imprisonment, but because there were so many, the papists thought it best not to lay hands upon them: only they appointed them sixteen days' respite after Easter, wherein as many as would, should receive the sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chiefest doers were these: Eve, an old woman of sixty years; Alice Coker, her daughter; Elizabeth Foxe, Agnes Cutting, Alice Spencer, Henry Cauker, Joan Fouke, Agnes Spaulding, John Steyre and his brother, and John Foxe, confessors.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took advisement among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet some of them afterward, being persuaded with fair promises that the communion should be ministered unto them according to King

Edward's book, gat them unto the parish priest, (whose name was Cotes,) and asked him after which sort he would minister the sacrament. He answered to such as he favoured, that he would give it after the right sort; the rest should have it after the papistical order.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only John Steyre and John Foxe; of whom the one gave his wife leave to do as she thought best, the other went about with threats to compel his wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they did withdraw themselves from church, resorting to their wonted company. Only Foxe's wife tarried still at home, all in her dumps and heaviness, whose husband practised with the curate in the mean time, that, the next day after, he should give her the sacrament, which was the seventeenth day after Easter. But the very same day, unknown unto her husband, she gat herself secretly to her company, and with tears declared how violently her husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of a good cheer, and said, that they would make their earnest prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her husband. And indeed, when they had so done, the matter took very good success; for the next day after, goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own headiness and rashness, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more strong in faith, to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the bishop of Norwich sendeth forth certain of his officers or apparitors thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they should appear before the commissary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women, having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way for the nonce, to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore, when they were not at the church at the day appointed, the commissary did first suspend them, according to the bishop of Rome's law, and within three weeks after, did excommunicate them. Therefore, when they perceived that an officer of the town was set to take some of them, they, conveying themselves privily out of the town, escaped all danger.

The preservation of the congregation at London.

No less marvellous was the preservation of the congregation in London, which from the first beginning of Queen Mary, to the latter end thereof,

continued, notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, device, searching, and inquisition of men, or strictness of laws, could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, ever working with his people. Of this great bountiful goodness of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which now I speak of. How oft, and in what great danger, did he deliver them!

First, at the Black-friars, when they should have resorted to Sir Thomas Carden's house, privy watch was laid for them; but yet, through the Lord's vigilant providence, the mischief was prevented, and they delivered.

Again, how narrowly did they escape about Aldgate, where spies were laid for them; and had not Thomas Simson the deacon espied them, and bid them disperse themselves away, they had been taken. For within two hours the constable, coming to the house after they were gone, demanded of the wife, what company had been there. To whom she, to excuse the matter, made answer again, saying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfast, as they went a Maying.

Another time also, about the great Conduit, they, passing there through a very strait alley into a cloth-worker's loft, were espied, and the sheriffs sent for: but before they came, they, having privy knowledge thereof, immediately shifted away out of the alley, John Avaes standing alone in the mercer's chapel staring at them.

. Another like escape they made in a ship at Billingsgate, belonging to a certain good man of Leigh, where in the open sight of the people they were congregated together, and yet, through God's mighty power, escaped.

Betwixt Ratcliffe and Rotherhithe, in a ship called Jesus ship, twice or thrice they assembled, having there closely, after their accustomed manner, both sermon, prayer, and communion; and yet, through the protection of the Lord, they returned, although not unespied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a cooper's house in Pudding Lane, so near they were to perils and dangers, hat John Avaes, coming into the house where they were, talked with the goodman of the house, and after he had asked a question or two, departed; God so working, that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

But they never escaped more hardly, than once in Thames Street in the night time, where the house being beset with enemies, yet, as the Lord would, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that present in the same company, and seeing no other way to avoid, plucked off his slops

and swam to the next boat, and so rowed the company over, using his shoes instead of oars; and so the jeopardy was despatched.

I have heard of one, who being sent to them to take their names, and to espy their doings, yet, in being amongst them, was converted, and cried them all mercy.

What should I speak of the extreme and present danger which that godly company was in at the taking of Master Rough their minister, and Cutbert Symson their deacon, had not the Lord's providence given knowledge before to Master Rough in his sleep, that Cutbert Symson should leave behind him at home the book of all their names, which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were sometimes forty, sometimes a hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometimes more and sometimes less. About the latter time of Queen Mary it greatly increased. From the first beginning, which was about the first entry at Queen Mary's reign, they had divers ministers; first Master Scamler, then Thomas Foule, after him Master Rough, then Master Augustine Bernher, and last Master Bentham; concerning the deliverance of which Master Bentham, (being now bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,) God's mighty providence most notably is to be considered. For how is it possible, by man's estimation, for the said Master Bentham to have escaped, had not the present power of the Lord, passing all men's expectation, been pressed and ready to help his servant in such a strait! The story and case is this:

At what time the seven last burnt in Smithfield, mentioned in this book before, were condemned and brought to the stake to suffer, came down in the name of the king and queen a proclamation, being twice pronounced openly to the people, (first at Newgate, then at the stake where they should suffer,) straitly charging and commanding, that no man should either pray for them, or speak to them, or once say, God help them.

It was appointed before, of the godly there standing together, which was a great multitude, that so soon as the prisoners should be brought, they should go to them to embrace and to comfort them; and so they did. For as the said martyrs were coming towards the place in the people's sight, being brought with bills and glaves, (as the custom is,) the godly multitude and congregation with a general sway made toward the prisoners, in such manner that the bill-men and the other officers, being all thrust back, could nothing do, nor any thing come nigh. So the godly people meeting, and embracing and kissing them, brought them in their arms (which

might as easily have conveyed them clean away) unto the place where they should suffer.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation with a loud voice was read to the people, containing (as is before said) in the king and queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or once speak a word unto them, &c. Master Bentham, the minister then of the congregation, not sparing for that, but as zeal and Christian charity moved him, and seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes to the people, cried and said, "We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them:" and so boldly he said, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!" With that all the people, with a whole consent and one voice, followed and said, "Amen, Amen!" The noise whereof was so great, and the cries thereof so many, that the officers could not tell what to say, or whom to accuse. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful assembling together at London, in the time of Queen Mary.

The said Master Bentham another time, as he passed through St. Katharine's, intending to walk and take the air abroad, was enforced by two or three men, approaching upon him, needs to go with them to a place whither they would lead him. Master Bentham, astonished at the suddenness of the matter, and marvelling what the thing should be, required what their purpose was, or whither they would have him. They answered, that by the occasion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's quest was called, and charged to sit upon him, of the which quest he must of necessity be one, &c. He again, loth to meddle in the matter, excused himself, alleging that in such kind of matters he had no skill, and less experience: if it would please them to let him go, they should meet with others more meet for their purpose. But when with this they would not be satisfied, he alleged further, that he was a scholar of Oxford, and thereby was privileged from being of any inquest. The coroner demanded the sight of his privilege. He said, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then said the coroner, the queen must be served without all delay; and so constrained him notwithstanding to be with them in hearing the matter.

Being brought to the house where the coroner and the rest of the quest were sitting, as the manner is, a book was offered to him to swear upon. Master Bentham, opening the book, and seeing it was a papistical primer, refused to swear thereupon, and declared moreover what superstition in that book was contained. "What!" said the coroner; "I think we shall have here a heretic among us." And

upon that, after much reasoning amongst them, he was committed to the custody of an officer, till further examination : by occasion whereof, to all men's reason, hard it had been and inevitable for Master Bentham to have escaped, had not the Lord helped, where man was not able. What followed? Incontinent as they were thus contending and debating about matters of heresy, suddenly cometh the coroner of the admiralty, disannulling and repealing the order and calling of that inquest, for that it was (as he said) pertaining to his office ; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And so the first coroner was discharged and displaced ; by reason whereof Master Bentham escaped their hands, having no more said unto him.

Englishmen preserved at the taking of Calais.

The worthy works of the Lord's mercy toward his people be manifold, and cannot be comprehended, so that who is he living in the earth almost, who hath not experienced the helping hand of the Lord at some time or other upon him? Amongst many others, what a piece of God's tender providence was showed of late upon our English brethren and countrymen, what time Calais was taken by the tyrant Guise, a cruel enemy both to God's truth and our English nation ! and yet, by the gracious provision of the Lord, few, or none at all, of so many that favoured Christ and his gospel, in that terrible spoil, miscarried. In the number of whom there was a godly couple, one John Thorp and his wife, which feared the Lord, and loved his truth, who, being sick the same time, and cast out in the wild fields, harbourless, desolate, and despairing of all hope of life, having their young infant moreover taken from them in the said fields, and carried away of the soldiers ; yet the Lord so wrought, that the poor woman, being almost past recovery of life, was set and carried the space well nigh of a mile, by strangers whom they never knew, into a village, where both she was recovered for that night, and also the next day, coming toward England, they chanced into the same inn at the next town, where they found their young child sitting by the fire-side.

Edward Benet.

One Edward Benet, about the second year of the reign of Queen Mary, then dwelling at Queenhithe with one Grynocke a baker, was desired of one Tingle, prisoner then in Newgate, to bring him a New Testament. He, procuring one of Master Coverdale's translation, wrapped it in a handkerchief, saying to George the keeper, which asked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdered beef. "Let me

see it," said he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to Sir Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did so, saying that book was not lawful ; and so committed him to the Compter in Wood Street, where he continued twenty-five weeks.

Dr. Story coming to the prison to examine other prisoners, this Benet, looking out at the grate, spake to him, desiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out ; for he had lien long in prison. To whom Dr. Story then answering : "What !" said he, "wast thou not before me, in Christ's Church?" "Yes, forsooth," said Benet. "Ah," said Story, "thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar ! Marry, I will help thee out. Come," said he to the keeper, "turn him out, I will help him : " and so took Benet with him, and brought him to Cluncy in Paternoster Row, and bade him bring him to the coal-house, and there he was in the stocks a week.

Then the bishop sent for him to talk with him, and first asked him if he were shriven? "No," said Benet. He asked him if he would be shriven? "No," said he. Then he asked him if the priest could take away his sins? "No," said Benet, "I do not so believe." Then he and Harpsfield laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatsoever the priest here bound in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth in earth, should be loosed in heaven. "No," quoth Benet, "but I believe that the minister of God, preaching God's word truly, and ministering the sacraments according to the same, whatsoever he bindeth in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth," &c. Then the bishop, putting him aside, said, he should go to Fulham and be whipped.

Then came to him Master Buswell a priest, lying in the coal-house, in the stocks, and brought Cranmer's recantation, saying that he had recanted. "My faith," saith the other, "lieth in no man's book, but in him which hath redeemed me." The next Saturday, Benet, with five others, was called for to come to mass in the chapel. The mass being done, and they coming out, five of them went to prison, and were after burnt. Benet being behind, and coming toward the gate, the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no prisoners there. "No," said they. Benet, standing in open sight before him, with other serving-men which were there, by reason that Bonner made many priests that day, (having one of his sleeves and half the forepart of his coat burnt off in the prison, being more like a prisoner than any of the others,) when the gates were opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped.

Again, in the last year of Queen Mary, the same Benet being taken again with the twenty-four beyond Islington, and brought to Sir Roger Cholmley's, the people coming very thick did cut off some of them, to the number of eight, which were behind, among whom was Benet. Then he knocking at the gate to come in, the porter said, that he was none of the company. He said, "Yes," and knocked again. Then there stood one by of the congregation, named Johnson, dwelling now at Hammersmith, which said, "Edward, thou hast done well, do not tempt God: go thy way." And so he, taking the warning as sent of God, with a quiet conscience eschewed burning.

Jeffery Hurst, brother-in-law to George Marsh the martyr.

In the town of Shakerley in Lancashire dwelled one Jeffery Hurst, the son of an honest yeoman, who had, besides him, eleven children, the said Jeffery being the twelfth and eldest of the rest: and for that their father was willing to bring them up, so that they should be able another day to help themselves, he did bind this Jeffery prentice unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and served out the time of seven years; the which years being expired, he gave himself at times to learn of his other brethren which went to school; and as he was very willing to the same, so God sent him knowledge, wherein he did persevere and go forwards in such sort, that he could write and read indifferently; and in longer continuance came by more knowledge; and so, having the Bible and divers other books in his house, did come by pretty knowledge in the Scripture. After this he took unto him a wife, being the sister of Master George Marsh, of whose martyrdom mention is made before; and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a little. Now when Queen Mary was entered the first year of her reign, he kept himself away from their doings and came not at the church; whereupon he was laid in wait for, and called heretic, and Lollard; and so, for fear of further danger, he was compelled to leave his wife and child, and all, and fled into Yorkshire; and there, being not known, did lead his life, returning sometimes by night to his house, to comfort his wife, and bringing with him some preacher or other, who used to preach unto them so long as the time would serve; and so departed by night again. The names of the preachers were Master Rencses, Master Best, Master Brodbanke, Master Russel: and every time they came thither they were about twenty, or twenty-four sometimes, but sixteen at least, who had there also sometimes

a communion. And thus in much fear did he with others lead his life, till the last year of the reign of Queen Mary. Then it chanced that the said Jeffery Hurst, after the death of his father, came home, and kept himself close for seven or eight weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at Morless, a certain justice of peace, and of the quorum, named Master Thomas Lelond, who, hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his father's house, where he then dwelt, to rifle the house for books, and to search for him also; and so did. Jeffery and his company, having knowledge of his coming, took the books which were in the house, as the Bible, the communion-book, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or vat, conveying also the said Jeffery under the same, with a great deal of straw underneath him; for, as it chanced, they had the more time, because that when the justice came almost to the door, he staid and would not enter the house till he had sent for Hurst's mother's landlady, Mistress Shakerley; and then, with her consent, intended to go forwards. In the mean time, Jeffery, by such as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Testament of Tyndale's translation, and a little book containing the third part of the Bible, with the book of Ecclesiasticus, to try what they would say unto them.

This done, Mistress Shakerley came; unto whom eftsoons the justice declared the cause of his coming, and how he was sorry to attempt any such thing against any of her tenants for her sake, but, notwithstanding, he must needs execute his office. "And again you must," said he, "note this, that a scabbed sheep is able to infect a great number; and especially having, as he hath, so many brethren and sisters, he is able to mar them all, if he be not looked unto in time." And thus concluding, Master Lelond entered into the house; and being come in, set himself in a chair in the middle of the house; and, sending Sir Ralph Parkinson his priest, and one of his men, and one of Mistress Shakerley's men, about the house, to search and rifle the chests for books, (which so did,) in the mean time he talked with Hurst's mother, being of the age almost of sixty years: and chiding with her that she would suffer her son so to order and behave himself like a heretic, said, "Thou old fool, I know myself that this new learning shall come again; but for how long?—even for three months or four months, and no longer. But I will lay thee, old fool, in Lancaster dungeon, for this gear; and well worthy."

Now as concerning the searchers, they found nothing but Latin books, as grammar, and such

like. "These be not they that we look for," said they, "we must see further:" and so looked into Hurst's chamber, where they found the foresaid books. Then Sir Ralph, taking up the Testament, looked on it, and smiled. His master seeing that, said, "Now, Sir Ralph, what have we here?" "Forsooth," saith he, "a Testament of Tyndale's translation, plain heresy, and none worse than it." "Then are all their goods," saith he, "lost to the queen, and their bodies to prison:" and was wonderfully hasty; notwithstanding, through Mistress Shakerley, for a space, he was content to see farther.

Then the priest looked on the other book: "What say ye to that, Sir Ralph; is that as evil as the other?" "No," said he, "but it is not good that they should have such English books to look on; for this and such others may do much harm." Then he asked his mother where her eldest son was, and her daughter Alice. She answered, she could not tell: they were not with her of long time before. And he swore by God's body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaster dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithstanding too. To be short, for fear, he had his brother John Hurst and his mother bound in a hundred pounds, to bring the parties before him within fourteen days. And so departed he; and the priest put both the books in his bosom, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurst went after them, desiring that he might have the book which the priest found no fault with: but he said, they should answer to them both; and whichsoever was the better, was not good.

As this passed on, when the time was come that Jeffrey Hurst and his sister should be examined, the justice sent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a mass to begin withal, asking Jeffrey Hurst if he would first go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom when Jeffery answered and said; "Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and I am assured in going to your mass I shall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excused." "Well, well," said he, "I perceive I shall find you a heretic, by God! But I will go to mass, and I will not lose it, for all your prattling."

Then into his chapel he went; and when mass was done, he sent for them, and caused his priest to read a scroll unto them, as concerning the seven sacraments. And ever as he spake of the body and blood of Christ, he put off his cap, and said, "Lo! ye may see, you will deny these things, and care not for your prince; but you shall feel it ere I have done with you, and all the faculty of you:" with other talk more between them, I know not

what. But in the end they were licensed to depart under sureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then go to Lancaster. Howbeit, in the mean while it so pleased God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noised that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after, the said Jeffery Hurst had his two books sent home, and nothing was said unto him.

It followed after this, that God's word began to take place, and the queen's visitors came down into that country, who did choose four men in the parish, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffery Hurst, Henry Brown, George Eccersly, which four were protestants, to see the queen's proceedings to take place; who, according to their power, did the same. Notwithstanding it did little prevail; and therefore the said Jeffery, being sore grieved with the office, fell sick; in which sickness it pleased God to call him, making a very godly end—God have the praise for it!

Now to return to the foresaid Thomas Lelond again, he, continuing in his office still, did very few times come to the church, but said he was aged, and might not labour: and there kept with him Sir Ralph Parkinson his priest, which could (as it was said) minister the communion unto the people, and sing mass unto his master: yes, and (as fame reported) did a prettier feat than all that; for he begat two children by a servant in a house, his master knowing it, and saying nothing, for that he would not lose his good mass-priest.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same Justice Lelond's behaviour at service-time, that he had a little dog which he would play with all service-time, and the same dog had a collar full of bells, so that the noise of them did molest and trouble others, as well as himself, from hearing the service. Also, in the same justice it was noted and observed, that as he sat in his chapel at service-time, his manner was on a willow bark to knit knots, for that he could not be suffered to have his beads, and to put the same upon a string also.—Witness hereof Edward Hurst, with others.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Brown, one of the four chosen men above mentioned, this is also to be added, that the said Henry Brown, dwelling in the town of Pennington in the same parish, A. D. 1564, had a little boy, who, as he was playing in the town, one Glave's wife gave unto the boy a pair of beads made of wood, for him to play withal. The little boy, being glad thereof to have such a trim thing, went home and showed his father of them. His father, seeing the beads, took them and burnt them; and when he had so done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little boy that pair of beads.

"That did I," said Glave's wife. "Well," said he, "I have burnt them." "Hast thou so?" said she, and thrust him from her. "They shall be the dearest beads that ever thou sawest;" and incontinent went and complained unto the said justice, how Brown had burnt her beads.

This matter the justice took sore to snuff, and was very angry, and did direct his letter unto the constables of the same town, by his own hand subscribed; the title of which superscription on the back side was this; "To the Constables of Pennington give this."

This done, the constables, according to this their charge, did bring him afore the justice at the time appointed; and when the justice came to talk with him, he was in such a heat, that he called him "thief;" and said, that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her beads, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purse; "wherefore," said he, "I will lay thee in Lancaster dungeon for this gear."

Whilst they were thus talking, there came all his servants about them from their work, saying, "Is this Master Dr. Brown, that will burn beads? I pray you, sir, let us have him here and preach." "I will give you a quarter's wages," saith one: "and I will give money," said another: "and he shall be Master Doctor;" with much derision and scoffing at this poor man.

He, hearing this, spake again boldly, and said; "Did you send for me to make a laughing-stock of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to the church, and see such papistry abolished yourself, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but, I tell you plainly, that you do not come to church as you ought to do, and therefore (with more things that I have to charge you withal) I say, you do not well." When all this misdemeanour of the justice laid to his charge would not prevail, and also witness came in of the papists, which did know the beads, and testified that they were plain, and cost but a halfpenny, he then went into his parlour in a chafe, and one Master Exberston a papist with him; which Exberston turned back, and said, "Is it you, Henry Brown, that keepeth this stir? You are one of them that pulled down crosses in the church, and pulled down the rood-sollor, and all the saints; you were best now to go paint a black devil, and set him up and worship him, for that will serve well for your religion." And thus, under suretiship, he did depart till July following, and then he said he should go to Lancaster prison; and so came he away.

The time drew on that he should appear, but God

stayed the matter, and in July, as the foresaid Thomas Lelond sat in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down suddenly dead, not much moving any joint. And thus was his end: from such God us defend!

Examination of William Wood of Kent.

The examination of William Wood, baker, dwelling in the parish of Strood, in the county of Kent, before Dr. Kenall chancellor of the diocess of Rochester, Dr. Chedsey, the mayor of Rochester, and Master Robinson the scribe, the nineteenth day of October, and in the second year of Queen Mary, in St. Nicholas' church in Rochester.

Robinson.—"William Wood! you are presented, because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you? have you received, or have you not?"

Wood.—"I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now minister it."

Kenall.—"Thou heretic! what is the cause that thou hast not received the blessed sacrament of the altar?" And at this word all they put off their caps, and made low obeisance.

Wood.—"There be three causes that make my conscience afraid, that I dare not receive it. The first; Christ did deliver it to his twelve apostles, and said, Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c.; and ye eat and drink up all alone. The second cause is, you hold it to be worshipped, contrary to God's commandment, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship. The third cause is, you minister it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, I had rather have five words with understanding, than ten thousand with tongues: by reason whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Christ."

Kenall.—"Thou heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than these: Take, eat, this is my body? Wilt thou deny the Scripture?"

Wood.—"I will not deny the Holy Scriptures, God forbid! but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul saith, God calleth those things that are not, as though they were: and Christ saith, I am a vine, I am a door. St. Paul saith, The rock is Christ: all which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood."

Robinson.—"You make a very long tale of this matter: learn, Wood, learn."

Kenall.—"Nay, these heretics will not learn: look how this heretic glorieth in himself. Thou fool! art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?"

Wood.—"And please you, Master Chancellor, I think you would be loth to have such glory, to

have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me : but the servant is not greater than his Master. And whereas you do mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul saith, The wisdom of the wise of this world, is foolishness before God ; and he that will be wise in this world, shall be accounted but a fool."

Kenall.—"Dost not thou believe that after these words spoken by a priest, This is my body, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hang upon the cross?"

Wood.—"I pray you, Master Chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to ask you one question, and I will answer you after."

Kenall.—"It is some wise question, I warrant you."

Wood.—"God spake to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, Thou son of man, take a razor, and shave off the hair of thy head and of thy beard. And take one part, and cast into the air ; take the second part, and put it into thy coat-lap ; and take the third part, and cast it into the fire : and this is Jerusalem. I pray you, Master Chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did cast into the fire, or was it Jerusalem?"

Kenall.—"No ; it did signify Jerusalem."

Wood.—"Even so in this word of Christ, This is my body, is not to be understood, that Christ's carnal, natural, and real body is in the same, in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he was crucified upon the cross, is present or enclosed in the sacrament : but it doth signify Christ's body, as St. Paul saith, So oft as ye do eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death till he come. What should the apostle mean by this word, till he come, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the cross, as you say ? But St. Paul saith, You shall show the Lord's death till he come. This doth argue, that he is not here, as you would have us to believe."

Chedsey.—"I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread : but not in quantity and quality."

Dr. Kenall said, "Yes, he is present in quantity and quality."

Chedsey.—"He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality."

"Yes !" said Kenall.

"No !" said Chedsey.

"I will prove him here in quantity and quality !" said Kenall.

"I will prove the contrary," said Chedsey.

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging so sore one at the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to spit in another's face ; so that in great fury and rage the two doctors rose up from the judgment-seat, and Dr. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood.—"Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament ; and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves, how he is there !"

At these words the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up, and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadducees, did even so deliver me at that time out of the mouths of the bloody papists, by the means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, which hath promised to lay no more upon his, than he will make them able to bear, and in the midst of temptation he can make way for his (how, and when it pleaseth him) to escape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elect saints and children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, some by one means, some by another. What a notable work of God's mighty hand was seen in Simon Grinæus, mentioned in the commentary of Melancthon upon Daniel ; who, having a sudden warning by a certain old man, who was not seen after, nor known then of any what he was, avoided the peril of taking and burning, as by the relation of Melancthon, writing and witnessing the same, may appear in the words of his own story here following.

"When I was, saith he, at the assembly holden at Spire, in the year of our Lord 1539, by chance Simon Grinæus came thither unto me from the university of Heidelberg, where he heard Faber, the bishop of Vienna, in a sermon, defend and maintain certain detestable errors. When the sermon was done, he followed Faber going out of the church, and saluted him reverently, declaring unto him that he was moved of a goodly zeal and intent, somewhat to say unto him. Faber was contented to talk with him.

"Then Grinæus said unto him, that he was very

sorry that a man of such learning and authority should openly maintain such errors as were both contumelious against God, and also might be refuted by the manifest testimonies of the Scriptures. 'Irenæus writeth,' said he, 'that Polycarp was wont to stop his ears, whensoever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would Polycarp have heard you argue and reason what it is that the mouse eateth, when he gnaweth the consecrated host? Who would not bewail such ignorance and blindness of the church?' With this Faber brake off his talk, as he was about to say more, and asked his name. This man, dissembling nothing, gently told him that his name was Grinæus.

"This Faber, as many well know, was also timorous and fearful in the company of learned men. Wherefore he, fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of Grinæus, specially in such a matter as this was, feigned as though he had been sent for by the king, and that he had no leisure now to reason upon this matter. He pretended that he was very desirous of acquaintance and longer talk with Grinæus, entreating him, that both for his own private cause, and also for the commonwealth, he would come again the next day unto him; and so showed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he should come. Grinæus, thinking that he had spoken unfeignedly, promised so to do.

"When he was departed from Faber, he came straightway unto us, and was scarcely set at the table, (for it was supper time,) reciting a part of his talk with Faber unto me and others there present, when I, sitting with my company, was suddenly called out of the parlour by a certain ancient fatherly man, who, showing a singular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, spake unto me, and said, that the sergeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being sent by the king's commandment, to carry Grinæus to prison, whom Faber had accused to the king: commanding that Grinæus should straightways depart out of the town; and exhorted me, that we should in no case delay the time. And so, bidding me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could I understand. I, returning again unto my company, bade them rise, and told them what the old man had said unto me.

"By and by, we, taking Grinæus in the midst of us, carried him through the street to the river Rhine, where after we had staid upon the hither bank awhile, until Grinæus with his companion were carried over in a small boat, returning again to our lodging, we understood that the sergeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of

the house. Now in what great danger Grinæus should have been, if he had been carried to prison by this cruelty of Faber, every man easily may conjecture: wherefore we judged, that that most cruel intent and purpose of him, was disappointed by God's merciful providence. And as I cannot say what old man it was, that gave me that warning, even so likewise the sergeants made such quick speed, that except Grinæus had been covered and defended by the angels, through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have escaped.

"Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good men yet alive, which know both the same, and also were present at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, which hath given us his angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfil and do the office of our vocation."

With such-like examples of God's mighty and merciful custody, the church of Christ in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences may appear, as well among the Germans, as also in other places and ages; but in no place more, nor in any time more plentiful, than in this persecuting time of Queen Mary, in this our realm of England, as partly hath been already historied, and part yet remaineth, (the Lord willing,) moreover, hereunto to be added.

The Lady Katharine, duchess of Suffolk.

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, surmising the Lady Katharine, baroness of Willoughby and Eresby, and duchess dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, devised, in the holy time of the first Lent in Queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, first touching her in the person of her husband, Master Richard Bertie, esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great seal at his devotion) to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter commanding most straitly the same sheriff to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London, to his great Lordship. Master Bertie her husband, being clear in conscience, and free from offence toward the queen, could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the process pretended.

The sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take the bond of Master Bertie, with two sureties in a thousand pounds, for his appearance to be made before the bishop on Good Friday following, at which day Master Bertie appeared, the bishop then lying at his house by St.

Mary Overy's. Of whose presence when the bishop understood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallery into his dining-chamber, where he found a press of suitors, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Master Berty, how he, being a subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the queen.

Master Berty answered, that albeit my Lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp toward him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he, before, thought it extremity to be attached, having used no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my Lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary process; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

"Yea marry," quoth the bishop, "I have sent you two subpoenas, to appear immediately: and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to Master Solicitor. And I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire, for your obstinacy!"

Master Berty, denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof; and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

"Well," quoth the bishop, "I have appointed myself this day (according to the holiness of the same) for devotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enjoin you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at seven of the clock."

Master Berty well observed the hour, and no jot failed; at which time the bishop had with him Master Sergeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain questions of the said Master Berty, because Master Sergeant was towards the Lord Wriothesley, late earl of Southampton and chancellor of England, with whom the said Master Berty was brought up. Master Sergeant made very friendly report of Master Berty, of his own knowledge, for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon the bishop caused Master Berty to be brought in, and first making a false train (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrel of religion, he assaulted him in this manner:

"The queen's pleasure is," quoth the bishop, "that you shall make present payment of four thousand pounds, due to her father by Duke Charles, late husband to the duchess your wife, whose executor she was."

"Pleaseth it your Lordship," quoth Master Berty, "that debt is estalled, and is according to that estallment truly answered."

"Tush!" quoth the bishop, "the queen will not be bound to estallments in the time of Kett's government: for so I esteem the late government."

"The estallment," quoth Master Berty, "was appointed by King Henry the Eighth: besides, the same was by special commissioners confirmed in King Edward's time; and the lord treasurer, being an executor also to the Duke Charles solely and wholly, took upon him, before the said commissioners, to discharge the same."

"If it be true that you say," quoth the bishop, "I will show you favour. But of another thing, Master Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion; yet I hardly can think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly and catholic as any within this land; yourself brought up with a master, whose education if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you. But, I pray you, if I may ask the question of my Lady your wife, is she now as ready to set up the mass, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused in her progress, a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by my name? or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, which said to me, when I veiled my bonnet to her out of my chamber-window in the Tower, that it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my Lord her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves. My Lady your wife, taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her to take himself, said, that forasmuch as she could not sit down with my Lord whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst."

"Of the device of the dog," quoth Master Berty, "she was neither the author, nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your Lordship, yet if it would please you without offence to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching setting up of mass, which she learned not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent learned men, but by universal consent and order whole six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ show herself a false Christian, and to her prince a masking subject. You know, my Lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thousand transformed temporizers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation, where salvation is pretended."

"Yea marry," quoth the bishop, "that deliberation would do well, if she were required to come from an old religion to a new. But now, she is to return from a new to an ancient religion: wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any."

"For that, my Lord," said Master Berty, "not long since, she answered a friend of hers, using your Lordship's speech, that religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment."

"I pray you," quoth the bishop, "think you it possible to persuade her?"

"Yeaverily," said Master Berty, "with the truth: for she is reasonable enough."

The bishop thereunto replying, said, "It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the queen, and my Lady your wife; and one of them gone from the faith."

Master Berty answered, that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the bishop persuaded Master Berty to travail earnestly for the reformation of her opinion; and, offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

The duchess and her husband, daily more and more by their friends understanding that the bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised ways how, by the queen's licence, they might pass the seas. Master Berty had a ready mean; for there rested great sums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whose executors the duchess was) beyond the seas, the emperor himself being one of those debtors. Master Berty communicated this his purposed suit for licence to pass the seas, and the cause, to the bishop, adding, that he took this time most meet to deal with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his son.

"I like your device well," quoth the bishop; "but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father."

"Nay," quoth Master Berty, "under your Lordship's correction and pardon of so liberal speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient: for when the marriage is consummate, the emperor hath his desire; but, till then, he will refuse nothing, to win credit with us."

"By St. Mary," quoth the bishop, smilingly, "you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand."

Master Berty found so good success, that he in few days obtained the queen's licence, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and repass them so often as to him seemed good, till he had finished all his business and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at Dover about the beginning of June, in the first year of her reign, leaving the duchess behind, who, by agreement and consent betwixt her and her husband, following, taking barge at Lion Quay, very early in the morning, on the first day of January next ensuing, not without some peril.

There were none of those that went with her made privy to her going till the instant, but an old gentleman, called Master Robert Cranwell, whom Master Berty had specially provided for that purpose. She took with her her daughter, (an infant of one year,) and the meanest of her servants, for she doubted the best would not venture that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of horses, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool; one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman, and a laundress.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson a herald, keeper of her house, hearing noise about the house, rose, and came out with a torch in his hands as she was yet issuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk in the same gatehouse, commanding all her servants to speed them away before, to Lion Quay. And taking with her only the two women and her child, so soon as she was forth of her own house, perceiving the herald to follow, stepped in at Charter-house hard by. The herald, coming out of the duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting) that she was departed, returned in; and while he stayed ransacking parcels left in the mail, the duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded in her journey, she knowing the place only by name, where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewise her servants having divided themselves, none but one knew the way to the said quay.

So she apparelled like a mean merchant's wife, and the rest like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown. She took the way that led to Finsbury Field, and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moorgate, from whence they passed directly to Lion Quay, and there took barge in a morning so misty, that the steerman was loth to



launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure; and some of them

came forthwith to her house, to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order devised for search and watch to apprehend and stay her.

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchess, naming her Mistress White, the daughter of Master Gosling; for such a daughter he had, which never was in that country. There she reposed her, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh, (where she was again almost bewrayed,) yet, notwithstanding, by God's good working she

escaped that hazard. At length, as the tide and wind did serve, they went aboard, and being carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and, at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet having examined one of her company that was a-land, and finding, by the simplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be a-shipboard, he ceased any further search.

To be short, so soon as the duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with hooks; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town therein called Santon, took a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place, where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesell, under the said duke of Cleve's dominion, and one of the Hans towns, privileged with the company of the Steelyard in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy

in England at the duchess's hands. Master Berty, being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his abode and his wife's at Wesell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to show them pleasure, while this protection was in seeking.

In the mean while, at the town of Santon was a muttering that the duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth; and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the bishop of Arras also being dean of the great minster, order was taken, that the duchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion upon the sudden. Which practice discovered by a gentleman of that country to Master Berty, he without delay, taking no more than the duchess, her daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more but to take the air, about three of the clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring of horse or waggon for fear of disclosing his purpose, meant to get privily that night to Wesell, leaving his other family still at Santon.

After the duchess and he were one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice, before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the weariness of those new lacqueys. But, being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants (which only went with them) to villages as they passed, to hire some car for their ease, but none could be hired. In the mean time Master Berty was forced to carry the child, and the duchess his cloak and rapier. At last, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the dark night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and some repose after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn offering large money for small lodging, they were refused of all the innholders, suspecting Master Berty to be a lance-knight, and the duchess to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pitifully; the mother wept as fast; the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour.

Master Berty, destitute of all other succour of hospitality, resolved to bring the duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals, and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Master Berty at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of evil weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak

English, French, Italian, or Latin; till at last going towards the church-porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the first upon the house where Master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock, the good man of the house himself came to the door, and opening it, asked Master Berty what he was. Master Berty said, "An Englishman, that sought for one Master Perusell's house." The Walloon willed Master Berty to stay a while, who went back, and told Master Perusell, that the same English gentleman, of whom they had talked the same supper, had sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon Master Perusell came to the door, and beholding Master Berty, the duchess, and their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heaviness, could not speak to them, nor they to him, for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, God knoweth full joyfully; Master Berty changing his apparel with the good man, the duchess with the good wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Within few days after, by Master Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town, and did not let to show themselves what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole town what discourtesy the innholders had showed unto them at their entry, insomuch as on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit openly, in sharp terms, rebuked that great incivility toward strangers, by allegation of sundry places out of Holy Scriptures, discoursing how not only princes sometimes are received in the image of private persons, but angels in the shape of men; and that God of his justice would make them strangers one day in another land, to have more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger.

The time thus passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watchword came from Sir John Mason, then Queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, that my Lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns to pass by Wesell, for the service of the house of Austria against the French king, the said duchess and her husband should be with the same charge and company intercepted. Wherefore, to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, Master Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Windsheim, in high Dutchland, under

the Palsgrave's dominion; where, under his protection, they continued till their necessities began to fail them, and they, almost fainting under so heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

At that time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly letters to them from the palatine of Wilna, and the king of Poland, (being instructed of their hard estate by a baron, named John Alasco, that was sometime in England,) offering them large courtesy. This provision unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy spirits; yet, considering they should remove from many their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, a country not haunted with the English, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey should be worse than the beginning; they devised thereupon with one Master Barlow, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So, finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king and palatine; and also with a few principal jewels, (which only they had left of many,) to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honourably by letters offered.

That suit, by the forwardness of the palatine, was as soon granted as uttered; upon which assurance the said duchess and her husband, with their family, entered the journey in April, 1557, from the castle of Windsheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort: in the which their journey, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reason of their landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a spaniel of Master Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar-spears through the waggon where the children and women were, Master Berty having but four horsemen with him. In the which brabble it happened the captain's horse to be slain under him.

Whereupon a rumour was sparsed immediately through towns and villages about, that the landgrave's captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which incensed the ire of the countrymen there more fiercely against Master Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to recover some town thereby for his rescue, he, so doing, was in worse case than before; for the townsmen and the captain's brother, supposing no less but that the captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he, (as God would,) spying a ladder

leaning to a window, by the same got up into the house, and so gone up into a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dagger and rapier defended himself for a space; but at length, the burgomaster coming thither with another magistrate which could speak Latin, he was counselled to submit himself to the order of the law. Master Berty, knowing himself clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magistrate would receive him under safe-conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, Master Berty putteth himself and his weapon into the magistrate's hand, and so was committed to safe custody, while the truth of his cause should be tried.

Then Master Berty, writing his letters to the landgrave, and to the earl of Erpach, the next day early in the morning the earl of Erpach, dwelling within eight miles, came to the town whither the duchess was brought with her waggon, Master Berty also being in the same town, under custody.

The earl, who had some intelligence of the duchess before, after he was come and had showed such courtesy as he thought to her estate was seemly, the townsmen perceiving the earl to behave himself so humbly unto her, began to consider more of the matter; and further, understanding the captain to be alive, both they, and especially the authors of the stir, shrank away, and made all the friends they could to Master Berty and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort.

And thus Master Berty and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in conclusion they were quietly entertained of the king, and placed honourably in the earldom of the said king of Poland, in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where Master Berty with the duchess, having the king's absolute power of government over the said earldom, continued both in great quietness and honour, till the death of Queen Mary.

A story of Thomas Horton, minister.

As ye have heard of the dangerous trouble of the duchess of Suffolk in the time of her exile for religion's sake, whom notwithstanding the Lord's present protection still delivered in all distresses, as well from her enemies in England, as in Dutchland from the lance-knights there: so have we no less to behold and magnify the Lord's merciful goodness in preserving of Thomas Horton from the like perils of the same country; which Thomas Horton, what a profitable instrument he was to the church of Christ in Queen Mary's time, all our Englishmen almost, beyond the seas then, did both know and feel.

This good Thomas Horton, as he used oftentimes to travel between Germany and England, for the behoof and sustenance of the poor English exiles there: so he, journeying upon a time between Maestricht and Cologne, chanced to be taken there by certain rovers; and so, being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not so great, but the present help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the same.

Thomas Sprat, of Kent, tanner.

Unto these afore-rehearsed examples of God's blessed providence towards his servants, may also be added the happy deliverance of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege his companion, now minister; whose story briefly to course over, is this.

This Thomas Sprat had been servant sometime to one Master Brent, a justice, and a heavy persecutor; and therefore, forsaking his master for religion's sake, he went to Calais, from whence he used often with the said William Porrege, for their necessary affairs, to have recourse into England.

It so happened, about the fourth year of Queen Mary's reign, that they, landing upon a time at Dover, and taking their journey together toward Sandwich, suddenly, upon the way, within three miles of Dover, met with the foresaid Master Brent, the two Blachendens, and other gentlemen more, with their servants, to the number of ten or twelve horses: of the which two Blachendens, being both haters and enemies of God's word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of William Porrege; the other had not seen him, but only had heard of his name before.

Thus they, being in the way where this justice with his mates should meet them directly in the face, Thomas Sprat, first espying Master Brent, was sore dismayed, saying to his companion, "Yonder is Master Brent, William Porrege; God have mercy upon us!" "Well," quoth the other, "seeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way." And so thinking to pass by them, they kept themselves aloof, as it were a score off from them, Thomas Sprat also shadowing his face with his cloak.

Notwithstanding, one of Master Brent's servants advising him better than his master did, "Yonder," said he to his master, "is Thomas Sprat:" at which words they all reined their horses, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. "They call you," said William Porrege. "Now here is no remedy but we are taken." And so persuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many horsemen in those plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, nor hedge

neither, but only one, which was a bird-bolt shot off.

All this notwithstanding, Sprat staid, and would not go. Then they called again, sitting still on horseback. "Ah, sirrah," quoth the justice, "why come ye not hither?" And still his companion moved him to go, seeing there was no other shift to flee away. "Nay," said Sprat, "I will not go to them;" and therewithal took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They, seeing that, set spurs to their horses, thinking by and by to have him, and that it was impossible for him to escape their hands; as it was indeed, they being on horseback, and he on foot, had not the Lord miraculously delivered his silly servant from the gaping mouth of the lion ready to devour him. For as God would, so it fell out, that he had got over the hedge, scrawling through the bushes, when they were even at his heels, striking at him with their swords; one of the Blachendens crying cruelly, "Cut off one of his legs!"

Thus Sprat had scarcely recovered the hedge from his enemies, when one of Master Brent's servants, which had been fellow sometime in house with him, followed him in his boots; and certain rode up at one side of the hedge, and certain at the other, to meet him at the upper end.

Now while they were following the chase after Thomas Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege, (who was one of the Blachendens; not he which knew him, but the other,) who began to question with him, not asking what was his name, (as God would,) for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he came into Sprat's company, and whither he went? Unto whom he answered and said, From Calais, and that Sprat came over with him in the passage-boat, and they two were going to Sandwich; and so without any more questions he let him depart.

Anon, as he kept along the hedge, one of the horsemen which rode after Sprat, returning back, and meeting with the said William Porrege, demanded the very same questions as the other had done, to whom he made also the like answer as afore; and so departed, taking another contrary way from the meeting of the other horsemen. And thus William Porrege escaped.

Now concerning Thomas Sprat, he being pursued on the one side by horsemen, and on the other side by his own fellow, who followed after him in his boots, crying, "You were as good totarry, for we will have you, we will have you." Yet, notwithstanding, he kept still on his course, till at length he came to a steep down-hill at the hedge-end, down the which hill he ran from them; for they could not ride down



the hill, but must fetch a great compass about. And so this Thomas Sprat ran almost a mile, and (as God would) got a wood.

By that time he came to the wood, they were even at his heels: but the night drew on, and it began to rain, and so the malice of these persecutors was at an end, the Lord working for his servants, whose name be praised for ever and ever, Amen.

Not long after this, one of the two Blachendens aforesaid, which so cruelly sought the destruction of others, was cruelly murdered by his own servants.

The trouble of John Cornet.

Here might also be recited the hard adventures and sufferings of John Cornet, and at length his deliverance, by God's good working, out of the same; who, being a prentice with a minstrel at Colchester, was sent by his master, about the second year of Queen Mary's reign, to a wedding in a town there by, called Rough-hedge, where he, being requested by a company there of good men, the constables also of the parish being present thereat, to sing some songs of the Scripture, chanced to sing a song called "News out of London," which tended

against the mass, and against the queen's mis-proceedings.

Whereupon the next day he was accused by the parson of Rough-hedge, called Yacksley; and so committed, first to the constable, where both his master gave him over, and his mother forsook and cursed him. From thence he was sent to the next justice, named Master Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, where he was first put in irons and chains, and after that so manacled, that the blood spirted out of his fingers' ends, because he would not confess the names of them which allured him to sing.

And marvel it was that the cruel papists were so contented, that they sent him not also to Bishop Bonner, to suffer the extremity of the fire. But God's gracious providence disposed otherwise for his servant: for after he was manacled, the earl commanded him to be brought again to the town of Rough-hedge, and there to be whipped till the blood followed, and to be banished the town for ever: and so he was, during all the time of Queen Mary.

Thomas Bryce.

If our story should proceed so wide and so large,

as did the exceeding mercy of God's providence in helping his servants out of wretchedness and thralldom of those bloody days, our treatise (I think) would extend to an endless process. For what good man or woman was there almost in all this time of Queen Mary, who either in carrying a good conscience out of the land, or tarrying within the realm, could well escape the papists' hands, but by some notable experience of the Lord's mighty power and helping hand working for him? What should I here speak of the miraculous deliverance of Thomas Bryce? who, being in the house of John Seal, in the parish of Horting, and the bailiff with other neighbours coming in, sent by Sir John Baker to search and apprehend him, and knowing perfectly both his stature and colour of his garments, yet had no power to see or know him standing before their faces. So mightily the Lord did blind their eyes, that they asking for him, and looking upon him, yet, notwithstanding, he quietly took up his bag of books, and so departed out of the house without any hand laid upon him.

Also another time, about the second year of Queen Mary, the said Thomas Bryce, with John Bryce his elder brother, coming then from Wesell, meeting together at their father's house, as they journeyed towards London, to give warning there to one Springfield, which else was like to be taken unawares by his enemies, waiting for him upon Gad's-hill, fell in company with a promoter, who dogged them and followed them again to Gravesend, into the town, and laid the house for them where they were, and all the ways as they should go to the water's side; so that it had not been possible for them to have avoided the present danger of those persecutors, had not the Lord's provident care otherwise disposed for his servants, through the hosteler of the inn, covertly to convey them by a secret passage; whereby they took barge a mile out of the town, and so in the end both the lives of them and also of Springfield were preserved, through the Lord's gracious protection.

Gertrude Crockhay.

Gertrude Crockhay, dwelling at St. Katharine's by the Tower of London, and being then in her husband's house, it happened in the year 1556, that the pope's childish St. Nicholas went about the parish; which she understanding, shut her door against him, not suffering him to enter into her house.

Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof, and being then master of the said St. Katharine's, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night

before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c.: to whom she answered thus: "Sir, I know no St. Nicholas," said she, "that came hither." "Yes," quoth Mallet, "here was one that represented St. Nicholas."

"Indeed, sir," said she, "there was one that was my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas; for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purse cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks," &c. So Mallet, perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then, in the year 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house after the order of the service-book in King Edward's time: and that being shortly known to her enemies, she was sought for; which, understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Gelderland, to see certain lands that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa, of Antwerp, shipper, who, seeing her there, went of malice to the margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was, for that he claimed of Master Crockhay her husband a piece of money which was not his due, for a ship that Master Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight; in the which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rhenish wine-vats, and after secretly put in sacks, and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last she was called before the margrave, and charged with Anabaptistry; which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the margrave, hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the suit of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book; and so she came over into England again.

A story of William Mauldon.

I lightly pass over here the tedious afflictions of William Mauldon, how in the dangerous time of the

Six Articles, before the burning of Anne Askew, he was scourged, being young, of his father, for professing and confessing of true religion; and afterward, being examined in auricular confession by the priest, his books were searched for; and so at length he was presented up by the same priest, in a letter written to the bishop, which letter, had it not been burnt by another priest, to whose hands it came, (as the Lord would have it,) it had undoubtedly cost him his life.

This one thing in the same William Mauldon is to be noted, that being young in those days of King Henry when the mass most flourished, the altars with the sacrament thereof being in their most high veneration, that to man's reason it might seem impossible that the glory and opinion of that sacrament and sacramentals, so highly worshipped, and so deeply rooted in the hearts of so many, could by any means possible so soon decay and vanish to nought: yet notwithstanding, he being then so young, under the age of seventeen years, by the spirit (no doubt) of prophecy, declared then unto his parents, that they should see it shortly even come to pass, that both the sacrament of the altar, and the altars themselves, with all such plantations which the heavenly Father did not plant, should be plucked up by the roots. And even so, within the space of very few years, the event thereof followed accordingly: the Lord therefore be praised for his most gracious reformation!

Robert Horneby.

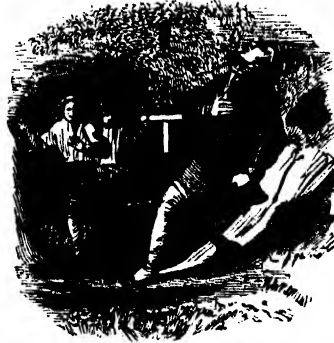
I let pass, likewise, the dangerous escape of Robert Horneby, servant sometime and groom of the chamber to Lady Elizabeth, she being then in trouble in Queen Mary's days; who, being willed to come to mass, refused so to do, and therefore coming afterward from Woodstock to Hampton Court, was called before the council, and by them committed to the Marshalsea, and not unlike to have sustained further danger, had not the Lord's goodness better provided for him, who at length by Dr. Martin was delivered.

Mistress Sands.

The like, also, may be testified and recorded of Mistress Sands, now wife to Sir Morrice Bartlet, then gentlewoman-waiter to the said Lady Elizabeth, being in the Tower; which Mistress Sands denied in like manner to come to mass, and therefore, beside the heavy displeasure of her father, was not only displaced from her room, and put out of the house, but also was in great jeopardy of further trial. But the Lord, who disposeth for every one as he seeth best, wrought her a way out of her enemies' hands by flying over the seas, where she

continued amongst other banished exiles in the city of Geneva and of Basle, till the death of Queen Mary.

The story of Thomas Rose, yet living, a preacher of the age of seventy-six years, of the town of Luton, and in the county of Bedford.



HIS Thomas Rose, a Devonshire man, was born in Exmouth, and being made priest in that country, was brought out of it by one Master Fabian, to Polstead, in Suff.

folk, where the said Master Fabian was parson; and in short time after, by his means, was placed in the town of Hadley, where he, first coming to some knowledge of the gospel, began first there to treat upon the creed; and thereupon to take occasion to inveigh against purgatory, praying to saints, and images, about the time that Master Latimer began first to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney and Arthur, forty-seven years ago, or thereabout; insomuch that many embracing the truth of Christ's gospel, against the said purgatory and other points, and the number of them daily increasing, the adversaries began to stir against him, insomuch that Master Bale (who afterward became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach against the said Thomas Rose, and so did. This notwithstanding, he continued still very vehemently against images; and the Lord so blessed his labours, that many began to devise how to deface and destroy them, and especially four men, whose names were Robert King, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marsh, and Robert Gardner, which usually resorted to his sermons, and upon his preaching were so inflamed with zeal, that shortly after they adventured to destroy the rood of Dovercourt, which cost three of them their lives, as appeareth before. The three persons which suffered, and were hanged in chains, were offered their lives to have accused the said Thomas Rose, as of counsel with them, which refused so to do, and therefore suffered. The said Thomas Rose had the coat of the said rood brought unto him afterward, who burnt it. The rood was said to have done many great miracles, and great wonders wrought by him, and yet, being in the fire, could not help himself, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was.

At this time there were two sore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, two brethren: these complained to the council, that a hundred men

were not able to fetch the said Thomas Rose out of Hadley, who then was, upon examination of his doctrine, committed to the commissary's keeping. And indeed such was the zeal of a number then in that town towards the truth, that they were much offended that their minister was so taken from them, and had therefore by force fetched him from the commissary, if certain wise men had not otherwise persuaded, which at length also, with more quiet, did set him in his office again; which thing so angered the two brethren, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, that they complained to the council, as is aforesaid; whereupon a serjeant-at-arms, named Cartwright, was sent from the council, who arrested the said Thomas Rose, and brought him before the council. Then his adversaries being called, they laid to his charge, that he was privy of the burning of the rood of Dovercourt; and upon this he was committed to prison in the bishop of Lincoln's house in Holborn—Bishop Langley, the king's confessor; and there remained he in prison, from Shrovetide to Midsummer, very sore stocked till after Easter.

The stocks were very high and great, so that day and night he did lie with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that by means the blood was fallen from his feet, his feet were almost without sense for a long time; and he herewith waxed very sick, insomuch that his keeper, pitying his estate, and hearing him cry sometimes, through the extremity of pain, went to the bishop, and told him that he would not keep him to die under his hand; and upon this he had some more ease and liberty. Now at this time his mother was come from Hadley to see him, but she might not be suffered to speak with the said Thomas Rose her son (such was their cruelty); but the bishop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon-beads, and bade her go home and pray, for she might not see him; which thing pierced the heart both of the mother and son, not a little. At this time also certain men of Hadley, very desirous to see him, travailed to speak with him, but might not be suffered, till at length they gave the keeper four shillings; and yet then might not speak to him, or see him, otherwise than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midsummer, in prison there.

Then was he removed to Lambeth, in the first year of Dr. Cranmer's consecration, who used him much more courteously than ever the bishop of Lincoln did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and set him at liberty; but yet so, that he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the gospel half a year, till Hadley men, hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadley again, and indeed,

by means of Sir John Rainsford, knight, obtained at the archbishop's hand to have him thither. Howbeit, by means one was placed in the cure at Hadley, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford, three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three years, till at length the adversaries procured an inhibition from the bishop of Norwich, to put him to silence. But a great number travailed to have him continue in preaching, and subscribed a supplication to the archbishop, with sevenscore hands, who, under their seals, also testified of his honest demeanour; so that the adversaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at Bury in Suffolk, so that he was constrained to flee to London, and to use the aid of the Lord Audley, then lord chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after certain examination of the matter, did set him free, and did send him by a token to the Lord Cromwell, then lord privy seal, for a licence from the king to preach: which thing obtained by the Lord Cromwell's means, (who hereupon also had admitted the said Thomas Rose his chaplain,) forthwith he was sent into Lincolnshire and to York.

In the mean time such complaint was made to the duke of Norfolk, for that he preached against auricular confession, transubstantiation, and such other points contained in the Six Articles, (which then to have done, by law was death,) that the duke, in his own person, not only sought him at Norwich, but also beset all the havens for him, from Yarmouth to London; and, being lieutenant, commanded that whosoever could take the said Thomas Rose, should hang him on the next tree. Howbeit, the said Thomas Rose, at his coming home, having warning hereof by certain godly persons, was conveyed away, and passed over into Flanders, and so to Germany unto Zurich, where a time he remained with Master Bullinger; and afterward went to Basle, and there hosted with Master Grinaus, till letters came that Master Dr. Barnes should be bishop of Norwich, and things should be reformed and he restored. But when he came into England again, it was nothing so, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the seas, being so beset, as, if the mighty providence of God had not sent him, in a readiness to receive him, the selfsame man, boat, and boy, that before carried him over, it had not been possible for him to have escaped. But such was the goodness of God towards him, that he safely was conveyed, and lived at Arrow the space of three years, till at length, purposing to come over into England, about business that he had, he, his wife, and their child, (being but a year and three quarters old,) upon the sea, the ship being in great danger wherein they sailed, (for

the mast being hewn down in that peril, they were carried whithersoever the waves tossed them,) they with divers others made a full account of death. Howbeit, at length they were taken prisoners, and carried into Dieppe in France, having all their stuff taken from them, and forty pounds in money. There they remained prisoners from Michaelmas till Hal-lowtide, in great heaviness, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon God's providence.

It pleased God at the same time, that one Master Young, of the town of Rye, (who had heard him preach before,) came thither for the redeeming of certain Englishmen there taken prisoners. This Master Young, moved to see them in this case, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ransom; and so he did, had them away, and brought them to Rye; and from thence by stealth came they to London. At length the honourable earl of Sussex, hearing of the said Thomas Rose, sent for him, his wife, and his child, and had them to his house at Attleborough, where they continued till at length it was blazed abroad, that the earl was a maintainer of such a man to read in his house, as had preached against the catholic faith (as they term it). The earl, being at the parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warn him to make shift for himself, and to avoid: so that from thence he passed to London, making strait shift for a year there, and somewhat more, till the death of King Henry.

After the king's death, he and others who, in the king's general pardon, were excepted, (and therefore dead men, if they had been taken whilst King Henry lived,) by certain of the council were set at liberty; and at length, after King Edward was crowned, were licensed to preach again by the king; who gave unto the said Thomas Rose the benefice of West Ham, by London. But at the death of that virtuous and noble prince, he was deprived of all, and so should also have been of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in London secretly, as their teacher in the congregation; among whom, for the poor prisoners, at their assemblies forty-one a night oftentimes were gathered. And thus he continued amongst them, and with the Lady Vane, almost a year in the reign of Queen Mary. But although he oftentimes escaped secretly, whilst he read to the godly in sundry places of London, yet at length, through a Judas that betrayed them, he, with thirty-five that were with him, were taken in Bow Churchyard, at a shearmen's house, on New-year's day at night, being Tuesday. The residue being committed to prisons, the said Thomas Rose was had to the bishop of

Winchester, Stephen Gardiner; but the bishop would not speak with him that night, but committed him to the Clink till Tuesday after.

The first examination of Thomas Rose, before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, at St. Mary Overy's.

On Thursday, being brought before the bishop of Winchester, at St. Mary Overy's, the said Thomas Rose spake as followeth.

"It maketh me to marvel, my Lord," quoth he, "that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the laws of this realm allowed, and by your own writing so notably, in your book *De Vera Obedientia*, confirmed."

Winchester.—"Ah, sirrah! hast thou gotten that?"

Rose.—"Yea, my Lord, I thank God, and do confess myself much thereby confirmed: for as touching the doctrine of the supremacy, against the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, no man hath said further. And, as I remember, you confess in it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes."

Winchester.—"Thou liest like a varlet; there is no such thing in my book, but I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer."

Rose.—"My Lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more; yet the law is in your hand: but I have God for my maintainer, and none other." At these words, one of his servants stepped forth, and said, "My Lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich, in Sir John Robster's house; and in his prayer he desired God to turn Queen Mary's heart, or else to take her out of the world; and this was in King Edward's time."

Rose.—"My Lord, I made no such prayer, but next after the king I prayed for her after this sort, saying, 'Ye shall pray for my Lady Mary's Grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that she graciously may perceive the mysteries contained within his holy laws; and so render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her sovereign lord and king, to the good ensample of the inferior subjects.' And this, my Lord, is already answered in mine own handwriting to the council." Unto this he said little, but turning his face to certain that were by him, "This is he," quoth the bishop, "that my Lord of Norwich told me, had begotten his maid with child."

Rose.—"This is no heresy, my Lord, although

it be a lie. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached; but for purgation of myself herein, I had no less than six of the council's hands, that there might be due and diligent examination for this matter in the country by men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can all testify, (I thank God,) that I am most clear from such wickedness; and indeed they have cleared me from it. And therefore I doubt not, but all good men will espy the mischievous device of mine adversaries, which (when other ways failed) by such sinister means went about to draw me into discredit and hatred. But God, which is the helper of the innocent, and searcher of men's hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their shame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse myself, was one Master Clark, servant, and in some estimation, with the old lord treasurer of England, reputed and taken for a conjuror, who afterward, for his good demerits, hanged himself in the Tower."—Then the bishop commanded that I should be carried to the Tower, and kept safely, where I did lie till it was the week before Whitsuntide; after which time I was twice called, when the bishop came to the Tower about other prisoners. Notwithstanding, the bishop had no great talk with me, but spake friendly. Howbeit, one Sir Richard Southwell, knight, still accused me for my prayer, and said I did put a difference betwixt Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in King Edward's faith, and prayed that he would confirm Lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the bishop said little. But in the week before Pentecost, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the bishop and his clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

The second examination of Thomas Rose, before the bishop of Norwich, Hopkins by name, in his own palace, in the presence of Sir W. Woodhouse, knight, Master Steward the chancellor, Dr. Barret, with divers others, the Wednesday in Whitsun-week, A. D. 1553.

After I was presented by my keeper, the bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a minister.

Bishop.—"What is this to the purpose; were ye a friar or a priest?"

Rose.—"Friar was I never; but a priest have I been, and beneficed by the king's Majesty."

Bishop.—"Where were ye made priest?"

Rose.—"In Exeter, in the county where I was born." Then the bishop required of me my letters

of orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Bishop.—"Well, you are sent to me to be examined; what say you, will you submit yourself to the order of the Church of England?"

Rose.—"My Lord, I trust I am not out of the order of Christ's church in England, neither do I know myself an offender there-against."

Bishop.—"What! yes, ye have here preached most damnable and devilish doctrine."

Rose.—"Not so, my Lord. The doctrine by me here preached, was both true, sincere, and holy. But indeed the doctrine that is now set forth, is most wicked and damnable, yea, and that both against God's laws and man's. But as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, set out also by the authority of two most mighty kings, with the consent of all the nobility and clergy of the same; so that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority under their broad seals, for confirmation of the same, for which my doing ye cannot justly charge me. For why, since the law ceased, I have kept silence, so that the council which sent me unto you, have not charged me therewith. Wherefore ye do me open wrong, to burden me with that wherein I am free."

Chancellor.—"What, sir? ye are very captious; answerest thou my Lord after such a sort?"

"Sir," said I, "I answer for myself, and according to the truth: wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God."

Chancellor.—"Thou art an evil man. Wast thou not abjured before now?"

Rose.—"No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wise able to prove that which ye have spoken: so that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deserved at your hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an instrument to utter other men's malice, conceived of old."

Chancellor.—"What say you to the real presence in the sacrament?"

Rose.—"I wist right well ye were made an instrument to seek innocent blood: well, ye may have it, if God permit; it is present at hand, for I have not come hither to lie, but to die (if God see it good) in defence of that which I have said. Wherefore ye may begin when ye shall think good, for I have said nothing but the truth, and that which in those days was of all men allowed for truth, and against the which ye at that time durst not once whisper, although ye now brag never so much."

"Well, father Rose," said the bishop, "whatso-

ever hath been done in times past, shall not now be called in question, so that ye now submit yourself. For not only you, but all the whole realm hath been out of the right way, both high and low, spiritual and temporal: but all, notwithstanding, have submitted themselves, and acknowledged their faith. Wherefore, if ye will be accounted for an Englishman, ye must likewise submit yourself."

Rose.—"My Lord, I am an Englishman born, and do most humbly require of the Christian congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the same, and with all due reverence submit myself as in the form and manner following: That whatsoever law or laws shall be set forth in the same, for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the faith and doctrine of the holy patriarchs and prophets, Jesus Christ, and his holy apostles, with the faithful fathers of Christ's primitive church, I do not only hold it and believe it, but also most reverently obey it." At which my assertion, the bishop seemed to be greatly rejoiced, and said, "Well, then, we shall soon be at a point. But," said he, "you shall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, so that ye shall now depart and pause yourself, until we call for you again." And so ended our first meeting.

The third examination of Thomas Rose.

On the Friday following, I was called again into Christ's-church within their Lady's chapel, (as they termed it,) where was gathered a great part of the whole city of Norwich. And after I was by my keeper presented, the bishop began with a great protestation; and after many words demanded of me, whether, according to my former promise, I would submit myself or no. I answered as before I had done, that according to my former protestation, I would most gladly obey. Then said the chancellor, (to utter his gentleness,) "I think you do but feign."

"The fault then," said I, "shall be in yourself, and not in me. For if ye burden me with nothing but Scriptures, and the fathers of Christ's primitive church, then, as I said before, so I say again, I shall most gladly obey."

Chancellor.—"Well then, seeing you challenge to be a member of the Church of England, your mother here, for a trial of obedience, provoketh you, as mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand."

"Forsooth," said I, "if she offer it me as received of God my Father, I shall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and ghostly mother."

Chancellor.—"What say you to ear-confession? Is it not a law ecclesiastical, and necessary for the Church of England?"

Rose.—"Some ways it might be permitted, and some ways not; and that because it had not its original of God and his blessed word. And yet I deny not, but that a man, being troubled in his conscience, and resorting to a discreet, sober, and Christian learned man, for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted. But to bind a man under pain of damnation, once every year, to number his sins into the ears of a filthy lecherous priest, is not of God, neither can be approved by his word."

Bishop.—"Ah, sirrah! ye will admit nothing but Scripture, I see well."

Rose.—"No truly, my Lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the regiment of the soul: for why, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; and where the word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given. For whatsoever is not of faith is sin." And here they left off speaking any more of that matter.

But then Master Chancellor began to whet his teeth at me, saying, "Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and substantial presence of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar: what say ye to that?"

Rose.—"Verily, I say, that you are a bloody man, and seek to quench your thirst with the blood of an innocent; and therefore, to satisfy you in that behalf, I say verily unto you, that even so I have here preached. And although, contrary to law, you charge me with the same, yet will I in no wise deny it, though justly I might do it, but stand thereunto, even to seal it with my blood, desiring all that be here present, to testify the same, and believe it as the only truth."

Bishop.—"I charge you all to believe it not."

"Yea, but my Lord," said I, "if ye will needs have credence given you, you must bring God's word to maintain your sayings."

Bishop.—"Why, doth not Christ say, This is my body? and can there be any plainer words spoken?"

Rose.—"It is true, my Lord, the words be as plain as can be, and even so be these, where it is said, I am a door, a vine. And Christ is called a stone, a lion, and yet is he naturally none of these: for they be all figurative speeches, as both the Scriptures and fathers do sufficiently prove."

At which my saying, the bishop would have had me stay, saying, I should have another day, where-in I might take better advisement.

"Not so, my Lord," said I, "for I am at a full point with myself in that matter, and am right well

able to prove both your transubstantiation, with the real presence, to be against the Scriptures and the ancient fathers of the primitive church. For Justin, which is one of the ancientest writers that ever wrote upon the sacraments, writeth in his second Apology, that the bread, water, and wine in the sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but be meats purposely ordained to give thanks unto God, and therefore be called *eucharistia*, and also have the names of the body and blood of Christ; and that it is not lawful for any man to eat and drink of them, but such as profess the religion of Christ, and live also according to their profession. And yet (saith he) the same bread and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies. By which saying it is evident that Justin meant, that the bread and wine remain still, or else they could not have been turned into our flesh and blood, and nourish our bodies." At which my saying they were not a little troubled, but enforced themselves to have denied the doctor, and would suffer me to speak no more, but straightway was I carried away unto my lodging. And so ended the second day of mine appearance, which was the Friday in Whitsun-week; and then was I appointed to appear again on the Monday following. Howbeit, upon what occasion I know not, it was deferred unto the Wednesday, which was Corpus-Christi even.

His talk with the earl of Sussex, Sir William Woodhouse, and the bishop's chaplains.

"In the mean time the bishop sent two of his chaplains to me, with whom I had communication about the real presence: and after long reasoning to and fro, concerning this point, at length I drave them to this issue: whether they did confess that Christ, in the selfsame body which was conceived of the Virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose again, doth, in the selfsame body, naturally, substantially, and really, sit at the right hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment, or not? Whereunto they answered, 'Yes, truly,' said they, 'we confess it, hold it, and believe it.' Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm, after the words pronounced by the minister, there to remain flesh, blood, bones, hair, nails, as is wont most grossly to be preached, or not? And they with great deliberation answered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of such gross doctrine, but also would detest themselves, if they should so think.

"At which two principal points, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellously encouraged. Whereupon I demanded again of them,

what manner of body they then affirmed to be in the sacrament? 'Forsooth,' said they, 'not a visible, palpable, or circumscribable body, for that is always at the Father's right hand: but in the sacrament it is invisible, and can neither be felt, seen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of God's word, they know not how. And for this they brought in St. Augustine, although of them not truly understood, yet would they admit none other sense than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin: so that I, perceiving their obstinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterward talked with Dr. Barret, whom I also found of the same judgment in that behalf: 'for,' said he, 'if ye should dissent from the fathers of the primitive church in this behalf, of which St. Augustine is one, ye shall be counted to die out of the favour of God.' Well, all this their obstinacy and blasphemous errors imprinted and deeply weighed in my mind, I gave them all over. And the more quietly to bring them to confess that openly, which they unto me had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, a presence, although not as they supposed.

"After all this, came there unto me the honourable earl of Sussex, and that gentle knight, Sir William Woodhouse, with great persuasions: unto whom I said, after long talk, that I would do all that I might, saving my conscience, which I would in no wise pollute; and no more I have, as knoweth God, by whom all men must be judged."

His last appearance before the bishop.

"Now, to come to my last appearance, after I was before the bishop presented, he forthwith demanded of me, whether I were resolved, as he had heard say. To whom I answered, that even as always I had said before, even so I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my knee, I gave my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable earl of Sussex was there; wherewith some which would be counted great gospellers, were (contrary to all Christianity) sore offended. Then I said, that whatsoever laws were set forth for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the doctrine of Christ's holy apostles, and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but must earnestly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet, to the further blinding of their eyes, I said, that if any thing could justly be proved by God's holy word, by me heretofore preached or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, slide of tongue, or of ignorance; yet by better knowledge, when it shall justly be tried and ex-

amined by the same, I shall not refuse (the thing perfectly approved) to revoke the same: provided always, the word of God herein to be judge.

“All this spake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from suspecting that which I went about, and that they should have none occasion to judge me of obstinacy. Then said I moreover, ‘All you must of force confess, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, besides the authority of God’s eternal verity, the authority of two most noble and mighty princes, with the advice and counsel of all the nobility and clergy of the same, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputations in both the universities, enacted also by parliament with the consent of the whole body and commons of the same, and that without any resistance or gainsaying established, as a religion most pure and perfect, most earnestly and sincerely preached by the principal bishops and doctors, and that before the king’s Majesty’s person. And I, as one being called to that office, did the like with all the rest, and, in the zeal of God and with a pure conscience, did set forth the same, as the only and absolute truth of God, and the just and most true proceedings of my sovereign lord and king. And I had then my head, at that present, even where it now standeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the same, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was established and taught, as the only and absolute truth, and a thing unto me most desirable, and well liking, without any desire to hear the contrary, till now, through this my captivity, I am compelled to hear the contrary part speak, who are even here present, and which my Lord sent unto me.

“Of whom, after long disputations privately to and fro before this time had betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard; and therefore must confess mine own ignorance in the same. For,’ quoth I, ‘after I had enforced these men here present,’ (meaning the bishop’s two chaplains,) ‘to confess Jesus Christ’s natural body, with his full complete members in due order and proportion of a perfect man’s body, to be present at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the last judgment, and also that, after the words pronounced by the priest, there remaineth no such gross presence of flesh, blood, bones, hair, and nails, as was wont to be preached; but that, after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be present, they said, A body invisible by the omnipotency of God’s word, which neither can be felt nor seen, nor that hath any distinction of members, but such a body as occupieth no place, but is

there they know not how. Necessity compelled me to confess mine ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they should so do. For by this their confession, and my silence, afterward I perceived their horrible blasphemies.

“And methought in this I had well discharged at that time my conscience, in causing them in open audience to confess the same; and so I granted a presence, but not as they supposed. For only I said, that Christ, after the words pronounced, is present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper; which thing I never denied, or any godly man that ever I heard of. For, said I, Eusebius Emissenus, a man of singular fame and learning, about three hundred years after Christ’s ascension, saith, that the conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is like unto our conversion in baptism, where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost, which fashioneth and frameth Christ in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people, by which he so pierced their consciences, that they openly, with most earnest repentance, confessed their sins, saying, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Repent, and be baptized every one of you, said Peter, in the name of Jesus Christ. So that at this sermon there were turned unto Christ three thousand persons; in whom Christ was so fashioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him. And after the like manner (said I) is Christ present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper, and not otherwise. For although I said, according to the truth, that Christ dwelt in every one of these persons rehearsed, yet meant I nothing less, than that he in them should have a gross, carnal, or fleshly dwelling. And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or naturally to be in the sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, that is, to the spiritual nourishment of all such as worthily come unto that holy supper, receiving it according to his holy institution.’ And thus I ended; which the papists most maliciously and slanderously named a recantation; which I never meant, nor thought (as God knoweth).

“Now, after I had thus concluded my speech, the bishop, taking me by the hand, said, ‘Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in God’s church, and we will see to you at our coming home:’ for he was about to take his journey in visitation of his diocese; and they feared much at this very time, lest Queen Mary should have miscarried in child-

travail, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with child, so that they were not so fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of some stir, if I should have suffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, so that by any colourable means for their own discharge it might be: so, the night following, was I only committed to mine own lodging.

"On the morrow, when the bishop was ready to ride forth in visitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that Sir William Woodhouse did bear me great favour, said, he was sorry for me and my expenses; and therefore wished that I were some where, where I might spend no more money, till his return. 'Why, my Lord,' quoth Sir William Woodhouse, 'he shall have meat, and drink, and lodging, with me, till you return again, seeing you now break up house.' And hereupon I went home with Sir William, that good knight, who most gently entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this, the popistical priests of the college of Christ's Church in Norwich, for that they saw me at liberty in Sir William's absence, (who also was then from home a fortnight,) blazed it abroad that Sir William was bounden for me in body and lands. At his coming home, therefore, I asked Sir William if he were so bounden for me; and he denied it. Then said I, 'Sir, but for the reverence I bear to you, I might have been a hundred miles from you ere this. But I trust now, sir, seeing you be not bound for me, I may go visit my friends.' 'Go where you will,' said Sir William; 'for,' quoth he, 'I told the bishop I would not be his jailer, but promised only meat, drink, and lodging for you.' Shortly after, upon the device of some friends, I was closely conveyed to a friend's house, where almost a month I was secretly kept, till rumours were over: for at the bishop's return, searching was for me; inasmuch as all houses, where it was known I had been acquainted, were searched, and the ships at Yarmouth.

"At length the bishop sent to a conjuror, to know of him which way I was gone; and he answered, that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a woman. And in very deed I was passed over a small water, and was hid by a blessed woman and godly woman, which lived in a poor cottage, the space of three weeks, till all the great heat was over.

"Then was I conveyed to London, and from thence passed over the seas, where I lived till the death of Queen Mary, and till it had pleased God, for the comfort of his church, and restoring of all poor exiles and prisoners for his name's sake, to bless this realm with the government of our noble queen, whom God, to the glory of his own name, and the

defence of his church, according to his good will and pleasure, long preserve and continue over us."

A brief discourse concerning the troubles and happy deliverance of the reverend father in God, Dr. Sands, first bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now archbishop of York.

King Edward dead, the world being unworthy of him, the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an army of men, having commission to proclaim Lady Jane queen, and by power to suppress Lady Mary, who took upon her that dignity, and was proclaimed queen in Norfolk. The duke sent for Dr. Sands, being vice-chancellor, for Dr. Parker, for Dr. Bill, and Master Leaver, to sup with him. Amongst other speeches, he said, "Masters, pray for us, that we speed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons." And even so it came to pass, Dr. Parker and Dr. Sands were made bishops, and he and Sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons, ere it was long after, on the Tower Hill. Dr. Sands, being vice-chancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditory, and to speak of such a matter; yet he refused not the thing, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clock in the morning, took his Bible in his hand, and, after that he had prayed a good space, he shut his eyes, and holding his Bible before him, earnestly prayed to God, that it might fall open where a most fit text should be, for him to entreat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, where he found so convenient a piece of Scripture for that time, that the like he could not have chosen in all the Bible. His text was this: "Responderuntque Josue atque dixerunt, Omnia que præcepisti nobis faciemus, et quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obedivimus in cunctis Mosi, ita obediemus et tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Mose: qui contradixerit ori tuo, et non obedierit cunctis sermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur; tu tantum confortare et viriliter age." Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselves the state, and withal, the auditory, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easily see that this text most fitly served for the purpose. And as God gave the text, so gave he him such order and utterance, as pulled many tears out of the eye of the biggest of them.

In the time of his sermon one of the guard lifted up to him into the pulpit a mass-book and a grail, which Sir George Haward, with certain of the guard, had taken that night in Master Hurlestone's house, where Lady Mary had been a little

before, and there had mass. The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his sermon in writing, and appointed Master Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and

Master Leaver was ready bootied to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering of it, one of the beadles, named Master Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the duke was retired, and Queen Mary proclaimed.



Dr. Sands was not troubled herewithal, but gave the sermon written to Master Layfield. Master

Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Master More's, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner Mistress More, seeing him merry and pleasant, (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified,) drank unto him, saying: "Master Vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that ever I shall see you." And so it was; for she was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the market-place, to proclaim Queen Mary. The

duke cast up his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran down his cheeks for grief. He told Dr. Sands, that Queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands answered, "My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that urgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, hath instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen councillors; neither can speech be treason, neither yet have I spoken further than the word of God and the laws of the realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall never escape death; for if she would save you, those that now shall rule, will kill you."

That night the guard apprehended the duke, and certain grooms of the stable were as busy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But Sir

John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands' house, sharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time the university, contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Dr. Mouse and Dr. Hatcher should repair to Dr. Sands' lodging, and fetch away the statute-book of the university, the keys, and such other things that were in his keeping, and so they did: for Dr. Mouse, being an earnest protestant the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the university had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands cometh out of the fields, and sending for the beadles, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requireth them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty. So they did. And so soon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent-house, and took his chair, one Master Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papists, went into a by-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expostulating with the university, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that he was ready to justify, and their case was all one with his; for they had not only concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

And thus, while he remembered unto them how beneficial he had been to the university, and their unthankfulness to him again, in cometh Master Mitch with his conspirators, about twenty in number. One layeth hand upon the chair, to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him "traitor." Whereat he, perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had despatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for God's sake to hold his hands, and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them; and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and having some money of the university's in his hand, he there delivered the same, every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the university; and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the university a better officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts; and so repaired home to his own college.

On the morrow after, there came unto him one Master Jerningham, and one Master Thomas Mildmay. Jerningham told him that it was the queen's pleasure that two of the guard should attend upon

him, and that he must be carried prisoner to the Tower of London, with the duke. Master Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Dr. Sands answered, "I shall not be ashamed of bonds, but if I could do as Master Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds. For he came down in payment against Queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in payment for Queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot, with one mouth, blow hot and cold after this sort."

Upon this, his stable was robbed of four notable good geldings; the best of them Master Huddleston took for his own saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inventory was taken of all his goods, by Master More, beadle, for the university. He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard were contented. As he departed forth at the town's end, some papists resorted thither to jeer at him; some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milkwife hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whom he mildly said, "Woman, God forgive it thee!" Truth is, that journey and evil entreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die, than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill Street, one woman standing in her door cried, "Fie on thee, thou knave! thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic!" whereat he smiled. "Look, the desperate heretic," said she, "laughed at this jeer!" A woman on the other side of the street answered, saying; "Fie on thee, neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman; railing upon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause why he is thus entreated." Then she said: "Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, even to the end." And thus he passed through fire and water into the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeomen of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and what else soever he had. His man, one Quinting Swainton, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts, and such-like things. The Bible was sent in to him; but the shirts, and such like, served the yeomen of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was lifted up into Nun's-bower, a better prison, where was put to him Master John Bradford.

At the day of Queen Mary's coronation, their prison door was set open, ever shut before. One Master Mitchell, his old acquaintance, which had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and said, "Master Sands, there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone; you may go out of the gates without questioning; save yourself, and let me do as I may." A rare friendship; but he refused the offer, saying, I know no just cause why I should be in prison; and thus to do, were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet must I think myself most bounden unto you:" and so Master Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and Master Bradford were thus in close prison together twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverse papist; yet by often persuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at the length he began to mislike popery, and to favour the gospel, and was so persuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday, when they had mass in the chapel, he bringeth up a service-book, a manchet, and a glass of wine, and there Dr. Sands ministered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their son begotten in bonds. When Wyatt was in arms, and the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a power of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him, and other his complices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Master Bradford were cast into one prison, and Dr. Sands, with nine other preachers, were sent unto the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered; popery began to be unsavoury. After they passed the bridge, the keeper, Thomas Way, said to Dr. Sands, "I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you, being a young man, will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own knowledge before the judgment of so many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men, as be in this realm. If you so do, you shall find me as strait a keeper, as one that utterly misliketh your religion." Dr. Sands answered, "I know my years young, and my learning small; it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing, that seeth not the great blasphemy

that is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man. I have read in the Scriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make you one. If not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me." Saith Thomas Way, "Do ye then mind to stand to your religion?" "Yea," saith Dr. Sands, "by God's grace." "Truly," saith the keeper, "I love you the better; I did but tempt you. What favour I can show you, ye shall be sure of; and I shall think myself happy, if I may die at the stake with you." The said keeper showed Dr. Sands ever after all friendship; he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with Master Bradford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found the like favour of his keeper: he laid him in the best chamber in the house; he would not suffer the knight-marshal's man to lay fetters on him, as others had; and at his request he put Master Saunders in to him, to be his bed-fellow, and sundry times suffered his wife, who was Master Sands' daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and soul, to resort to him. There was great resort to Dr. Sands and Master Saunders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great sort of communicants. Dr. Sands gave such exhortation to the people, (for at that time, being young, he was thought very eloquent,) that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the mass, and defy all popery.

When Wyatt with his army came into Southwark, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to Dr. Sands, saying, that Master Wyatt would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered, "Tell Master Wyatt, if this his rising be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed hither by order: I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence." So answered Master Saunders, and the rest of the preachers, being there prisoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, then knight-marshal, he was set at liberty. Sir Thomas sued earnestly to the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance, after many repulses: but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be one of their sect; and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the queen could like of his deliverance, he would not be against it; for that was Sir Thomas's last request. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy-chamber to move the queen in it, who was contented if the bishop of Winchester would like of it. The next time that the

bishop went into the privy chamber to speak with the queen, Master Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands' remission ready; and prayed the two ladies, when the bishop should take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen said, "Winchester, what think you by Dr. Sands, is he not sufficiently punished?" "As it please your Majesty," saith Winchester. That he spake, remembering his former promise to Master Holcroft, that he would not be against Dr. Sands, if the queen should like to discharge him. Saith the queen, "Then, truly, we would that he were set at liberty." Immediately Master Holcroft offered the queen the warrant; who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight-marshal again, Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the privy-chamber door, he called Master Holcroft to him, commanding him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken sureties of two gentlemen of his county with him, each one bound in five hundred pounds, that Dr. Sands should not depart out of the realm without licence. Master Holcroft, immediately after, met with two gentlemen of the north, friends and cousins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the same day, Master Holcroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to company with him. He came accordingly, finding Master Holcroft alone, walking in his garden. Master Holcroft imparted his long suit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands, much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty; and that nothing remained but that he would enter into bonds with his two sureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands answered, "I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me so well, and I think myself most bound unto you. God will requite, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, send me to the Marshalsea again, and there ye shall be sure of me."

This answer much misliked Master Holcroft. He told Dr. Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come; the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake away; and that his cousin, Sir Edward Bray, would gladly receive him and his wife into his house, where he should

never need to come at church; and how the Lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery. Adding, that he would not so deal with him, to lose all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former saying, Master Holcroft said, "Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose, and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will set you at liberty; and seeing you mind to go over sea, get you gone so quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there you write nothing to come hither, for so you may undo me." He friendly kissed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, saying, "Let me answer Winchester as I may." Dr. Sands, returning with the keeper to the Marshalsea, tarried all night there. On the morrow, he gave a dinner to all the prisoners, bade his bed-fellow and sworn stakefellow, (if it had so pleased God,) Master Saunders, farewell, with many tears and kissings, the one falling on the other's neck; and so departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with Master Bradford and Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boat, and came to a friend's house in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to another friend's house, and there he learned that search was made for him.

Dr. Watson and Master Christopherson, coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at liberty the greatest heretic in England, and one that had of all others most corrupted the university of Cambridge, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him; and whosoever of them should take him and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands, suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one Master Bartly's house, a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea prisoner with him a while; he was a good protestant, and dwelt in Mark Lane. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired unto him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone, a skinner, dwelling in Corn Hill; he caused his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex, to Master Sands his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At his going to bed in Hurlestone's house, he had a pair of hose newly made that were too long for

him : for while he was in the Tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a pair of hose. One came unto him, whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant, dwelling in Birchin Lane : he might not speak to him, or come unto him to take measure of him, but only look upon his leg : he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he prayed the goodwife of the house to send to some tailor to cut them two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carry them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so provided) to go to the next tailor, which was Benjamin that made them, which also was a constable, and acquainted with the lord chancellor's commandment. The boy required him to cut the hose. He said, "I am not thy master's tailor." Saith the boy, "Because you are our next neighbour, and my master's tailor dwelleth far off, I came to you ; for it is far night, and he must occupy them timely in the morning." Benjamin took the hose, and looking upon them, he knew his handy-work, and said, "These are not thy master's hose, but Dr. Sands' ; them I made in the Tower." The boy yielded and said, "It was so." Saith he, "Go to thy mistress : pray her to sit up till twelve of the clock, and then I will bring the hose, and speak with Dr. Sands to his good."

At midnight the goodwife of the house, and Benjamin the tailor, cometh into Dr. Sands' chamber : the wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answered, "Nothing can be amiss : what God will, that shall be done." Then Benjamin telleth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands. God used the means, that he might admonish him of his peril, and advise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so greedily set, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should have the five pounds. Saith Benjamin, "It is known that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by God's grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The Goodman's servant of the house shall take the horses, and carry them to Bethnal Green. The Goodman shall be booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight of clock : it is both term and parliament time. Here we will break our fast ; and when the street is full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet

your brother in the street, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not." Accordingly Dr. Sands' did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects ; and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birchin Lane, and from one lane to another, till he came to Moorgate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal Green, where the horses were ready, and Master Hurlestone, to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kissed each other. He put his hand in his purse, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none ; yet, since, Dr. Sands hath remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law, Master Sands, where his wife was : he had not been there two hours, but it was told Master Sands, that there were two of the guard, which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands ; and so they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without all company. After that he shifted to one James Mower, a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton Shore, where he expected wind for the English fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation : they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, ere that he should be apprehended.

The sixth of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his host and hostess, and went towards the ship. In taking his leave of his hostess, who was barren, and had been married eight years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal of gold in it, thanking her much, and said, "Be of good comfort ; ere that one whole year be past, God shall give you a child, a boy." And it came to pass, for that day twelve-month, lacking one day, God gave her a fair son.

At the shore Dr. Sands met with Master Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest son there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, sent his son with him, who afterward died in his father's house in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Coxe were both in one ship, being one Cockrel's ship. They were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner to Master Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin, being secretary to the English house, and kinsman to Dr. Sands, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and said, "King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you." Hereupon they rose from their dinner in a marvellous great shower,

and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleves. They found a waggon, and hasted away, and came safe to Augsberg in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then journeyed towards Strasburg, where, after he had lived one year, his wife came unto him. He fell sore sick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which fell sick of the plague, and died. His wife at length fell sick of a consumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Master Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man skilful in Hebrew; Master Grindall went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands still remained in Strasburg, whose sustentation then was chiefly from one Master Isaac, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than he to take. He gave him in that space above a hundred marks, which sum the said Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendliness showed himself to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's house for the space of five weeks. Being there, as they sat at dinner, word suddenly came that Queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasburg. That news made Master Martyr, and Master Jarret, then there, very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it smote into his heart, that he should be called to misery.

Master Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasburg, where he preached; and so Master Grindall and he came towards England, and came to London the same day that Queen Elizabeth was crowned.

A complaint against such as favoured the gospel in Ipswich, exhibited to Queen Mary's council, sitting in commission at Beccles in Suffolk, the eighteenth of May, anno 1556, by Philip Williams, alias Footman, John Steward, and Matthew Butler, sworn for the purpose.

The names of such as fled out of the town, and lurked in secret places.

St. Mary Tower : Robert Patrick.
 Rose Nottingham, daughter of
 William Nottingham the elder.
 St. Laurence : Anne Fenne, servant to Robert
 Nottingham.
 Andrew Ingforby, his wife and
 daughter.
 Thomas Thompson, shoemaker,
 supposed to have received but
 twice these seventeen years.

St. Laurence : Martin Algate, locksmith, his
 wife.

St. Margaret's : William Pickess, tanner.
 John Whoodles, coverlet weaver,
 and his wife.
 William Harset, bricklayer.
 Thomas Flower, shoemaker.
 William Wright's wife, at the
 windmill.
 Laurence Waterward, late curate,
 born in a town called Chorley,
 in Lancashire.

St. Nicholas : Widow Swaine.
 Matthew Bird and his wife.
 Stephen Greenwich and his wife.
 William Coleman, servant to the
 said Stephen.
 Robert Coleman and his wife.
 Roger Laurence, alias Sparrow.
 John Carlton, saddler.
 William Coleman.
 James Hearst's wife.

St. Peter's : Richard Hover, apprentice with
 Nicholas Nottingham.
 Richard Hedley, a seller of he-
 retical books.

St. Stephen's : James Bocking, shoemaker : his
 wife.
 John Rawe, late servant to James
 Ashley.
 William Palmer, Richard Rich-
 man, John Deersley, servants
 to Stephen Green, shoemaker.
 Richard Richman, shoemaker :
 his wife, daughter to mother
 Fenkel, midwife.

St. Clement's : Mistress Tooly, which departed
 to Dersham in Suffolk.
 Agnes Wardall the elder, widow.
 Robert Wardall her son.

St. Matthew's : John Shoemaker and his wife.

*The names of such as have not received the sa-
 crament.*

St. Clement's : Robert Bray.
 John Nottingham.
 Agnes Wardall, wife of Robert
 Wardall.
 Nicholas Nottingham.
 Richard Mitchell.
 William Jordane's wife.
 Richard Butterall.
 Robert Brown.
 St. Peter's : John Read.
 Thomas Spurdance.

St. Peter's :	John, servant to Stephen Grinleff.
St. Stephen's :	Robert Scolding.
St. Margaret's :	John Greenwich and his wife.
St. Nicholas :	Thomas Sturgeon, mariner.
St. Mary Key :	John Finn's wife.
	Robert Branstone, brother and servant to William Branstone.
St. Mary Tower :	Martin Johnson, wholieth bedrid.
St. Laurence :	Agnes, his keeper, and Bent Alceed, servants to Robert Nottingham.
St. Mary at Elms :	Robert Sylke's son.
	John Ramsey and his wife, now in prison.

Names of such as observe not ceremonies.

St. Clement's :	Robert Cambridge refused the pax.
	Robert Brage his wife refused to suffer any child to be dipped in the font.
	Joan Barber, widow, and Thomasine her daughter, refused to behold the elevation of the sacrament.
	Mistress Ponder, mother to Joan Barber, in the same fault.
	Tye, a mariner's wife.
St. Mary at Elms :	Richard Haward refused the pax at mass in St. Laurence.
St. Peter's :	Master Lyons, at mass at St. Mary-Stoke, refused the pax.
	Mother Fenkel, and Joan Ward, alias Bentley's wife, refused to have children dipped in the fonts.
St. Stephen's :	Mother Beriff, midwife, refused to have children dipped in fonts.
St. Nicholas :	George Bush's wife rejected the host after receipt of it.

Names of priests' wives, that have access to their husbands.

	Ralph Carlton's wife, curate of St. Matthew's, and St. Mary at Elms.
	Elizabeth Cantrel, wife to Ralfe Cantrel.
	Jane Barker, wife to Robert Barker, priest, late of Bury.
	Latimer's wife, curate of St. Laurence and St. Stephen's.
	William Gleark's wife, late curate of Barkham, and St. Mary at Elms.

Names of maintainers against this complaint.

	Robert Sterop, customer to Queen Mary.
	Gilbert Sterop, deputy to Edward Grimston, esquire, for his butlerage.
	Master Butler the elder, searcher.
	Mistress Tooly, swelling by too much riches into wealth.
	Margaret Bray, who also presumeth upon the office of a midwife, not called.
St. Clement's :	Joan Barber, widow, and Mistress Bird, practising much wholesome counsel.
St. Mary Quay :	Bastian Man's wife ; and he himself more rich than wise.

The requests to punish and convent certain, whose ensample might reverse others from their opinions : as,

"To convent Richard Bird, jailer, who by evil counsel doth animate his prisoners of his sect. Also for that he with his wife did check us openly with unseemly words, tending almost to a tumult.

"To convent Thomas Sadler, for certain words spoken to John Batc, the crier of the town, the sixth of May. That it may please the bishop to wish his commissary and official to be upright and diligent in their office, and to appoint a curate of more ability to feed his cure with God's word.

"That none may be suffered to be midwives, but such as are catholic, because of evil counsel at such times as the necessity of women's travail shall require a number of women assembled.

"That Ralph Carlton, curate, may be convented, whether by corruption of money he hath crossed his book of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported."

The miraculous preservation of the Lady Elizabeth, now Queen of England, from extreme calamity and danger of life : in the time of Queen Mary, her sister.

Having thus, by the power of the Almighty, plainly and truly displayed the cruel practices and horrible persecutions of Queen Mary's reign, freely and boldly describing her tragical story, (where view is to be had of many things no less marvellous than miserable, no less dangerous than dolorous, no less uncharitable than unnatural,) and now, orderly coming to the flourishing and long-wished for reign of the most noble, virtuous, and renowned sister of the said Mary, this our dread and sovereign

mistress and governess, Queen Elizabeth, I thought my travelled pen not a little refreshed with ease and gladness; not so much, for that having now overpassed the bitter and sorrowful matters of such terrible burning, imprisoning, murdering, famishing, racking, and tormenting, and spiteful handling, of the pitiful bodies of Christ's blessed saints, as also for that we are now entering into the time and reign of such a worthy princess and queen; the remembrance and story whereof ministereth not so much unto me matter to write upon, as also delectation to labour and travail about the same. For what man, reputed with himself the singular ornaments and noble graces given of God to this so princely a lady and puissant princess, the mildness of her nature, the clemency of her royal estate and majesty, the peaceableness of her reign, who, a virgin, so mildly ruleth men, governeth her subjects, keepeth all things in order, quieteth foreign nations, recovereth towns, enlargeth her kingdom, nourisheth and concilieth amity, uniteth hearts and love with foreign enemies, helpeth neighbours, reformeth religion, quencheth persecution, redresseth the dross, frameth things out of joint, so feared with such love, and so loved with such fear,—what man, considering this, I say, either can hold his pen, though he never wrote before, or, being never so much wearied with writing, will not shake off all tediousness; entering into a matter so pleasant and delectable to entreat upon. For what can be more delectable and pleasant, than to run into such a field, to give virtue his commendation, which in all persons, as Plato saith, stirreth up great love, but especially in a prince; and, in such a prince, what natural subject will it not delight, not only to behold, but also to extend his travail and diligence in extolling and setting forth the same.

And first, to begin with our thanks, most due, to Almighty God, what cause have we all Englishmen so to do, that is, to render most ample thanksgiving to the mercifulness of God, who hath granted, conserved, and advanced, to the seat-regal of this realm, so good, godly, and virtuous a queen; such a chosen instrument of his clemency, so virtuously natured, so godly disposed, so merciful without marring, so humble without pride, so moderate without prodigality, so maidenly without pomp, through whom we cannot deny, as amends and recompence, now to be made to England, for the cruel days that were before. For as then moderation had no place, but all was ruled by rigour, contrary now, clemency hath all the operation; and, as then was no end of butcherly killing, and bloody murdering, so now is no beginning yet found of spilling any drop of blood. In prosecuting the matter, I might here speak of the

heady hastiness in Queen Mary's days, in proceeding without, and before, any law, by mere affection. Bishops that were married, thrust out of parliament, and all married deans and archdeacons out of the convocation; many put out of their livings, and others restored before any law. Yea, some noblemen and gentlemen deprived of their lands given them by the king, for Winchester to be inducted. Many churches changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many diriges sung, before the law was repealed; all was done in post haste. Now we see things done with more advisement and less haste, no man now presuming to violate orders godly taken, or to stir the people to change what they list, before order be published by law. And as we have seen the coming in, the proceeding, and the ending, of the one, so let us compare, withal, the conditions of the other. She cometh in like a mother, not like a step-dame; like a lamb, not like a lion; she rusheth not in to hang and draw; her Majesty beheadeth none, burneth none, spoileth none, forgiveth all; well considering the counsel of the poet, denying *gravius esse imperium vi quod fit quàm quod amicitia adjungitur*, that is, "that kingdom to be more firm and sure, which standeth by coaction, than what is governed with gentleness." Wherefore what cause we have to render thanks and supplications for this so worthy and excellent a prince, let all Englishmen's hearts examine and consider with themselves.

And thus our duties first premised, and thanks considered, which we justly owe to Almighty God for his blessed preservation and happy advancement of this our queen and governor, now, forasmuch as we have to enter to the time of this her Majesty's reign, the order and course of the history so requireth, before we proceed in other affairs, first, a little to persist in setting forth some part of her princely life, and singular worthiness; albeit I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to intermeddle with princes' lives, themselves yet being alive; lest, either for flattery a man shall seem to say too much, or, saying no more than truth, to say too little. Whereof, like as I am not ignorant, so neither am I greatly afraid, first, and chiefly, considering with myself her Majesty's clemency; secondly, for that the sequel of the history so provoked me; thirdly, and moreover, for that necessity also somewhat inciteth me unto the same; fearing lest, as it happened to King Edward, her Grace's brother, the like may happen to her Majesty also; that, as he being alive, every man could extol him, but, being now gone, it is not yet seen any to have taken the pains to furnish his story; so likewise if now, in her lifetime, nothing be spoken, peradventure, when

nature shall finish her course, less will be said hereafter.

First therefore, to begin with her princely birth; being born at Greenwich, anno 1533, of the famous and victorious prince, King Henry the Eighth, and of the noble and most virtuous Lady, Queen Anne, her mother—sufficient is committed to the story before; also of the solemn celebration of her baptism, in the said town, and Grey Friars' church, of Greenwich; having to her godfather, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. After that, she was committed to godly tutors and governors, under whose institution her Grace did so greatly increase, or rather excel, in all manner of virtue and knowledge of learning, that I stand in a doubt, whether is more to be commended in this behalf, the studious diligence of them that brought her up, or the singular towardness of her own princely nature, to all virtuous dispositions so apt and inclinable; being, notwithstanding, both the gifts of God, for which we are all bound to give him thanks. What tongue is it that her Grace knoweth not? what language can she not speak? what liberal art or science hath not she learned? and what virtue, wherewith her noble breast is not garnished? In counsel and wisdom, what counsellor will go beyond her Majesty? If the goodness of nature, joined with the industry of her Grace's institution, had not been in her marvellous, how many things were there, besides the natural infirmity of that sex, the tenderness of youth, the nobility of estate, allurements of the world, persuasions of flatterers, abundance of wealth and pleasures, examples of the court, enough to carry her Grace away, (after the common fashion and rule of many other ladies,) from gravity to lightness, from study to ease, from wisdom to vanity, from religion to superstition, from godliness to gawishness, to be pricked up in pride, to be garish in apparel, to be fierce in condition! Eloquently it is spoken, and discreetly meant, of Tully, the eloquent orator: "To live," saith he, "a good man in other places, is no great matter; but in Asia, to keep a sober and temperate life, that is a matter indeed praiseworthy:"—so here, why may I not affirm, without flattery, what every man's conscience can testify? In that age, that sex, in such state and fortune, in so great occasions, so many incitements, in all these to retain so sober conversation, so temperate condition, such mildness of manners, such humbleness of stomach, such clemency in forgiving, such travailing in study, briefly, in the midst of Asia, so far to degenerate from all Asia, it hath not lightly been seen in Europe. Hitherto it hath been seen in very few, whereby it may appear, not only what education or what nature may do, but what God, above nature, hath

wrought in her noble breast; adorning it with so worthy virtues, of which her princely qualities and virtuous dispositions, such as have been conversant with her youth, can better testify.

That which I have seen and read, I trust I may boldly repeat without suspicion, either of feigning or flattery. For so I have read, written and testified of her Grace, by one both learned, and also that can say something in this matter; who, in a certain book, by him set forth, entreating of her Grace's virtuous bringing up, what discreet, sober, and godly women she had about her, namely, speaketh of two points in her Grace to be considered; one, concerning her moderate and maidenly behaviour; the other, concerning her training up in learning and good letters. Declaring first, for her virtuous moderation of life; that seven years after her father's death, she had so little pride of stomach, so little delight in glistening gazes of the world, in gay apparel, rich attire, and precious jewels, that, in all that time, she never looked upon those that her father left her, (and which other ladies commonly be so fond upon,) but only once, and that against her will. And moreover, after that, she so little gloried in the same, that there came neither gold nor stone upon her head, till her sister enforced her to lay off her former soberness, and bear her company in her glistening gains; yea, and then she so ware it, as every man might see, that her body bare that which her heart misliked; wherein the virtuous prudence of this princess, not reading, but following, the words of Paul and Peter, well considered true nobility to consist, not in circumstances of the body, but in substance of the heart; not in such things which deck the body, but in that which dignifieth the mind; shining and blazing more bright than pearl or stone, be it never so precious. Again, the said author, further proceeding in the same matter, thus testifieth: that he knew a great man's daughter, receiving from Lady Mary, before she was queen, goodly apparel of tinsel cloth of gold, and velvet laid on with parchment-lace of gold; when she saw it she said, "What shall I do with it?" "Marry," said a gentlewoman, "wear it." "Nay," quoth she, "that were a shame to follow my Lady Mary against God's word, and leave my Lady Elizabeth which followeth God's word." Let noble ladies and gentlewomen here learn, either to give or to take good example given; and if they disdain to teach their inferiors in well-doing, yet let it not shame them to learn of their betters. Likewise also at the coming in of the Scottish queen, when all the other ladies of the court flourished in their bravery, with their hair frownsed, and curled, and double curled, yet she altered nothing, but, to the

shame of them all, kept her old maidenly shamefacedness.

Let us now come to the second point, declaring how she hath been trained in learning, and that, not vulgar and common, but the purest and the best, which is most commended at these days; as the tongues, arts, and God's word; wherein she so exceedingly profited, as the aforesaid author doth witness, that, being under twenty years of age, she was not, in the best kind of learning, inferior to those that all their lifetime had been brought up in the universities, and were counted jolly fellows. And, that you may understand that there hath not been nor is in her learning only without nature, and knowledge without towardness to practise, I will tell what hath been heard of her first schoolmaster, a man very honest and learned, who reported of her to a friend of his, that he learned every day more of her than she of him; which, when it seemed to him a mystery, (as indeed it was,) and therefore desired to know his meaning therein, he thus expounded it: "I teach her words," quoth he, "and she me, things. I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly life teacheth me words to do; for" saith he, "I think she is the best inclined and disposed of any in all Europe." It seemed to me a goodly commendation of her, and a witty saying of him. Likewise an Italian which taught her his tongue (though that nation lightly praise not out of their own country) said once to the said party, that he found in her two qualities which are never, lightly, yokefellows in one woman; which were, a singular wit, and a marvellous meek stomach.

If time and leisure would serve to peruse her whole life past, many other excellent and memorable examples of her princely qualities and singular virtues might here be noted; but none in my mind more worthy of commendation, or that shall set forth the fame of her heroical and princely renown more to all posterity, than the Christian patience and incredible clemency of her nature, showed in her afflictions, and towards her enemies declared. Such was then the wickedness and rage of that time, wherein what dangers and troubles were among the inferior subjects of this realm of England may be easily gathered, when such a princess of that estate, being both a king's daughter, a queen's sister, an heir apparent to the crown, could not escape without her cross; and therefore, as we have hitherto discoursed the afflictions and persecutions of the other poor members of Christ, comprehended in this history before, so likewise I see no cause why the communion of her Grace's afflictions also, among the other saints of Christ, ought to be suppressed in silence, especially seeing that the great and marvel-

lous working of God's glory, chiefly in this story, appeareth above all the rest. And though I should, through ingratitude or silence, pass over the same, yet the thing itself is so manifest, that, what Englishman is he which knoweth not the afflictions of her Grace, to have been far above the condition of a king's daughter? for there was no more behind to make a very Iphigenia of her, but her offering up upon the altar of the scaffold; in which her storms and tempests, with what patience her Highness behaved herself, although it be best known to those who, then being her adversaries, had the mewing of her, yet this will I say by the way, that, then, she must needs be in her affliction marvellous patient, who showed herself now, in this prosperity, to be utterly without desire of revenge; or else would she have given some token, ere this day, of remembrance how she was handled. It was no small injury that she suffered in the lord protector's days, by certain venomous vipers. But, to let that pass, was it no wrong, think you, or small injury that she sustained, after the death of King Edward, when they sought to defeat both her and her sister, from her natural inheritance and right of the crown.

But when all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldom, never was there, since the memory of our fathers, any example to be showed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably and blessedly showed itself, to the glory of his own name, and to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous custody and out-scape of this OUR SOVEREIGN LADY, now QUEEN, then Lady Elizabeth, in the strait time of Queen Mary her sister.

In which story we first have to consider in what extreme misery, sickness, fear, and peril her Highness was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought: first, with great routs and bands of armed men, (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her,) being fetched up as the greatest traitor in the world, clapped in the Tower, and again tossed from thence, and from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to pillar, at length also prisoner in her own house, and guarded with a sort of cut-throats, which ever gaped for the spoil, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Secondly, we have to consider again, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculously, she was delivered from danger, what favour and grace she found with the Almighty; who, when all help of man and hope of recovery was past, stretched out his mighty protection, and preserved her

Highness, and placed her in this princely seat of rest and quietness, wherein now she sitteth; and long may she sit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant, we beseech him.

In which story, if I should set forth, at large and at full, all the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging, and as just occasion of the history requireth; besides the importunate length of the story discoursed, peradventure it might move offence to some being yet alive, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to use such brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the discharge of the story, the profit of the reader, and hurt to none; suppressing the names of some, whom here, although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their names, than the queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore now, to enter into the discourse of this tragical matter, first here is to be noted, that Queen Mary, when she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper: but, after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her, &c. After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, (as before was mentioned,) that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courteney were charged with false suspicion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising. Whereupon Queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashridge, the next day after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her three of her councillors, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir John Williams, Sir Edward Hastings, (then master of the horse,) and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty; who at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sore sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her Grace's chamber, they willed one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her Grace, that there were certain come from the court, which had a message from the queen.

Her Grace, having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming: howbeit, being then very sick, and the night far spent, (which was at ten of the clock,) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word again, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the

lady being aghast, went to show her Grace their words, but they, hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her Grace's chamber, unbidden. At whose so sudden coming into her bedchamber, her Grace, being not a little amazed, said unto them, "Is the haste such, that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?" They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case. "And I," quoth she, "am not glad to see you here, at this time of the night." Whereunto they answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, "Certes, no creature more glad than I to come to her Majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can well testify." "Indeed we see it true," quoth they, "that you do say; for which we are very sorry. Albeit, we let you to understand, that our commission is such, and so straiteneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either quick or dead." Whereat she, being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their commission was very sore; but yet, notwithstanding, she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strait. "Yes, verily," said they. Whereupon they, calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no; whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the next morning at nine of the clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, so departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered, as appertained to their Worships.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what a heavy house there was to behold the unreverent and doleful dealing of these men, but especially the carnal fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashridge, all sick in the litter, she came to Redbourn, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Alban's, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Master Dodde's

house at Mimms, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she, being very sick, tarried that night and the next day; during which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell. From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen, to accompany her Highness, which were very sorry to see her in that case. But especially a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about her litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her estate.

Now when she came to the court, her Grace was there straightways shut up, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palm Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, Sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council; to whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyat's rebellion, which he stoutly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels. But, being straitly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen other of the council, (who shall be here nameless,) came unto her Grace from the queen's Majesty, and burdened her with Wyat's conspiracy, which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They, being not contented with this, charged her Grace with business made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country: which also she utterly denying, cleared her innocence therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she, being aghast, said, that she trusted the queen's Majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her Highness would not otherwise conceive of her but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further mean to the queen her sister, that she, being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her Majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place; protesting that she would request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore, in fine,

desired their Lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her truth. Whereunto the lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's Majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower: wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes.

But not long after, within the space of an hour or little more, came four of the foresaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Sussex, with the guard; who, warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; saving that for one gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed, in their rooms, three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none should have access to her Grace. At which time there were a hundred of northern soldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all that night; a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certain lords watching there also, with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council (the one was the earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her Grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her Grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed. And when her Grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's Majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that; adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her Grace, in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Sussex,) kneeling down, told her Grace that she should have liberty to write, and, as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's Highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's Majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they staid till the next day, being Palm Sunday, when, about nine of the clock, these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her Grace to depart. She answered, "If there

be no remedy, I must be contented ;" willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she could not: whereat she said, she marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time, commandment was given in all London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without all recourse of people into the Tower.

After all this, she took her barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman-usher, and two of her grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a

certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there staid again awhile. At landing she first stayed, and denied to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders customably used to land, neither well could she, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords, which shall be nameless, that she should not choose: and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she, putting it



back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said,

"Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God!

I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her.

At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. "What needed all this?" said she. "It is the use," said some, "so to be, when any prisoner comes thither." "And if it be," quoth she, "for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed." Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and

with one voice desired God to preserve her Grace ; who the next day were released of their cold coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being said, "Madam, you were best to come out of the rain ; for you sit unwholesomely." She then replying, answered again, "It is better sitting here, than in a worse place ; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me." With that her gentleman-usher wept : she demanding of him what he meant so uncomfortably to use her, seeing she took him to be her comforter, and not to dismay her ; especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into the prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her Grace : at what time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, "My Lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter : and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen : for just dealing," quoth he, "is always answerable." Whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house. One Master Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass staid for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before, and were learned, had two abecies provided, and delivered them ; so that upon the abecies they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abecie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie Eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer no further.

It would make a pitiful and a strange story, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were, to find out that knife that should cut her throat ; what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to see the day where, in they might wash their goodly white rochets in her

innocent blood ; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, ruler of the roost, who then, within five days after, came unto her, with divers other of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashridge, betwixt her and Sir James Croft, concerning her removing from thence to Donnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first she, being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house ; but within awhile, well advising herself, she said, "Indeed," quoth she, "I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember."

Then, to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James Croft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her, what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower. "But my Lords," quoth she, "you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein, methinks, you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's Majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my Lords, join not me, in this sort, with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Donnington castle, I do remember that Master Hobby and mine officers, and you, Sir James Croft, had such talk ; but what is that to the purpose, my Lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times ?"

The lord of Arundel, kneeling down, said, "Your Grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about so vain matters." She then said, "My Lords, you do sift me very narrowly : but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed ; and so God forgive you all."

At their departure Sir James Croft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her Grace. "But I assure your Grace," said he, "I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your Highness, which (the Lord knoweth) is very strange to me : for, I take God to record before all your Honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common rascal soldiers receiving it ; which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to speak with the lord chamberlain, being then constable of the Tower ; who, coming before his presence, declared unto his

Lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her Grace's diet, and to deliver it unto such common and desperate persons as they were, which did receive it, beseeching his Honour to consider her Grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. "Yea, sirs," said he, "who appointed you this office?" They answered, "Her Grace's council." "Council!" quoth he; "there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else, within this place. And I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served with the lieutenant's men, as other the prisoners are." Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more favour at his hands, considering her personage; saying, that they mistrusted not, but that the queen and her council would be better to her Grace than so. And therewith showed themselves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady and mistress. At this he sware by God, (striking himself upon the breast,) that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind toward her Grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occasion whereof, her Grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some might be appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto the common soldiers of the Tower; which being reasonably considered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her gentlemen, her clerk of her kitchen, and her two purveyors, to bring in her provision once a day: all which was done, the warders ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The lord chamberlain himself, being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and gave heed that they should have no talk with any of her Grace's waiting servants; and so warded them both in and out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent by the commandment of the council, to wait upon her Grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her rober, two of her pantry and ewery, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder; all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming-in of such a company against his will, would have had his men still to have served with her Grace's men; which her servants at no hand would suffer, desiring his Lordship to be contented, for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which

answer being sore displeased, he brake out into these threatening words: "Well," said he, "I will handle you well enough." Then went he into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roasted with her Grace's meat, and said that his cook should come thither and dress it. To that her Grace's cook answered, "My Lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet, but her own sworn men, so long as I live." He said, they should. But the cook said, his Lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor servants very stoutly; though afterward he was otherwise advised, and they more courteously used at his hands. And good cause why; for he had good cheer, and fared of the best, and her Grace paid well for it. Wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently toward her Grace.

After this sort, having lien a whole month there in close prison, and being very evil at ease therewithal, she sent for the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Chandos, to come and speak with her; who coming, she requested them that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for that she felt herself not well. To the which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her Grace's request; for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise break. Furthermore she desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walk but into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that (they answered) could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council. "Well," said she, "my Lords, if the matter be so hard, that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me." And so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day after the Lord Chandos came again unto her Grace, declaring unto her, that he had sued unto the council for further liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers other dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her Grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlemen, did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her Grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort unto her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side straitly

were commanded not to speak or look out at the windows into the garden, till her Grace were gone out again, having, in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her Grace, with this small liberty, contented herself in God, to whom be praise there-for.

During this time, there used a little boy, a man's child in the Tower, to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her Grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon, naughty and suspicious heads, thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's wonted frequenting unto him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the Lady Elizabeth's Grace. He answered, "Every day." Furthermore, they examined him, what the lord of Devonshire sent by him to her Grace. The child said, "I will go know, what he will give to carry to her." Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but four years of age. "This same is a crafty boy," quoth the lord chamberlain: "how say you, my Lord Chandos?" "I pray you, my Lord," quoth the boy, "give me the figs you promised me." "No, marry," quoth he, "thou shalt be whipped, if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or the Lord Courteney." The boy answered, "I will bring my Lady my mistress more flowers." Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come up into their chambers.

The next day, as her Grace was walking in the garden, the child, peeping in at a hole in the door, cried unto her, saying, "Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers." Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberlain rebuked highly his father, commanding him to put him out of the house. "Alas, poor infant!" quoth the father. "It is a crafty knave," quoth the lord chamberlain; "let me see him here no more."

The fifth day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office of the Tower, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her Grace, and therefore the more feared; which so sudden mutation was unto her no little amazement. He brought with him a hundred soldiers, in blue coats, wherewith she was marvellously discomforted, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the Lady Jane's scaffold were taken away or no; fearing, by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom answer was made, that the scaffold was taken away, and that her

Grace needed not to doubt of any such tyranny; for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked who Sir Henry Benifield was; and whether he was of that conscience, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge he would see the execution thereof. She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. "Well," quoth she, "God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me, thy creature, which am thy servant and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain."

About which time it was spread abroad, that her Grace should be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his soldiers; but whither, it could not be learned: which was unto her a great grief, especially for that such a company was appointed to her guard; requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. At last, plain answer was made by the Lord Chandos, that there was no remedy, but from thence she must needs depart to the manor of Woodstock, as he thought. Being demanded of her, for what cause: "For that," quoth he, "the Tower is like further to be furnished." She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded, "Wherewith?" He answered, with such matter as the queen and council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and so departed.

In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, she was removed from the Tower, the lord treasurer being then there, for the lading of her carts, and discharging the place of the same; where Sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her jailer) did receive her, with a company of rascals to guard her, besides the lord of Derby's band, waiting in the country about, for the moonshine in the water. Unto whom at length came my Lord of Tame, joined in commission with the said Sir Henry, for the safe guiding of her to prison; and they together conveyed her Grace to Woodstock, as hereafter followeth. The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restrained of her own men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and Sir Henry Benifield's soldiers appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her person. Whereat she being marvellously dismayed, thinking verily some secret mischief to be a-working towards her, called her gentleman-usher, and desired him with the rest of his company to pray for her: "For this night," quoth she, "I think to die."

Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said, "God forbid that any such wickedness should be pretended against your Grace." So, comforting her as well as he could, at last he burst out into tears, and went from her down into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame, and Sir Henry Benifield.

Then he, coming to the lord of Tame, (who had proffered to him much friendship,) desired to speak with him a word or two; unto whom he familiarly said, he would with all his heart. Which when Sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman-usher answered, "No great matter, sir," said he, "but to speak with my Lord a word or two."

Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: "My Lord," quoth he, "you have been always my good Lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time is, to desire your Honour unfeignedly to declare unto me, whether any danger is meant towards my mistress this night, or no; that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certainly we will rather die, than she should secretly and innocently miscarry." "Marry," said the lord of Tame, "God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought; and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her foot also." And so (praised be God) they passed that doleful night, with no little heaviness of heart.

Afterwards, passing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windsor, her Grace espied certain of her poor servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said, "Yonder I see certain of my men: go to them and say these words from me, Like a sheep to the slaughter."

So she passing forward to Windsor, was lodged there that night in the dean of Windsor's house, a place more meet indeed for a priest than a princess.

And from thence her Grace was guarded and brought the next night to Master Dormer's house, where, much people standing by the way, some presented to her one gift, and some another, so that Sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very sore, for showing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such-like vile words.

Besides, as she passed through the villages, the townsmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking verily it had been otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequel proved after to the said poor men. For immediately the said Sir Henry,

hearing the same, sent his soldiers thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise uncourteously misusing other some for their good wills.

On the morrow, her Grace, passing from Master Dormer's, (where was, for the time of her abode there, a strait watch kept,) came to the lord of Tame's house, where she lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, saying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer their doings in that behalf; letting them to understand, that she was the queen's Majesty's prisoner, and no otherwise; advising them therefore to take heed and beware of after-claps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was well advised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that her Grace might and should in his house be merry. The next day, as she should take her journey from Ricot toward Woodstock, the lord of Tame with another gentleman being at tables, playing, and dropping vie crowns, the Lady Elizabeth, passing by, stayed and said she would see the game played out, which Sir Henry Benifield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing drop vie crowns, "Come on," saith he. "I will tarry," saith she, "and will see this game out."

After this, Sir Henry went up into a chamber, where were appointed for her Grace a chair, two cushions, and a foot-carpet, very fair and princelike, wherein presumptuously he sat and called one Barwick, his man, to pull off his boots: which as soon as it was known among the ladies and gentles, every one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing his indiscreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well. When supper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there such a company, considering so great a charge committed to him. "Sir Henry," quoth my Lord, "content yourself, all shall be voided, your men and all." "Nay, my soldiers," quoth Sir Henry, "shall watch all night." The lord of Tame answered, "It shall not need." "Well," said he, "need or need not, they shall so do;" mistrusting belike the company, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next day her Grace took her journey from thence to Woodstock, where she was enclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding and warding both within and without the walls,

every day to the number of threescore, and, in the night, without the walls, forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her Grace. But always, when she did recreate herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict manner as they were in the Tower, being at the least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailer; and he, kneeling down, desired her Grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. "From such officers," quoth she, "good Lord, deliver me!"

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent, to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather enforceth me, to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time by a certain merry-conceited man, being then about her Grace, who, noting the strait and strange keeping of his lady and mistress by the said Sir Henry Benifield, with so many locks and doors, with such watch and ward about her, as was strange and wonderful, spied a goat in the ward where her Grace was: and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notify her strait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her Grace therewith, as she was going into her lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the said party answered, "No, by St. Mary, (if it like your Grace,) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the queen's friends, or no. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benifield, (God willing,) to know what he is." So leaving her Grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry Benifield, who, when he saw him coming with it, asked him, half angrily, what he had there. Unto whom the party answered, saying, "Sir," quoth he, "I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my Lady's Grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell: for I understand him not. But he should seem to me to be some stranger, and I think verily a Welshman, for he hath a white frieze coat on his back. And forasmuch as I, being the queen's subject, and perceiving the strait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient licence, I have here found a stranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the place where her Grace was walking; and therefore, for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said stranger

to you, to examine, as you see cause;" and so he set him down. At which his words Sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said, "Well, well; you will never leave this gear I see:" and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her Grace had been there a time, she made suit to the council that she might be suffered to write to the queen; which at last was permitted. So Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote, (which he straitly observed,) always, she being weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would have been messenger to the queen of the same; whose request her Grace denied, saying, one of her own men should carry them; and that she would neither trust him nor any of his therein. Then he answered again, saying, "None of them durst be so bold," he trowed, "to carry her letters, being in that case." "Yes," quoth she, "I am assured I have none so dishonest that would deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before." "Well," said he, "my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it." Her Grace, replying again, said, "You charge me very often with your commission; I pray God, you may justly answer the cruel dealing you use towards me." Then he, kneeling down, desired her Grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen to serve her Majesty; protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her Grace, as now he did the queen's Highness. For the which his answer her Grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was: declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable; but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom Sir Henry replied and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her Grace so to say, was for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her Grace's letters to the queen, or no: and he answered, "Yea, sir, that I dare; and will with all my heart:" whereupon Sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her Grace, for that she was sickly; who, ministering to

her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace five or six days. Then she, being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and the council of her Grace's behaviour and humbleness toward the queen's Highness; which her Majesty hearing, took very thankfully: but the bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled that she submitted not herself to her Majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her Highness.

About this time, her Grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen's Majesty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them, whom she never offended. "For," quoth she, "if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law; which I am certain," quoth she, "I should have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies; and then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him."

About this time there was a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen, touching a marriage for her Grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing, and some another. A lord, who shall be here nameless, being there, at last said, that the king should never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying. God forbid that their king and master should have that mind, to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the Lady Elizabeth's Grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his councillors toward her Grace (praised be God therefor! who moved their hearts therein). Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after, to come to Hampton Court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will a little stay to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time she there remained; first, through fire, which began to kindle between the

boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire gotten into a cranny, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with Sir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire,) verily supposed it to be done of purpose.

Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paul Peny, a keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said Lady Elizabeth; who both saw the man, being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy-chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named Master James Basset, came to Bladon Bridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for Sir Henry Benifield to come and speak with him. But as God would, which disposeth all things after the purpose of his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said Sir Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the council, leaving strait word behind him with his brother, that no man, whatsoever he were, though coming with a bill of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it so fell out, that Master Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to approach in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how that the Lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a writ came down, subscribed with certain hands of the council, for her execution: which, if it were certain, as it is reported, Winchester (no doubt) was deviser of that mischievous drift. And, doubtless, the same Ahithophel had brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the fatherly providence of Almighty God (who is always stronger than the devil) stirred up Master Bridges, lieutenant the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the queen, to give certificate thereof, and to know further her consent, touching her sister's death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Winchester's devilish platform, which he said he had cast, through the Lord's great goodness came to no effect.

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and princess, one Master Edmund Tremain was on the rack, and Master Smithwike and divers others in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady, being in her captivity.

Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as she, the same time lying at Woodstock, had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer ; who, under a colourable pretence of a letter to Mistress Cleve from her father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these verses with her diamond in a glass window.

“ Much suspected by me :
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner.”

And thus much touching the troubles of Lady Elizabeth at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his house ; and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But, through the procurement either of Master Benifield, or by the doing of Winchester her mortal enemy, letters came over-night to the contrary ; whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. Whereupon no marvel if she, hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a milkmaid as she was ; saying that her case was better and life more merry than was hers, in that state as she was.

Now, after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot ; in which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her servants were fain to hold down her clothes about her : insomuch that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Whereupon she, desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by Sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained, under a hedge, to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Master Dormer's, and so to Colnbrooke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way, coming to Colnbrooke, certain of her Grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threescore, much to all their comforts, which had not seen her

Grace of long season before : notwithstanding they were commanded in the queen's name, immediately to depart the town, to both their and her Grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her Grace entered Hampton Court on the back side, into the prince's lodging, the doors being shut to her ; and she, guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at the least, ere any had recourse unto her. At length came the Lord William Haward, who marvellous honourably used her Grace. Whereat she took much comfort, and requested him to be a mean, that she might speak with some of the council ; to whom, not long after, came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, and Secretary Peter, who, with great humility, humbled themselves to her Grace. She again, likewise, saluting them, said, “ My Lords, I am glad to see you : for methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolately, alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a mean to the king and queen's Majesties, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long space, as to you, my Lords, it is not unknown.”

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's Grace ; and in so doing he had no doubt but that her Majesty would be good to her. She made answer, that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the days of her life ; adding, that she craved no mercy at her Majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her Majesty in thought, word, or deed. “ And besides this, in yielding,” quoth she, “ I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was, towards her Majesty, by occasion whereof the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion. And therefore I say, my Lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince.” And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again unto her Grace, and kneeling down declared, that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended : so that it should seem that the queen's Majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her Grace. “ Nay,” quoth

the Lady Elizabeth, "it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good." "Well," quoth Gardiner, "her Majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale ere that you be set at liberty." Her Grace answered, that she had as lieve be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected of her Majesty: "and this that I have said, I will," said she, "stand unto; for I will never belie myself." Winchester again kneeled down, and said, "Then your Grace hath the vantage of me, and other the lords, for your wrong and long imprisonment." "What vantage I have," quoth she, "you know: taking God to record, I seek no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me; but God forgive you and me also!" With that the rest kneeled, desired her Grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A sevensnight after, the queen sent for her Grace at ten of the clock in the night to speak with her: for she had not seen her in two years before. Yet, for all that, she, amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her; for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no. At which time Sir Henry Benifield with Mistress Clarencius coming in, her Grace was brought into the garden, unto a stair's foot that went into the queen's lodging, her Grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-usher and her grooms going before with torches; where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay all, saving one woman, Mistress Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber, where her Majesty was. At the sight of whom her Grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her Majesty, not mistrusting but that she should try herself as true a subject towards her Majesty, as ever did any; and desired her Majesty even so to judge of her: and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her. To whom the queen answered, "You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth: I pray God it may so fall out." "If it doth not," quoth the Lady Elizabeth, "I request neither favour nor pardon at your Majesty's hands." "Well," said the queen, "you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished." "I must not say so, if it please your Majesty, to you." "Why then," said the queen, "belike you will to others." "No, if it please your Majesty," quoth she, "I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your Majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be

your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth." And so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that King Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a very friend in that matter.

Thus her Grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day sevensnight was released of Sir Henry Benifield, (her jailer, as she termed him,) and his soldiers. And so her Grace, being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of Queen Mary's councillors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, Master Gage; and thus straitly was she looked to, all Queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her Highness's imprisonment.

Then there came to Lambheyre, Master Jerningham, and Master Norris, gentleman-usher, Queen Mary's men, who took away from her Grace, Mistress Ashley to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her Grace, saying, that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But, God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodness, by occasion of whose opportune decease, (as is partly touched in this story before,) the life of this excellent princess, the wealth of all England, was preserved. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the way, as both by his words and doings before notified may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her royal Majesty, but also of the miserable and woeful state of this whole island, and poor subjects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and peevish practices of this wretched Abithophel prevailed not; but, contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsel laid against another, were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, *Malum consilium consulti pessimum*.

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also, and dropping away, of other her enemies, whereby, by little and little, her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, and hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud; and, albeit as yet her Grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length, in the month of November, and the

seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of Queen Mary, as hereafter, God granting, shall be more declared.

Although this history following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not unaptly be inserted, for that it doth discover and show forth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this virtuous queen, our sovereign lady, in the time of Queen Mary her sister; which is reported, as a truth credibly told, by sundry honest persons, of whom some are yet alive, and do testify the same. The matter whereof is this.

Soon after the stir of Wyat, and the troubles that happened to this queen for that cause, it fortun'd one Robert Farrer, a haberdasher of London, dwelling near unto Newgate-market, in a certain morning to be at the Rose tavern, (from whence he was seldom absent,) and falling to his common drink, as he was ever accustomed, and having in his company three other companions like to himself, it chanced the same time one Laurence Sheriff, grocer, dwelling also not far from thence, to come into the said tavern, and, finding there the said Farrer, (to whom of long time he had borne good will,) sat down in the seat to drink with him; and Farrer, being in his full cups, and not having consideration who were present, began to talk at large, and namely, against the Lady Elizabeth, and said, "That jill hath been one of the chief doers of this rebellion of Wyat; and before all be done, she and all the heretics her partakers shall well understand of it. Some of them hope that she shall have the crown; but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with faggots, before she come to it."

The foresaid Laurence Sheriff, grocer, being then servant unto the Lady Elizabeth, and sworn unto her Grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbour Farrer, in speaking so irreverently of his mistress, but said unto him, "Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee: but, hearing of thee that I now hear, I defy thee; and I tell thee I am her Grace's sworn servant, and she is a princess, and the daughter of a noble king, and it evil becometh thee to call her a jill; and for thy so saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain upon thee." "Do thy worst," said Farrer, "for that I said, I will say again." And so Sheriff came from his company.

Shortly after, the said Sheriff, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complain; the which commissioners sat then at Bonner the bishop of London's house, beside Paul's; and there were present Bonner, (then being the chief commissioner,) the Lord Mordant, Sir

John Baker, Dr. Darbishire, chancellor to the bishop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Sheriff, coming before them, declared the manner of the said Robert Farrer's talk against the Lady Elizabeth. Bonner answered, "Peradventure you took him worse than he meant." "Yea, my Lord," said Dr. Story, "if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better catholic, nor an honest man, in the city of London." "Well," said Sheriff, "my Lord, she is my gracious lady and mistress, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honour-a princess by the name of a jill. And I saw yesterday, in the court, that my Lord Cardinal Pole, meeting her in the chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knees, and kissed her hand: and I saw also, that King Philip meeting her, made her such obeisance, that his knee touched the ground. And then methinketh it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call her jill; and to wish them to hop headless that shall wish her Grace to enjoy the possession of the crown, when God shall send it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance." "Yea! stay there," quoth Bonner, "when God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly," said he, "the man that spake the words that you have reported, meant nothing against the Lady Elizabeth, your mistress; and no more do we. But he, like an honest and zealous man, feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore," said Bonner, "good man, go your ways home, and report well of us toward your mistress; and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and undiscreeit words, and we trust he will not do the like again." And thus Sheriff came away, and Farrer had a flap with a fox-tail.

Now that ye may be fully informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whom Dr. Story praised for so good a man, ye shall understand that the same Farrer, having two daughters being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a sum of money he himself delivered to Sir Roger Cholmley, to be at his commandment; the other he sold to a knight called Sir William Godolphin, to be at his commandment, whom he made his lackey, and so carried her with him, being apparelled in man's apparel, to Boulogne; and the said Farrer followed the camp. He also was a great and a horrible blasphemour of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men; also a common drunkard. And now I refer the life of these catholics to your judgment, to think of them as you please. But of this matter enough, and too much.

Now let us return where we left before, which was at the death of Queen Mary; after whose de-

cease succeeded her foresaid sister, Lady Elizabeth, into the right of the crown of England, who, after so long restraintment, so great dangers escaped, such blusterous storms overblown, so many injuries digested, and wrongs sustained, by the mighty protection of our merciful God, to our no small comfort and commodity, hath been exalted and erected out of thrall to liberty, out of danger to peace and quietness, from dread to dignity, from misery to majesty, from mourning to ruling: briefly, of a prisoner made a princess, and placed in her throne royal, proclaimed now queen, with as many glad hearts of her subjects, as ever was any king or queen in this realm before her, or ever shall be (I dare say) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, her princely reign, and peaceable government, with divers and sundry other things incident to the same, and especially touching the great stirs and alterations which have happened in other foreign nations, and also partly among ourselves here at home, forasmuch as the tractation hereof requireth another volume by itself, I shall therefore defer the reader to the next book or section ensuing; wherein (if the Lord so please to sustain me with leave and life) I may have to discourse of all and singular such matters done and achieved in these our latter days and memory, more at large.

Now then, after these so great afflictions falling upon this realm, from the first beginning of Queen Mary's reign, wherein so many men, women, and children were burnt, many imprisoned and in prison starved, divers exiled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house and home, so many weeping eyes, so many sobbing hearts, so many children made fatherless, so many fathers bereft of their wives and children, so many vexed in conscience, and divers against conscience constrained to recant; and, in conclusion, never a good man almost in all the realm but suffered something during all the time of this bloody persecution: after all this (I say) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised!) to the seventeenth day of November, which day, as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ rest from their careful mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death, I mean, of Queen Mary; who, being long sick before, upon the said seventeenth day of November, in the year abovesaid, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded life to nature, and her kingdom to Queen Elizabeth her sister. As touching the manner of whose death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her council, seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause,

to the end they might minister the more ready consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the king's Majesty her husband, which was gone from her. To whom she answering again, "Indeed," said she, "that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind:" but what that was, she would not express to them. Albeit, afterward, she opened the matter more plainly to Master Rise and Mistress Clarencius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of Master Rise himself); who then, being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her, that they feared she took thought for King Philip's departing from her. "Not that only," said she, "but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart." And here an end of Queen Mary, and of her persecution.

Of Queen Mary this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens that shall succeed her, to be noted—that before her, never was read in story of any king or queen of England, since the time of King Lucius, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and prisoning, so much Christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives, were spilled within this realm, as under the said Queen Mary for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

A brief declaration, showing the unprosperous success of Queen Mary in persecuting God's people, and how mightily God wrought against her in all her affairs.

Now, forasmuch as Queen Mary, during all the time of her reign, was such a vehement adversary and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Jesus and his gospel: for the which there be many which do highly magnify and approve her doings therein, reputing her religion to be sound and catholic, and her proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of Almighty God: to the intent, therefore, that all men may understand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not only not proceed with her proceedings, but, contrariwise rather, how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and in subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein, to perpend and survey the whole course of her doings and chievances, and consider what success she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any prince, in this land or any other, which did ever show in it (for the proportion of time) so many arguments of God's great wrath and displeasure, as were to be seen in the reign of this

Queen Mary; whether we behold the shortness of her time, or the unfortunate event of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand, touching her own private affairs.

Of good kings we read in the Scripture, in showing mercy and pity, in seeking God's will in his word, and subverting the monuments of idolatry, how God blessed their ways, increased their honours, and mightily prospered all their proceedings; as we see in king David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, with such others. Manasseh made the streets of Jerusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects; but what came of it the text doth testify.

Of Queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we see: that she, in sparing the blood, not only of God's servants, but also of God's enemies, hath doubled now the reign of Queen Mary her sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperity, that it is hard to say, whether the realm of England felt more of God's wrath in Queen Mary's time, or of God's favour and mercy in these so blessed and peaceable days of Queen Elizabeth.

Gamaliel, speaking his mind in the council of the Pharisees concerning Christ's religion, gave this reason: that if it were of God, it should continue, whosoever said nay; if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of Queen Mary and her Romish religion; that if it were so perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the gospellers were so detestable and heretical as they make it, how cometh it then, that this so catholic a queen, such a necessary pillar of his spouse the church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea, how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor heretics, rooted out Queen Mary so soon from her throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Now furthermore, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, until she thus persecuted the true servants of God, remaineth to be discussed: where this is first to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by King Edward her brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and, by the means of the gospellers, brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that she, breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy unto the pope,

by and by God's blessing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward, during the whole time of her regiment.

For first, incontinently, the fairest and greatest ship she had, called Great Harry, was burnt; such a vessel as in all these parts of Europe was not to be matched.

Then would she needs bring in King Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England subject unto a stranger. And, all that notwithstanding, (that she either did, or was able to do,) she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England upon his head. With King Philip also came in the pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns unto their places: neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of her ability; and yet therein also God stopped her of her will, that it came not forward.

After this, what a dearth happened in her time here in her land! the like whereof hath not lightly in England been seen, insomuch that in sundry places her poor subjects were fain to feed off acorns, for want of corn.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this Queen Mary's days. King Edward the Sixth, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere! What a famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of God's blessed hand, rather than by any expectation of man! King Edward the Third (which was the eleventh king from the Conquest) by princely puissance purchased Calais unto England, which had been kept English ever since, till at length came Queen Mary, the eleventh likewise from the said King Edward, which lost Calais from England again; so that the winnings of this queen were very small—what the losses were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of Queen Mary have had no great good success, as you have heard. But never worse success had any woman, than had she in her child-birth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child or not with child: if she were with child and did travail, why was it not seen? if she were not, how was all the realm deluded! And in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the catholic clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were so godly as they pretend. If their masses be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory,

how chanced then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? if not, how then came it to pass that all the catholic Church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived?

Queen Mary, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by half dozens and dozens together. Whereupon, God's wrathful indignation increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children, (which chiefly and above all things she desired,) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of honour, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herself whole heaps of such joy and felicity. But now the omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of such joys and felicities came all to a castle-come-down; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation; who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband; who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now enjoy him whom she had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy. Mark here, Christian reader, the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn withal what the Lord can do, when man's wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the poor servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully, as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, by death to cut her off, which in her life so little regarded the life of others; giving her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of which years and reign, scarce we find in any other story of king or queen since the Conquest or before, (being come to their own government,) save only in King Richard the Third.

And thus much here, as in the closing up of this story, I thought to insinuate, touching the unlucky and rueful reign of Queen Mary; not for any detraction to her place and state royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect: that forasmuch as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefore, but also by her may be advertised and learn what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church, to the effusion of Christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them, (as it did here,) that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at the same stone as did the Jews, in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

The severe punishment of God upon the persecutors of his people and enemies to his word, with such, also, as have been blasphemers, contemners, and mockers of his religion.

Leaving now Queen Mary, being dead and gone, I come to them which, under her, were the chief ministers and doers in this persecution, the bishops and priests of the clergy, I mean, to whom Queen Mary gave all the execution of her power, as did Queen Alexandra to the Pharisees, after the time of the Maccabees; of whom Josephus thus writeth: "She only retained to herself the name and title of the kingdom, but all her power she gave to the Pharisees to possess." Touching which prelates and priests here is to be noted, in like sort, the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he abridged the reign of their queen, so he suffered them not to escape unvisited; first beginning with Stephen Gardiner, the arch-persecutor of Christ's church, whom he took away about the midst of the queen's reign. Of whose poisoned life, and stinking end, forasmuch as sufficient hath been touched before, I shall not need here to make any new rehearsal thereof.

After him, dropped others away also, some before the death of Queen Mary, and some after; as Morgan, bishop of St. David's; who, sitting upon the condemnation of the blessed martyr, Bishop Ferrar, and unjustly usurping his room, not long after was stricken by God's hand after such a strange sort, that his meat would not go down, but rise and pick up again, sometimes at his mouth, sometimes blown out at his nose, most horrible to behold; and so he continued till his death. Where note moreover, that when Master Leyson, being then sheriff at Bishop Ferrar's burning, had

fetched away the cattle of the said bishop from his servant's house, called Matthew Harbottle, into his own custody, the cattle, coming into the sheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and so died.

This foresaid Bishop Morgan above mentioned, bringeth me also in remembrance of Justice Morgan, who sat upon the death of the Lady Jane, and not long after the same fell mad, and was bereft of his wits; and so died, having ever in his mouth, "Lady Jane, Lady Jane."

Before the death of Queen Mary, died Dr. Dunning, the bloody and wretched chancellor of Norwich, who, after he had most rigorously condemned and murdered so many simple and faithful saints of the Lord, continued not long himself, but, in the

midst of his rage in Queen Mary's days, died in Lincolnshire, being suddenly taken, as some say, sitting in his chair.

The like sudden death fell also upon Berry, commissary in Norfolk, who, (as is before showed in the story of Thomas Hudson,) four days after Queen Mary's death, when he had made a great feast, and had one of his concubines there, coming home from the church after evensong, where he had ministered baptism the same time, between the churchyard and his house suddenly fell down to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither showed any one token of repentance.

What a stroke of God's hand was brought upon the cruel persecutor of the holy and harmless saints of the Lord, Bishop Thornton, suffragan of Dover,



who, after he had exercised his cruel tyranny upon so many godly men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a

Bourne, and there, upon Sunday following, looking upon his men playing at the bowls, fell suddenly in a palsy, and so had to bed, was willed to remember God: "Yea, so I do," said he, "and my Lord Cardinal too," &c.

After him succeeded another bishop or suffragan ordained by the foresaid cardinal. It is reported that he had been suffragan before to Bonner, who, not long after being made bishop or suffragan of

Saturday from the chapter-house at Canterbury to

Dover, brake his neck, falling down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's blessing.

Among other plentiful and sundry examples of the Lord's judgment and severity practised upon the cruel persecutors of his people, that is not the least that followeth, concerning the story of one William Fenning, the effect and circumstance of which matter is this:—

John Cooper, of the age of forty-four years, dwelling at Wattisham in the county of Suffolk, being by science a carpenter, a man of very honest report and a good housekeeper, a harbourer of strangers that travelled for conscience, and one that favoured religion and those that were religious, was of honest conversation and life, hating all popish and papistical trash.

This man being at home in his house, there came unto him one William Fenning, a serving-man, dwelling in the said town of Wattisham; and understanding that the said Cooper had a couple of fair bullocks, did desire to buy them of him; which Cooper told him that he was loth to sell them, for that he had brought them up for his own use, and if he should sell them, he then must be compelled to buy others; and that he would not do.

When Fenning saw he could not get them, (for he had often essayed the matter,) he said, he would sit as much in his light; and so departed, and went and accused him of high treason. The words Cooper was charged with were these: How he should pray, if God would not take away Queen Mary, that then the devil would take her away. Of these words did this Fenning charge him before Sir Henry Doile, knight, (unto whom he was carried by Master Timperley of Hintlesham in Suffolk, and one Grimwood of Lawshall, constable,) which words Cooper flatly denied; and said he never spake them. But that could not help.

Notwithstanding, he was arraigned there-for at Bury before Sir Clement Higham, at a Lent assize; and there this Fenning brought two naughty men that witnessed the speaking of the foresaid words, whose names were Richard White of Wattisham, and Grimwood of Hitchen, in the said county of Suffolk; whose testimonies were received as truth, although this good man John Cooper had said what he could, to declare himself innocent therein, but to no purpose, God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by Sir Clement Higham's words, who said he should not escape, for an example to all heretics; as indeed he thoroughly performed. For immediately he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was executed upon him very shortly after, to the great grief of

many a good heart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him alive his wife and nine children, with goods and cattle, to the value of three hundred marks, the which substance was all taken away by the said Sir Henry Doile, sheriff, but his wife and poor children left to the wide world in their clothes, and suffered not to enjoy one penny of that they had sore laboured for, unless they made friends to buy it with money of the said sheriff, so cruel and greedy were he and his officers, upon such things as were there left.

Well, now this innocent man is dead, his goods spoiled, his wife and children left desolate and comfortless, and all things hushed, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guiltless blood, would not still so suffer it, but began at the length to punish it himself. For in the harvest after, the said Grimwood of Hitchen, (one of the witnesses before specified,) as he was in his labour stacking up a goff of corn, having his health, and fearing no peril, suddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediately most miserably he died. Such was the terrible judgment of God, to show his displeasure against his bloody act, and to warn the rest, by these his judgments, to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the same, for his mercy's sake. Amen.

This foresaid Fenning, who was the procurer of this tyranny against him, is yet alive, and is now a minister; which if he be, I pray God he may so repent that fact, that he may declare himself hereafter such a one as may well answer to his vocation accordingly.

But since we have heard that he is no changeling, but continueth still in his wickedness, and therefore presented before the worshipful Master Humerston, esquire, and justice of peace and quorum, for that he had talk with some of his friends, (as he thought,) how many honest women (to their great infamy) were in the parish of Wenhamston, wherein he is now vicar, resident: wherefore he was commanded the next Sunday ensuing, to ask all the parish forgiveness upon his knees openly in service-time, which he did in Wenhamston church before-said; and moreover the abovesaid Fenning is reported to be more like a shifter than a minister.

To these examples also may be added the terrible judgment of God upon the parson at Crundale in Kent, who, upon Shrove Sunday, having received the pope's pardon from Cardinal Pole, came to his parish, and exhorted the people to receive the same, as he had done himself; saying that he stood now as clear in conscience as when he was first born, and cared not now if he should die the same hour, in the clearness of his conscience: whereupon being suddenly stricken by the hand of God, and leaning

a little on the one side, immediately shrank down in the pulpit, and so was found dead, speaking not one word. Read more before.

Not long before the death of Queen Mary, died Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury. About the which time also followed the unprepared death of Dr. Jeffrey, chancellor of Salisbury, who in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yielded his life, which had so little pity of other men's lives before. Concerning whose cruelty partly mention is made before.

As touching moreover the foresaid chancellor, here is to be noted, that he departing upon a Saturday, the next day before the same he had appointed to call before him ninety persons, and not so few, to examine them by inquisition, had not the goodness of the Lord, and his tender providence, thus prevented him with death, providing for his poor servants in time.

And now, to come from priests to laymen, we have to find in them also no less terrible demonstration of God's heavy judgment upon such as have been vexers and persecutors of his people.

Before, in the story of Master Bradford, mention was made of Master Woodroofe, who, being then sheriff, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor saints of Christ; and so hard he was in his office, that when Master Rogers was in the cart going toward Smithfield, and in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come; Master Woodroofe bade the carman's head should be broken, for staying his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the space of a week, but he was stricken by the sudden hand of God, the one half of his body; in such sort, that he lay benumbed and bedridden, not able to move himself but as he was lifted of others; and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.

Likewise touching Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of some, that the said Ralph afterward was attached himself, arraigned, and hanged. Who, being at the bar, had these words before the judges there, and a great multitude of people: "This is most justly fallen upon me," saith he, "for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of a good and just man, George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of Queen Mary's reign, through my procurement, who sold his blood for a little money."

Not much unlike stroke of these severally was showed upon William Swallow of Chelmsford, and his wife; also upon Richard Potto, and Justice Brown, cruel persecutors of the said George Eagles, concerning whose story read before.

Among other persecutors also came to our hands the cruelty of one Master Swingfield, an alderman's deputy about Thames Street, who, hearing one Angel's wife, a midwife that kept herself from their popish church, to be at the labour of one Mistress Walter at Crooked Lane-end, took three others with him, and beset the house about, and took her, and carried her to Bonner's officers, big with child, eight and twenty weeks gone, who laid her in Lollards' Tower; where, the same day she came in, through fear, and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a man-child, and could have no women with her in that needful time. Lying there five weeks, she was delivered under sureties by friendship, and Dr. Story, hearing thereof, charged her with felony, and so sent her to Newgate. The cause was, for that she had a woman at her house in her labour that died, and the child also; and so he charged her with their death. But when Sir Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were so long, died the said Master Swingfield and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, which have such a great devotion in setting up the popish mass, I shall desire them to mark well this story following. There was a certain bailiff, of Crowland in Lincolnshire, named Burton, who, pretending an earnest friendship to the gospel in King Edward's days, in outward show at least, (although inwardly he was a papist or atheist, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life,) set forth the king's proceedings lustily, till the time that King Edward was dead and Queen Mary placed quietly in her estate. Then, perceiving by the first proclamation concerning religion, how the world was like to turn, the bailiff turned his religion likewise; and so he moved the parish to show themselves the queen's friends, and to set up the mass speedily. Nevertheless, the most substantial of the parish, marvelling much at the bailiff's inconstant lightness, considering also his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his request, knowing moreover that their duty and friendship to the queen stood not in setting up the mass, spared to provide for it, as long as they might: but the bailiff called on them still in the queen's name.

At last, when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his spurs by playing the man in the mass's behalf and the queen's, he got him to church upon a Sunday morning; and when the curate was beginning the English service, according to the statute set forth by King Edward the Sixth, the bailiff cometh in a great rage to the curate, and saith, "Sirrah! will you not say mass?"

Buckle yourself to mass, you knave, or, by God's blood, I shall sheath my dagger in your shoulder." The poor curate, for fear, settled himself to the mass.

Not long after this, the bailiff rode from home upon certain business, accompanied with one of his neighbours; and as they came riding together upon the fen-bank homeward again, a crow, sitting in a willow-tree, took her flight over his head, singing after her wonted note, "Knave, knave!" and withal let fall upon his face, so that her excrements ran from the top of his nose down to his beard.

The poisoned scent and savour whereof so noyed his stomach, that he never ceased vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was so sore and his body so distempered, that for extreme sickness he got him to bed; and so lying, he was not able for the stink in his stomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out still, sorrowfully complaining of that stink, and with no small oaths cursed the crow that poisoned him. To make short, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he desperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life. This was reported and testified, for a certainty, by divers of his neighbours, both honest and credible persons.

Of James Abbes, martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whose martyrdom, what befell upon a wicked railer against him, now ye shall further understand; whereby all such railing persecutors may learn to fear God's hand, and to take heed how or what they speak against his servants. As this James Abbes was led by the sheriff toward his execution, divers poor people stood in the way, and asked their alms. He then, having no money to give them, and desirous yet to distribute something amongst them, did pull off all his apparel saving his shirt, and gave the same unto them, to some one thing, to some another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be strong in the Lord, and, as faithful followers of Christ, to stand stedfast unto the truth of the gospel, which he (through God's help) would then in their sight seal and confirm with his blood. While he was thus charitably occupied, and zealously instructing the people, a servant of the sheriff's going by, and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and blasphemously said, "Believe him not, good people: he is a heretic and a mad-man, out of his wit; believe him not, for it is heresy that he saith." And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, so did this wicked wretch still blow forth his blasphemous exclamations, until they came unto the stake where he should suffer; unto the which this constant martyr was tied, and in the

end cruelly burnt, as in his story more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him, (such was the fearful stroke of God's justice upon this blasphemous railer,) that he was there presently, in the sight of all the people, stricken with a frenzy, wherewith he had before most railingly charged that good martyr of God, who, in this furious rage and madness, casting off his shoes, with all the rest of his clothes, cried out unto the people, and said, "Thus did James Abbes, the true servant of God, who is saved; but I am damned." And thus ran he round about the town of Bury, still crying out, that James Abbes was a good man, and saved; but he was damned.

The sheriff then, being amazed, caused him to be taken and tied in a dark house, and by force compelled him again to put on his clothes, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to some quietness. But he, (all that notwithstanding,) as soon as they were gone, continued his former raging; and casting off his clothes, cried as he did before, "James Abbes is the servant of God, and is saved; but I am damned."

At length he was tied in a cart, and brought home unto his master's house, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the priest of the parish was sent for; who, coming unto him, brought with him the crucifix, and their houseling host of the altar: which gear when the poor wretch saw, he cried out of the priest, and defied all that baggage, saying, that the priest, with such others as he was, was the cause of his damnation; and that James Abbes was a good man and saved. And so, shortly after, he died.

Clarke, an open enemy to the gospel and all godly preachers, in King Edward's days, hanged himself in the Tower of London.

The great and notable papist, called Trolling Smith, of late fell down suddenly in the street, and died.

Dale the promoter was eaten into his body with lice, and so died; as it is well known of many, and confessed also by his fellow John Auales, before credible witness.

Coxe, an earnest protestant in King Edward's days, and in Queen Mary's time a papist and a promoter, going well and in health to bed, (as it seemed,) was dead before the morning. This was testified by divers of the neighbours.

Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, died very miserably, being so swollen that he was more like a monster than a man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruel wretch, to hasten the poor lambs to the slaughter, would go

to Bonner, Story, Cholmley, and others, crying out, "Rid my prison; rid my prison. I am too much pestered with these heretics."

The son of the said Alexander, called James, having left unto him by his father great substance, within three years wasted all to nought: and when some marvelled how he spent those goods so fast, "O!" said he, "evil gotten, evil spent." And shortly after, as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down suddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, son-in-law to this Alexander, and a horrible blasphemer of God, and no less cruel to the said prisoners, rotted away, and so most miserably died; who commonly when he would affirm any thing, were it true or false, used to say, "If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die."—Witness the printer hereof, with divers others.

With these I might infer the sudden death of Justice Lelond, persecutor of Jeffrey Hurst, mentioned before.

Also the death of Robert Baulding, stricken with lightning at the taking of William Seaman, whereupon he pined away and died: the story of the which William Seaman see before.

Likewise the wretched end of Beard the promoter.

Moreover the consuming away of Robert Blomfield, persecutor of William Brown, specified before.

Further, to return a little backward to King Henry's time, here might be induced also the example of John Rockwood, who, in his horrible end, cried, "All too late," with the same words which he had used before, in persecuting God's poor people of Calais.

Also the judgment of God upon Lady Honor, a persecutor, and of George Bradway, a false accuser, both bereft of their wits.

And what a notable spectacle of God's revenging judgment have we to consider in Sir Ralph Ellerker, who, as he was desirous to see the heart taken out of Adam Damlip, whom they most wrongfully put to death; so, shortly after the said Sir Ralph Ellerker being slain of the Frenchmen, they all to mangling him, after they had cut off his privy members, would not so leave him, before they might see his heart cut out of his body.

Dr. Foxford, chancellor to Bishop Stokesley, a cruel persecutor, died suddenly.

Pavier or Pavy, town-clerk of London, and a bit-



ter enemy to the gospel, hanged himself. Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful end of Judge Hales, after he had drowned himself, taking occasion thereby, called the following and profession of the gos-

pel, a doctrine of desperation. But as Judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had consented to papistry, so whoso well considereth the end of Dr. Pendleton, (which at his death full

sore repented that ever he had yielded to the doctrine of the papists as he did,) and likewise the miserable end of the most part of the papists besides, and especially of Stephen Gardiner himself, (who after so long professing the doctrine of papistry, when there came a bishop to him in his death-bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his Master; he answering again, said that he had denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter—and so both stinking and unrepentantly died,) will say as Stephen Gardiner also himself gave an evident example of the same to all men, to understand that popery rather is a doctrine of desperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, in King Henry's time, after they had brought John Frith, Bayfield and Bainham, and divers others to their death, what great reward won they thereby with Almighty God? Did not the sword of God's vengeance light upon their own necks shortly after, and they themselves made a public spectacle at the Tower Hill of bloody death, which before had no compassion of the lives of others? Thus ye see the saying of the Lord to be true, "He that smiteth with the sword, shall perish with the sword."

So was Heliodorus, in the old time of the Jews, plagued by God's hand in the temple of Jerusalem.

So did Antiochus, Herod, Julian, Valerian the emperor, Decius, Maxentius, with infinite others, after they had exercised their cruelty upon God's people, feel the like striking hand of God themselves also, in revenging the blood of his servants.

And thus much concerning those persecutors, as well of the clergy-sort as of the laity, which were stricken, and died before the death of Queen Mary. With whom also are to be numbered in the race of persecuting bishops, which died before Queen Mary, these bishops following.

Cotes, bishop of Chester.
 Parfew, bishop of Hereford.
 Glyn, bishop of Bangor.
 Brookes, bishop of Gloucester.
 King, bishop of Tame.
 Petow, elect of Salisbury.
 Day, bishop of Chichester.
 Holyman, bishop of Bristol.

Now, after the queen, immediately followed, or rather waited upon her, the death of Cardinal Pole, who the next day departed: of what disease, although it be uncertain to many, yet by some it is suspected, that he took some Italian physic, which did him no good. Then followed these bishops in order:

John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester.
 Hopton, bishop of Norwich.
 Morgan, bishop of St. David's.
 John White, bishop of Winchester.
 Ralph Bayne, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.
 Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle.
 Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of Durham.
 Thomas Reynolds, elect of Hereford, after his deprivation, died in prison.

Besides these bishops above named, first died at the same time,

Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, afterwards dean of Windsor; chief disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.
 Master Slethurst, master of Trinity college in Oxford, who died in the Tower.
 Seth Holland, dean of Worcester, and warden of All Souls' college, in Oxford.
 William Copinger, monk of Westminster, who bare the great seal before Stephen Gardiner, after the death of the said Gardiner, made himself monk in the house of Westminster; and shortly after fell mad, and died in the Tower.
 Dr. Steward, dean of Winchester.

To behold the working of God's judgments, it is wondrous. In the first year of Queen Mary, when the clergy were assembled in the convocation-house, and also afterward, when the disputation was in Oxford against Drs. Cranmer and Ridley, and Master Latimer, he that had seen then Dr. Weston the prolocutor in his ruff, how highly he took upon him in the schools, and how stoutly he stood in the pope's quarrel against simple and naked truth, full little would have thought, and less did he think himself, (I dare say,) that his glory and lofty looks should have been brought down so soon, especially by them of his own religion, whose part he so doughtily defended.

But such is the reward and end commonly of them, who presumptuously oppose themselves to strive against the Lord, as by the example of this doctory prolocutor right well may appear. For not long after the disputation above mentioned against Bishop Cranmer and his fellows, God so wrought against the said Dr. Weston, that he fell in great displeasure with Cardinal Pole and other bishops, because he was unwilling to give up his deanery, and house of Westminster, unto the monks and religious men, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things he maintained the Church of Rome: who notwithstanding, at last, through importunate suit, gave up Westminster, and was dean of Windsor; where, not long after, he was apprehended in adultery, and for the same was by

the cardinal put from all his spiritual livings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purposed to have fled out of the realm, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London; and there remained until Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, at which time he, being delivered, fell sick and died. The common talk was, that if he had not so suddenly ended his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpose of the chief of the clergy, (meaning the cardinal,) which was to have taken up King Henry's body at Windsor, and to have burned it. And thus much of Dr. Weston.

The residue that remained of the persecuting clergy, and escaped the stroke of death, were deprived, and committed to prisons; the catalogue of whose names here followeth.

Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor.

Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely.

Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln.

Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells.

Richard Pate, bishop of Worcester.

Turberville, bishop of Exeter.

John Fecknam, abbot of Westminster.

John Boxall, dean of Windsor and Peterborough.

Of David Pole, bishop of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or in some other prison.

Persecuting bishops who ran away.

Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph.

Maurice, elect of Bangor.

Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the Marshalsea.

Thomas Wood, bishop elect, in the Marshalsea.

Cuthbert Scott, bishop of Chester, was in the Fleet; from whence he escaped to Louvain, and there died.

Persecutors committed to the Fleet.

Henry Cole, dean of Paul's.

John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and dean of Norwich.

Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Anthony Draycot, archdeacon of Huntingdon.

William Chedsey, archdeacon of Middlesex.

Concerning which Dr. Chedsey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of King Edward's reign, he recanted, and subscribed to the thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully consented and agreed, with his own hand-writing, to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church, as well concerning justification by faith only, as also

the doctrine of the two sacraments then received, denying as well the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, the sacrifice and veneration of the mass, as also all other like excrements of popish superstition, according to the king's book then set forth.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being counted such a famous and learned clerk, would show himself so fickle and unstable in his assertions, so double in his doings, to alter his religion according to time, and to maintain for truth, not what he thought best, but what he might most safely defend. So long as the state of the lord protector and of his brother stood upright, what was then the conformity of this Dr. Chedsey, his own articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his own hand, do declare, which I have to show, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the king's uncles, the fortune of them turned not so fast, but his religion turned withal, and afterwards he took upon him to dispute against Peter Martyr, in upholding transubstantiation, at Oxford, which, a little before, with his own hand-writing he had overthrown.

After this ensued the time of Queen Mary, wherein Dr. Chedsey, to show his double diligence, was so eager in his commission to sit in judgment, and to bring poor men to their death, that in the last year of Queen Mary, when the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Lord Clinton, and divers other of the council had sent for him, by a special letter, to repair unto London out of Essex, he, writing again to the bishop of London, sought means not to come at the council's bidding, but to continue still in his persecuting progress. The copy of whose letter I have also in my hands (if need were) to bring forth.

Mention was made not long before, of one William Maldon, who, in King Henry's time, suffered stripes and scourgings for confessing the verity of God's true religion. It happened in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, that the said William Maldon was bound servant with one named Master Hugh Aparry, then a wheat-taker for the queen, dwelling at Greenwich; who being newly come unto him, and having never a book there to look upon, being desirous to occupy himself virtuously, looked about the house, and found a Primer in English, whereon he read in a winter's evening. While he was reading, there sat one John Apowel, that had been a serving-man, about thirty years of age, born toward Wales, whom the said Master Hugh gave meat and drink unto, till such time as he could get a service. And as the foresaid William Maldon read on the book, the said John Apowel mocked him after every

word, with contrary gauds and flouting words irreverently, insomuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned unto him and said, "John, take heed what thou dost; thou dost not mock me, but thou mockest God: for in mocking of his word, thou mockest him; and this is the word of God, though I be simple that read it; and therefore beware what thou dost."

Then Maldon fell to reading again, and still he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Maldon had read certain English prayers, in the end he read, "Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us," &c.

And as Maldon was reciting these words, the other with a start suddenly said, "Lord have mercy upon me."

With that Maldon answered and said, "What ailest thou, John?"

He said, "I was afraid." "Whereof wast thou afraid?" said Maldon. "Nothing now," said the other; and so he would not tell him.

After this, when Maldon and he went to bed, Maldon asked him, whereof he was afraid? He said, "When you read, 'Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us,' methought the hair of my head stood upright, with a great fear which came upon me."

Then said Maldon, "John, thou mayest see, the evil spirit could not abide that Christ should have mercy upon us. Well, John," said Maldon, "repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jest at his word, he will punish us. Also you use ribaldry words, and swearing very much: therefore for God's sake, John, amend thy life." "So I will," said he, "by the grace of God; I pray God I may." "Amen," said the other, with other words; and so went to bed.

On the morrow, about eight of the clock in the morning, the foresaid John came running down out of his chamber, in his shirt, into the hall, and wrestled with his mistress, as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat she shrieked out, and her servants helped her, and took him by strength and carried him up into his bed, and bound him down to his bed; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almost day and night his tongue never ceased, but he cried out of the devil of hell, and his words were ever still, "O the devil of hell; now the devil of hell; I would see the devil of hell. Thou shalt see the devil of hell; there he was, there he goeth;" with other words, but most of the devil of hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about six days, that his master and all his household were weary of

that trouble and noise. Then his master agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and gave a piece of money, and sent him thither. It seemeth that he was possessed with an evil spirit, from the which God defend us all.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of the word of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner.—Witness hereof William Maldon, of Newington.

The same William Maldon chanced afterward to dwell at a town six miles from London, called Walthamstow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this school, amongst other children, came one Benfield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.

As these children sat talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be busy with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reason among themselves, after their childish discretion, what he should be. Whereunto some answered one thing, some another. Among whom, when one of the children had said, that he was a good old Father; the foresaid Dennis Benfield, casting out impious words of horrible blasphemy, "What! he," said she, "is an old doting fool."

What wretched and blasphemous words were these, ye hear. Now mark what followed. When William Maldon heard of these abominable words of the girl, he willed his wife to correct her for the same; which was appointed the next day to be done. But when the next morrow came, her mother would needs send her to the market to London, the wench greatly entreating her mother that she might not go, being marvellously unwilling thereunto. Howbeit, through her mother's compulsion, she was forced to go, and went. And what happened? Her business being done at London, as she was returning again homeward, and being a little past Hackney, suddenly the young girl was so stricken, that all the one side of her was black, and she speechless. Whereupon immediately she was carried back to Hackney, and there the same night was buried.—The witness of the same story was William Maldon and his wife; also Benfield her father, and her mother, which yet be all alive.

A terrible example, no doubt, both to old and young, what it is for children to blaspheme the Lord their God, and what it is for parents to suffer their young ones to grow up in such blasphemous blindness, and not to nurture them betimes in the rudiments of the Christian catechism, to know first their

creation, and then their redemption in Christ our Saviour, to fear the name of God, and to reverence his majesty. For else what do they deserve but to be taken away by death, which contemptuously despise him, of whom they take the benefit of life?

And therefore let all young maids, boys, and young men, take example by this wretched silly wench, not only not to blaspheme the sacred majesty of the omnipotent God their Creator, but also not once to take his name in vain, according as they are taught in his commandments.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to see to the instruction and catechizing of their children, for whom they have bound themselves in promise both to God and to his church. Which if the father and godfather, the mother and godmothers had done to this young girl, verily it may be thought this destruction had not fallen upon her.

Thirdly, let all blind atheists, epicures, mammonists, belly-gods of this world, and sons of Belial, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of religion, which say in their hearts, There is no God, learn also hereby, not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but also in this miserable creature here punished in this world, behold what shall likewise fall on them in the world to come, unless they will be warned betimes, by such examples as the Lord doth give them.

Fourthly and lastly, here may also be a spectacle for all them which be blasphemers and abominable swearers, or rather tearers of God, abusing his glorious name in such contemptuous and spiteful sort as they use to do; whom if neither the word and commandment of God, nor the calling of the preachers, nor remorse of conscience, nor rule of reason, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs will admonish; yet let these terrible examples of God's strict judgment somewhat move them to take heed to themselves. For if this young maiden, who was not fully twelve years old, for her irreverent speaking of God, (and that but at one time,) did not escape the stroke of God's terrible hand, what then have they to look for, which, being men grown in years and stricken in age, being so often warned and preached unto, yet cease not continually with their blasphemous oaths, not only to abuse his name, but also most contumeliously and spitefully to tear him (as it were) and all his parts in pieces?

About the year of our Lord 1565, at Brightwell, in the county of Berks, upon certain communication as touching the right reverend martyrs in Christ, Bishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer,

there came into a house in Abingdon, one whose name is Levar, being a ploughman, dwelling in Brightwell aforesaid; and said, that he saw that ill-favoured knave Latimer when he was burnt; and also in despite said, that he had teeth like a horse. At which time and hour, as near as could be gathered, the son of the said Levar most wickedly hanged himself, at Shipton in the county aforesaid, within a mile of Abingdon.

Did not Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, give sentence against the Lord Cobham, and died himself before him, being so stricken in his tongue, that neither he could swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death?

Friar Campbel, the accuser of Patrick Hamilton in Scotland, what a terrible end he had, read before.

Harvey, a commissary, that condemned a poor man in Calais, was shortly after hanged, drawn, and quartered.

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was shortly after so plagued of God, that all the hair of his head and nails of his fingers and toes went off, his eyes well near closed up, that he could scant see. His wife also was stricken with the falling sickness, with the which malady she was never infected before.

Likewise Richard Potto, another troubler of the said George Eagles, upon a certain anger or chafe with his servants, was so suddenly taken with sickness, that falling upon his bed like a beast, there he died and never spake word.

Richard Denton, a shrinker from the gospel, while he refused to suffer the fire in the Lord's quarrel, was afterward burnt in his own house with two more.

The wife of John Fetty, being the cause of the taking of her husband, how she was, immediately upon the same, by God's hand stricken with madness, and was distract out of her wits, read before.

Thomas Mouse and George Revet, two persecutors, were stricken miserably with the hand of God, and so died.

Also Robert Edgore, for that he had executed the office of a parish clerk against his conscience, through anguish and grief of conscience for the same, was so bereft of his wits, that he was kept in chains and bonds many years after.

As touching John Plankney, fellow of New College in Oxford, civilian, and one Havington, both fellows of the same house aforesaid, and both stubborn papists, the matter is not much worthy the memory; yet the example is not unworthy to be noted, to see what little comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortless doctrine and profession of papistry, as in these two young men, amongst

many other, may well appear. Of whom the one, which was Plankney, scholar sometime to Marshal, (who wrote the Book of the Cross,) is commonly reported and known to them of that university, to have drowned himself in the river about Rewley, at Oxford, anno 1556; the other in a well about Rome, or as some do say at Padua; and so being both drowned, were both taken up with crucifixes (as it is said of some) hanging about their necks; the more pity that such young students did so much addict their wits, rather to take the way of papistry, than to walk in the comfortable light of the gospel, now so brightly spreading his beams in all the world; which if they had done, I think not contrary, but it had proved much better with them.

Albeit (I trust) the gospel of Christ, being now received in the queen's court amongst the courtiers and servants of her guard, hath framed their lives and manners so to live in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all sobriety, and merciful compassion toward their own Christians, that they need not greatly any other instructions to be given them in this story: yet forasmuch as examples many times do work more effectually in the minds and memories of men; and also partly considering with myself, how these, above all other sorts of men in the whole realm, in time past ever had most need of such wholesome lessons and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of quaffing and drinking, and their heathenish profanity of life; I thought here to set before their eyes a terrible example, not of a strange and foreign person, but of one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guard, not feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all courtiers; and done of very truth no longer ago than in the year of our Lord 1568. And as the story is true, so is the name of the party not unknown, being called Christopher Landesdale, dwelling in Hackney, in Middlesex; the order of whose life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be noted, is this, as in story hereunder followeth.

This foresaid Landesdale being married to an ancient woman yet living, having by her both goods and lands, notwithstanding lived long in filthy whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter, and kept them in his house unto the day of his death. Also, when he should have been in, serving of God on the sabbath day, he used to walk or ride about his fields, and seldom he or any of his house came to the church after the English service was again received. Besides this, he was a great swearer, and a great drunkard, and had great delight also in making other men drunken; and would have them whom he had made drunkards, to call him father, and he

would call them his sons; and of these sons, by report, he had above forty. And if he had seen one that would drink freely, he would mark him, and spend his money with him liberally in ale or wine, but most in wine, to make him the sooner drunken. These blessed sons of his should have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own house and at taverns: and, not long before his death, he was so beastly drunken in a tavern, over against his door, that he fell down in the tavern yard, and could not rise alone, but lay grovelling, till he was holpen up, and so carried home.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others; so his poor neighbours and poor tenants fared little better for him: except it were with some broken meat which after his feasts his wife would carry and send unto them, or some alms given at his door.

Besides all this, he did much injury to his poor neighbours, in oppressing the commons near about him, which was a special relief unto them; so that his cattle did eat up all without pity or mercy.

There chanced after this, about two years before he died, a poor man, being sick of the bloody flux, for very weakness to lie down in a ditch of the said Landesdale's, not a stone's cast from his house, where he had a little straw brought him: notwithstanding the said Landesdale had back houses and barns enough, to have laid him in, but would not show him so much pity. And thus poor Lazarus there lay night and day, about six days ere he died. Certain good neighbours, hearing of this, procured things necessary for his relief; but he was so far spent, that he could not be recovered; who lay broiling in the hot sun, with a horrible smell, most pitiful to behold.

This poor man, a little before he died, desired to be removed to another ditch, into the shadow: whereupon, one of the neighbours coming to Landesdale's wife for a bundle of straw for him to lie upon, she required to have him removed to Newington side, because, she said, if he should die, it would be very far to carry him to the church.

Besides this, there was a marriage in this Landesdale's house, and the guests that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they came and went by him, but Landesdale disdained to contribute any relief unto him, notwithstanding that he had promised to Master Searles, one of the queen's guard, (who had more pity of him,) to minister to him things necessary.

To be short, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney churchyard: upon whom Landesdale did not so much as bestow a winding-sheet, or any thing else towards his bu-

rial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich glutton.

About two years after, the said Landesdale, being full of drink, (as his custom was,) came riding in great haste from London on St. Andrew's day, anno 1568, and, (as is reported by those that saw him,) reeling to and fro like a drunkard with his hat in his hand, and coming by a ditch-side, there tumbled in headlong into the ditch. Some say that the horse fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true; the horse, more sober than the master,

came home, leaving his master behind him. Whether he brake his neck with the fall, or was drowned, (for the water was scarcely a foot deep,) it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he, being found dead in the ditch, the coroner (as the manner is) sat upon him: and how the matter was handled for saving his goods, the Lord knoweth; but in the end so it fell out, that the goods were saved, and the poor horse indicted for his master's death. The neighbours, hearing of the death of this man, and considering the manner thereof, said it was justly fallen upon him, that as



he suffered the poor man to lie and die in the ditch near unto him, so his end was to die in a ditch likewise.

And thus hast thou in this story, Christian brother and reader, the true image of a rich glutton and poor Lazarus set out before thine eyes; whereby we have all to learn, what happeneth in the end to such voluptuous epicures and atheists, who, being void of all sense of religion, and fear of God, yield themselves over to all profanity of life, neither regarding any honesty at home, nor showing any mercy to their needy neighbours abroad

Christ our Saviour saith, Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: but judgment without mercy shall be executed on them which have showed no mercy, &c. And St. John saith, He that seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? &c. Again, Isaiah, against such profane drunkards and quaffers, thus crieth out: Woe be unto them that rise up early to follow drunkenness, and to them that so continue until night, till they be set on fire with wine. In those companies are harps and lutes, tabrets and pipes and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and consider not the operation of his hands, &c. Woe be unto them that are strong to spue out wine, and expert to set up drunkenness.

The punishments of them that be dead, be wholesome documents to them that be alive. And therefore, as the story above exemplified may serve to warn all courtiers and yeomen of the guard ; so, by this that followeth, I would wish all gentlemen to take good heed and admonition betimes, to leave their outrageous swearing and blaspheming of the Lord their God.

In the time and reign of King Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain lusty young gentleman, which did ride in company with other more gentlemen, together with their servants, being about the number of twenty horsemen. Among whom this lusty younker entering into talk, began to swear most horribly, blaspheming the name of God, with other ribaldry words besides. Unto whom one of the company, (who is yet alive, and witness hereof,) not able to abide the hearing of such blasphemous abomination, in gentle words speaking to him, said he should give answer and account for every idle word.

The gentleman, taking snuff thereat ; "Why," said he, "takest thou thought for me ? take thought for thy winding-sheet." "Well," quoth the other, "amend ; for death giveth no warning ; for as soon cometh a lamb's skin to the market, as an old sheep's." "God's wounds !" saith he, "care not thou for me : " raging still after this manner worse and worse in words, till at length, passing on their journey, they came riding over a great bridge, standing over a piece of an arm of the sea ; upon the which bridge this gentleman-swearer spurred his horse in such sort, as he sprang clean over with the man on his back, who, as he was going, cried, saying, "Horse and man, and all to the devil." This terrible story happening in a town in Cornwall, I would have been afraid amongst these stories here to recite, were it not that he which was then both reprehender of his swearing, and witness of his death, is yet alive, and now a minister, named Heynes. Besides this, Bishop Ridley, then bishop of London, preached and uttered even the same fact and example at Paul's Cross. The name of the gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witness aforesaid, for dread of those (as he said) which yet remain of his affinity and kindred in the said country.

Having now sufficiently admonished, first the courtiers, then the gentlemen ; now thirdly, for a brief admonition to the lawyers, we will here insert the strange end and death of one Henry Smith, student of the law.

This Henry Smith, having a godly gentleman to his father, and an ancient protestant, dwelling in Campden in Gloucestershire, was by him virtuously brought up in the knowledge of God's word, and sincere religion ; wherein he showed himself in the

beginning such an earnest professor, that he was called of the papists, prattling Smith. After these good beginnings, it followed that he, coming to be a student of the law in the Middle Temple at London, there, through sinister company of some, and especially as it is thought of one Gifford, began to be perverted to popery ; and afterward going to Louvain, was more deeply rooted and grounded in the same ; and so continuing a certain space among the papists, of a young protestant at length was made a perfect papist. Inasmuch that, returning from thence, he brought him with pardons, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he used commonly to wear about his neck ; and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray, besides divers other popish trash, which he brought with him from Louvain. Now what end followed after this I were loth to utter in story, but that the fact so lately done this present year, anno 1559, remaineth yet so fresh in memory, that almost all the city of London not only can witness, but also doth wonder thereat. The end was this.

Not long after the said Henry Smith, with Gifford his companion, was returned from Louvain, being now a foul jeerer and a scornful scoffer of that religion which before he professed ; in his chamber where he lay in a house in St. Clement's parish without Temple-bar, in the evening as he was going to bed, and his clothes put off, (for he was found naked,) he had tied his shirt (which he had torn to the same purpose) about his middle, and so with his own girdle, or riband garter as it seemed, fastened to the bed-post, there strangled himself. They that were of his quest, and others which saw the manner of his hanging, and the print where he sat upon his bed's side, do record, that he thrust himself down from the bed's side where he sat ; the place where he had fastened the girdle being so low, that his hips well near touched the floor, his legs lying across, and his arms spread abroad. And this was the manner of his hanging, having his Agnus Dei in a silver tablet, with his other idolatrous trash in the window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the churchyard, he was buried in a lane, called Foskew-lane.

This heavy and dreadful end of Henry Smith, although it might seem enough to gender a terror to all young popish students of the law ; yet it did not so work with all, but that some remained as obstinate still as they were before ; amongst whom was one named Williams, a student of the Inner Temple, who being some time a favourer of the gospel, fell in like manner from that to be an obstinate papist, and a despitful railer against true religion, and in conclusion, was so hot in his catholic

zeal, that in the midst of his railing he fell stark mad, and so yet to this present day remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turn him to a better mind, and convert him if it be his pleasure; Amen.

The miserable end of Twyford is here no less to be remembered, a busy doer sometime, in King Henry's days, by Bonner's appointment, in setting up of stakes for the burning of poor martyrs; who, when he saw the stakes consume away so fast; "Yea," said he, "will not these stakes hold? I will have a stake, I trow, that shall hold." And so provided a big tree, and cutting off the top, set it in Smithfield. But thanks be to God, ere the tree was all consumed, God turned the state of religion, and he fell into a horrible disease, rotting alive above the ground before he died. Read more of him before. But because the story both of him, and of a number such other like, is to be found in sundry places of this history sufficiently before expressed, it shall be but a double labour again to recapitulate the same.

The strange and fearful death of Dr. Williams.

Ye have heard before of the condemnation and martyrdom of a certain boy called Thomas Drowry, condemned by Williams, chancellor of Gloucester, contrary to all right and counsel of the registrar then present, called Barker. Now what punishment fell after, upon the said chancellor, followeth to be declared.

When God, of his inestimable mercy having pity of us, and pardoning our sins, for his Son Christ Jesus's sake, had now taken from us that bloody princess, and sent us this jewel of joy, the queen's Majesty that now reigneth (and long may she reign) over us; and that the commissioners for restitution of religion were coming toward Gloucester; the same day Dr. Williams, the chancellor, dined with Master Jennings, the dean of Gloucester, who with all his men were booted ready at one of the clock to set forward to Chipping Norton, about fifteen miles from Gloucester, to meet the commissioners which were at Chipping Norton, and said to him, "Chancellor, are not thy boots on?"

Chancellor.—"Why should I put them on?"

"To go with me," quoth the dean, "to meet these commissioners."

Chancellor.—"I will neither meet them, nor see them."

Dean.—"Thou must needs see them, for now it is past twelve of the clock, and they will be here before three of the clock: and therefore, if thou be wise, on with thy boots, let us go together, and all shall be well."

Chancellor.—"Go your ways, Master Dean, I will never see them."

As I said, W. Jennings, the dean, set forward with his company toward the commissioners; and by and by cometh one upon horseback to the dean, saying, "Master Chancellor lieth at the mercy of God, and is speechless." At that word, the dean with his company pricked forward to the commissioners, and told them the whole matter and communication between them two, as above. And they sent one of their men, with the best words they could devise, to comfort him with many promises. But, to be short; albeit the commissioners were now nearer Gloucester than the dean and his company thought, making very great haste, especially after they had received these news, yet Dr. Williams, though false of religion, yet true of his promise, kept his ungracious covenant with the dean; for he was dead ere they came to the city, and so never saw them indeed.

Wherefore to pass over our own domestical examples of English persecutors plagued by God's hand, (wherewith this our present story doth abound,) I will stretch my pen a little further, to adjoin withal a few like examples in foreign countries.

Foreign examples.

Hoimeister, the great arch-papist, and chief master-pillar of the pope's falling church, as he was in his journey going toward the council of Ratisbon, to dispute against the defenders of Christ's gospel, suddenly in his journey, not far from Ulm, was prevented by the stroke of God's hand; and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.

What a pernicious and pestilent doctrine is this of the papists, which leadeth men to seek their salvation by merits and works of the law, and not by faith only in Christ the Son of God, and so to stay themselves by grace! And what inconvenience this doctrine of doubting and desperation bringeth men to at length, if the plain word of God will not sufficiently admonish us, yet let us be warned by examples of such as have been either teachers or followers of this doctrine, and consider well what end commonly it hath and doth bring men unto. To recite all that may be said in this behalf, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonition's sake, it shall be requisite.

In the university of Louvain was one named Guarlacus, a learned man, brought up in that school, who at length was reader of divinity to the monks of St. Gertrude's order; where, after he had stoutly maintained the corrupt errors of such popish doctrine, at last falling sick, when he perceived no way with him but death, he fell into a miserable agony and perturbation of spirit, crying out of his sins,

how wickedly he had lived, and that he was not able to abide the judgment of God ; and so, casting out words of miserable desperation, said, his sins were greater than that he could be pardoned ; and in that desperation wretchedly he ended his life.

Another like example we have of Arnoldus Bomelius, a young man of the said university of Louvain, well commended for his fresh flourishing wit and ripeness of learning, who, so long as he favoured the cause of the gospel, and took part with the same against the enemies of the truth, he prospered and went well forward ; but after that he drew to the company of Tyleman, master of the pope's college in Louvain, and framed himself after the rule of his unsavoury doctrine, that is, to stand in fear and doubt of his justification, and to work his salvation by merits and deeds of the law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful despair and discomfort of mind ; as the nature of that doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a man's mind from all certainty and true liberty of spirit, to a servile doubtfulness, full of discomfort and bondage of soul.

Thus the young man, seduced and perverted through this blind doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandering and wrestling in himself a long space, till at length, being overcome with despair, and not having in the popish doctrine wherewith to raise up his soul, he went out of the city on a time to walk, accompanied with three other students of the same university, his special familiars ; who as they returned home again after their walk, Arnoldus for weariness, as it seemed, sat down by a spring side to rest him awhile. The others, supposing none other but that he for weariness there rested to refresh himself, went forward a little past him. In the mean time what doth Arnoldus, but suddenly taketh out his dagger, and struck himself into the body.

His fellows, seeing him shrinking down, and the fountain to be all coloured with the blood which issued out of the wound, came running to him to take him up ; and so searching his body where the wound should be, at length found what he had done, and how he had stricken himself with his dagger into the breast. Whereupon they took him and brought him into a house next at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could, to repent his fact ; who then, by outward gesture, seemed to give some show of repentance. Notwithstanding, the said Arnoldus, espying one of his friends there busy about him to have a knife hanging at his girdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with main force stabbed himself to the heart.

By these Louvanian examples, as we have all to learn, no man to be sure of his life, but that he

always needeth to crave and call unto the Lord to bless him with his truth and grace ; so especially would I wish our English Louvanians, which now make forts in that university against the open truth of Christ's gospel, to be wise in time, and not to spurn so against the prick.

Or if they think yet these examples not enough for sufficient admonition, let them join hereunto the remembrance also of James Latomus, a chief and principal captain of the same university of Louvain ; who, after he had been at Brussels, and there, thinking to do a great act against Luther and his fellows, made an oration before the emperor so foolishly and ridiculously, that he was laughed to scorn almost of the whole court : then, returning from thence to Louvain again, in his public lecture he fell in an open fury and madness, uttering such words of desperation and blasphemous impiety, that the other divines which were there, and namely, Ruardus Anchusianus, were fain to carry him away, as he was raving, and so shut him into a close chamber. From that time unto his last breath, Latomus had never any thing else in his mouth, but that he was damned, and rejected of God, and that there was no hope of salvation for him, because that wittingly, and against his knowledge, he withstood the manifest truth of his word.

Thus Almighty God, not only by his word, but by examples in divers and sundry wise, doth warn us, first to seek to know the perfect will and decree of the Lord our God, appointed in his word. The perfect will and full testament of the Lord in his word, is this, that he hath sent and given his only Son unto us, being fully contented to accept our faith only upon him for our perfect justification and full satisfaction for all our transgressions ; and this is called in Scripture, *justitia Dei*. To this will and righteousness of God, they that humble themselves, find such peace and rest in their souls, as no man is able to express, and have strength enough against all the invasions and temptations of Satan. Contrariwise, they that will not yield their obedience unto the will and ordinance of God expressed in his word, but will seek their own righteousness, which is of man, labouring by their merits and satisfaction to serve and please God ; these not only do find with God no righteousness at all, but, instead of his favour, procure to themselves his horrible indignation ; instead of comfort, heap to themselves desperation ; and in the end what inconvenience they come to, by these above-recited examples of Guarlacus, Bomelius, and Latomus, it is evident to see. And out of this fountain spring not only the punishments of these men, but also all other inconveniences, which happen amongst men, whereso-

ever this pernicious and erroneous doctrine of the papists taketh place.

A Dominic friar of Munster, as he was inveighing in the pulpit against the doctrine of the gospel then springing up, was struck with a sudden flash of lightning, and so ended his life.

Manlius, in his book, *De Dictis Philippi Melanthonis*, maketh mention of a certain tailor's servant in Leipsic, who, receiving first the sacrament in both kinds with the gospellers, afterward, being persuaded by the papists, received with them under one kind. Whereupon, being admonished of his master to come to the communion again in the church of the gospellers, he stood a great while, and made no answer. At last, crying out upon a sudden, he ran to the window thereby, and so cast himself out, and brake his neck.

In the same Manlius mention is also made of a certain gentleman of name and authority, but he nameth him not, who hearing these words in a song, "Our only hold or fortress is our God," answered and said, "I will help to shoot against thy stay or fort; or else I will not live." And so, within three days after, he died without repentance, or confessing his faith.

Of Sadoleit, the learned cardinal, likewise, it is reported of some, that he died not without great torments of conscience and desperation.

The commendator of St. Anthony, who sat as spiritual judge over that godly learned man, Wolfgangus, burnt in Lorraine, in Germany, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly dead shortly after. Read before.

Also his fellow, the abbot of Clarilocus, and suffragan to the bishop of Mentz, at the crack of guns, suddenly fell down and died.

David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, shortly after the condemning of Master George Wishart, how he by the just stroke of God was slain, and wretched ended his life within his own castle, in the discourse of his story is evident to see, whoso listeth further to read of that matter.

John Sleidan, in his 23d book, maketh relation of Cardinal Crescentius, the chief president and moderator of the council of Trent, anno 1552. The story of whom is certain, the thing that happened to him was strange and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, such as have grace to be warned by other men's evils. The narration is this.

The twenty-fifth day of March, in the year aforesaid, Crescentius, the pope's legate and vicegerent in the council of Trent, was sitting all the day long until dark night, in writing letters to the pope.

After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refresh himself, he began to rise; and at his rising, behold there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes flaming with fire, and his ears hanging low down well near to the ground, to enter in, and straight to come toward him, and so to couch under the board. The cardinal, not a little amazed at the sight thereof, somewhat recovering himself, called to his servants, who were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, and to seek for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other chamber about, the cardinal, thereupon stricken with a sudden conceit of mind, immediately fell into such a sickness, whereof his physicians, which he had about him, with all their industry and cunning could not cure him. And so in the town of Verona died this popish cardinal, the pope's holy legate, and president of this council; wherein his purpose was, (as Sleidan saith,) to recover and heal again the whole authority and doctrine of the Romish see, and to set it up for ever.

There were in this council, besides the pope's legates and cardinal of Trent, twenty-four bishops, doctors of divinity sixty-two. And thus was the end of that popish council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, despatched and brought to nought.

This council of Trent, being then dissolved by the death of his cardinal, was afterward, notwithstanding, re-collected again about the year of our Lord 1562; against the erroneous proceedings of which council, other writers there be that say enough. So much as pertaineth only to story, I thought hereunto to add, concerning two filthy adulterous bishops to the said council belonging, of whom the one, haunting to an honest man's wife, was slain by the just stroke of God, with a boarspear. The other bishop, whose haunt was to creep through a window, in the same window was subtly taken, and hanged in a gin laid for him of purpose; and so conveyed, that in the morning he was seen openly in the street hanging out of the window, to the wonderment of all that passed by.

Amongst all the religious orders of papists, who was a stouter defender of the pope's side, or a more vehement impugner of Martin Luther, than John Eckius; who, if his cause wherein he so travailed had been godly, had deserved (no doubt) great favour and condign retribution at the hands of the Lord. Now, forasmuch as we cannot better judge of him than by his end, let us consider the manner of his departing hence, and compare the same with the end of Master Luther.

In the which Master Luther, being such an adversary as he was to the pope, and having no less

than all the world upon him at once, first, this is to be noted; that after all these travails, the Lord gave him to depart both in great age, and in his own native country where he was born. Secondly, he blessed him with such a quiet death, without any violent hand of any adversary, that it was counted rather a sleep than a death. Thirdly, as the death of his body was mild, so his spirit and mind continued no less godly unto the end, continually invoking and calling upon the name of the Lord; and so commending his spirit to him with fervent prayer, he made a blessed and a heavenly ending. Fourthly, over and besides these blessings, Almighty God did also add unto him such an honourable burial, as to many great princes scarce happeneth the like. And this briefly concerning the end of Martin Luther, as ye may read before more at large.

Now let us consider, and confer with this, the death of John Eckius, and the manner thereof, which we find in the English translation of the history of John Carion, folio 250, in these words expressed. "This year," saith he, "died at Ingoldstadt, Dr. Eckius, a faithful servant and champion of the pope, and a defender of the abominable papacy. But as his life was full of all ungodliness, uncleanness, and blasphemy; so was his end miserable, hard, and pitiful, insomuch that his last words (as it is noted of many credible persons) were these: 'in case the four thousand guilders were ready, the matter were despatched,' &c. (dreaming belike of some cardinalship that he should have bought). Some say that the pope had granted him a certain deanery, which he should have redeemed from the court of Rome with the foresaid sum." Now what a heavenly end this was of Master Eckius, I leave it to the reader's judgment.

In the city of Antwerp was (as they term him there) a shoulter, (that is to say, the next officer to the margrave,) one named John Vander Warfe, bastard son of a stock or kindred called Warfe, of good estimation amongst the chiefest in Antwerp; who, as he was of nature cruel, so was he of judgment perverse and corrupt, and a sore persecutor of Christ's flock, with greediness seeking and shedding innocent blood; and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for the which he was much commended of the bloody generation. Of some he was called a blood-hound or bloody dog. Of other he was called shilpad, that is to say, shelt-toad; for that he, being a short grundy, and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a churl of the country. This man, after he was weary of his office, (wherein he had continued above twenty years,) he gave it over; and because he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to pass the

residue of his life in pleasure and quietness. During which time, about the second year after he had left his office, he came to Antwerp, to the feast called our Lady's Oumegang, to make merry; which feast is usually kept on the Sunday following the Assumption of our Lady. The same day in the afternoon, about four of the clock, he being well laden with wine, rode homewards in his waggon, with his wife, and a gentlewoman waiting on her, and his fool. As soon as the waggon was come without the gate of the city, called Cronenberg-gate, upon the wooden bridge, being at that time made for a shift with rails or barriers on both sides for more surety of the passengers, (half a man's height and more,) the horses stood still, and would by no means go forward, whatsoever the guider of the waggon could do.

Then he, in a drunken rage, cried out to him that guided the waggon, saying, "Ride on, in a thousand devils' names; ride on!" Whereat the poor man answered, that he could not make the horses to go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, suddenly rose, as it were, a mighty whirlwind, with a terrible noise, (the weather being very fair, and no wind stirring before,) and tossed the waggon over the bar into the town ditch, the ropes whereat the horses had been tied, being broken asunder in such sort, as if they had been cut with a sharp knife: the waggon also being cast upside down, with the fore end thereof turned toward the town again, and he drowned in the mire: and when he was taken up, it was found that his neck also was broken. His wife was taken up alive, but died also within three days after. But the gentlewoman and the fool, by God's mighty providence, were preserved and had no harm. The fool, hearing the people say his master was dead, said, "And was not I dead? was not I dead too?" This was done, anno 1553.—Witness hereof not only the printer of the same story in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerp, whose name was Francis Fraet, a good man, and afterward for hatred put to death of papists, but also divers Dutchmen here now in England, and a great number of English merchants, which then were at Antwerp, and are yet alive.

Of the sudden death of Bartholomew Chassanees, or Chassanus, persecutor, read before.

Of Minerius, the bloody persecutor, or rather tormenter of Christ's saints, how he died with bleeding in his lower parts, ye heard before.

And what should I speak of the judge which accompanied the said Minerius in his persecution, who a little after, as he returned homeward, was drowned and three more of the same company killed one another, upon a strife that fell amongst them?

Johannes de Roma, a cruel monk, whom we may

rather call a hell-hound than persecutor, what hellish torments he had devised for the poor Christians of Angrogne, the contents of the story before doth express. Again, with what like torments afterward, and that double-fold, the Lord paid him home again, who, in his rotting and stinking death neither could find any enemy to kill him, nor any friend to bury him; who neither could abide his own stinking carion, nor could any man else abide to come near him. Hereof read also before.

Such a like persecutor also the same time was the lord of Revest, who likewise escaped not the revenging hand of God's justice, being stricken, after his furious persecution, with a like horrible sickness, and such a fury and madness, that none durst come near him, and so most wretchedly died: whereof read before.

Touching the like grievous punishment of God upon one John Martin, a persecutor, read before.

Erasmus, in an Epistle, or Apology, written in defence of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certain noble person of great riches and possessions, who, having wife and children, with a great family at home, (to whom, by St. Paul's rule, he was bound in conscience principally above all other worldly things to attend,) had purposed before his death to go see Jerusalem. And thus all things being set in order, this nobleman, about to set forward on his journey, committed the care of his wife, (whom he had left great with child,) and of his lordships and castles, to an archbishop, as to a most sure and trusty father. To make short, it happened in the journey this nobleman to die; whereof so soon as the archbishop had intelligence, instead of a father, he became a thief and a robber, seizing into his own hands all his lordships and possessions. And moreover, not yet contented with all this, he laid siege against a strong fort of his, (unto the which his wife, for safeguard of herself, did flee,) where, in conclusion, she, with the child that she went withal, was pitifully slain, and so miserably perished. Which story was done (as testifieth Erasmus) not so long before his time, but that there remained the nephews of the nobleman then alive, to whom the same inheritance should have fallen, but they could not obtain it.

What cometh of blind superstition, when a man, not containing himself within the compass of God's word, wandereth in other by-ways of his own, and not contented with the religion set up of the Lord, will bind his conscience to other ordinances, prescriptions, and religions devised by men, leaving God's commandments undone for the constitutions and precepts of men, what end and reward (I say) cometh thereof at length, by this one example, be-

side infinite others of the like sort, men may learn by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend idolatrous pilgrimage and rash vows, let them well consider hereof. It is rightly said of St. Jerome, "To have been at Jerusalem is no great matter; but to live a godly and virtuous life, that is a great matter in very deed."

In the year of our Lord 1565, there was in the town of Ghent in Flanders, one William de Wever, accused and imprisoned by the provost of St. Peter's in Ghent (who had in his cloister a prison and a place of execution); and the day when the said William was called to the place of judgment, the provost sent for Master Giles Brackleman, principal advocate of the council of Flanders, and borough-master and judge of St. Peter's in Ghent, with other of the rulers of the town of Ghent, to sit in judgment upon him; and as they sat in judgment, the boroughmaster, named Master Giles Brackleman, reasoned with the said William de Wever upon divers articles of his faith. The one whereof was, why the said William de Wever denied that it was lawful to pray to saints: and he answered, (as the report goeth,) for three causes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the Creator. The second was, that if he should call upon them, the Lord did both see it, and hear it; and therefore he durst give the glory to none other, but to God. The third and chiefest cause was, that the Creator had commanded in his holy word to call upon him in troubles, unto which commandment he durst neither add nor take from it.

The boroughmaster, Master Giles Brackleman, also demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a purgatory which he should go into after this life, where every one should be purified and cleansed. He answered, that he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no such place, but the death of Christ was his purgatory: with many other questions proceeding after their order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the said condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the said boroughmaster, who suddenly at that present instant was struck with a palsy, that his mouth was drawn up almost to his ear; and so he fell down, the rest of the lords by and by standing up and shadowing him, that the people could not well see him; and also the people were willed to depart, who, being still called upon to depart, answered, the place was so small to go out, that they could go no faster. Then the boroughmaster of the town, being taken up, was carried to his house, and it is not yet understood, nor commonly known, that ever he spake word after he was first struck, but was openly known to be dead

the next day following. And yet, notwithstanding that this was done about ten of the clock, they burnt the said William de Wever within three hours after, on the same day.

The fourth day of March, 1566, the like example of the Lord's terrible judgment was showed upon Sir Garret Triest, knight, who had long before promised to the regent to bring down the preaching: for the which act, (as the report goeth,) the regent promised again to make him a 'grave, which is an earl. Of the which Sir Garret it is also said, that he, coming from Brussels towards Ghent, brought with him the death of the preachers; and being come to Ghent, the said Sir Garret with other of the lords having received from the regent a commission to swear the lords and commons unto the Romish religion, the said Sir Garret, the fourth day of March above noted, at night being at supper, willed the lady his wife to call him in the morning, one hour sooner than he was accustomed to rise, for that he should the next day have much business to do in the town-house, to swear the lords and people to the Romish religion. But see what happened. The said Sir Garret, going to bed in good health, (as it seemed,) when the lady his wife called him in the morning, according to his appointment, was found dead in the bed by her, and so unable to prosecute his wicked purpose.

The fifth of March, 1556, which was the day that Sir Garret Triest appointed to be there, and the lords of Ghent were come into the town-house, (as they had afore appointed,) to proceed and to give the oath, according as they had their commission, and Master Martin de Pester, the secretary, being appointed and about to give the oath, as the first man should have sworn, the said Martin de Pester was struck of God with present death likewise, and fell down, and was carried away in a chair or settle, and never spake after. Witnesses hereof: Peter de Bellemaker, Abraham Rossart, Maerke de Mil, Liven Hendrickx, Jahn Coucke, Rogeyr Van Hulle, Joys Neuehans, Lyavin Neuehans, William Vanden Boegarde, and Joys de Pytte.

About the borders of Suabia in Germany, not far from the city of Uberlingen, there was a certain monastery of Cistercian monks called Salmesville, founded in the days of Pope Innocent the Second, by a noble baron named Guntherame, about the year of our Lord 1130. This cell thus being erected, in process of time was enlarged with more ample possessions, finding many and great benefactors and endowers liberally contributing unto the same; as emperors, dukes, and rich barons. Amongst whom most especial were the earls of

Montfort, who had bestowed upon that monastery many new liberties and great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any stranger, both horseman or footman, for one night's lodging, whosoever came. But this hospitality did not long so continue, through a subtle and devilish device of one of the monks, who took upon him to counterfeit to play the part of the devil, rattling and raging in his chains, where the strangers should lie, after a terrible manner in the night-time, to fray away the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide; and so continued this a long space.

At length (as God would) it so happened, that one of the earls of the said house of Montfort, benefactors to that abbey, coming to the monastery, was there lodged, whether of set purpose, or by chance, it is not known. When the night came, and the earl was at his rest, the monk after his wonted manner beginneth his pageant, to play the tame, yea, rather the wild devil. There was stamping, ramping, spitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bouncing of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make some men stark mad. The earl, hearing the sudden noise, and being somewhat, peradventure, afraid at the first, although he had not then the feat of conjuring, yet taking a good heart unto him, and running to his sword, he laid about him well favourably, and following still the noise of the devil, so conjured him at last, that the monk which counterfeited the devil in jest, was slain, in his own likeness, in earnest.

After the imprisonment of the congregation, which were taken hearing God's word in St. James's Street in Paris, anno 1558, (as is above storied,) was a letter written to the king, which was divulgate abroad, proving and declaring by divers histories, what afflictions and calamities from time to time, by God's righteous judgment, have fallen upon such as have been enemies to his people, and have resisted the free passage of his holy word. In which letter, forasmuch as besides the said examples much other good fruitful matter is contained, worthy of all men to be read, and especially of princes to be considered, I thought good here to copy out the whole, as the French book doth give it; the translation of the which letter into English, is after this tenor, as followeth.

"Consider, I pray you, sir, and you shall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, since you have set yourself against those which are called Lutherans. When you made the edict of Chateaubriant, God sent you wars; but when you ceased the execution of your said edict, and as long as ye were enemy unto the pope, and going into Almany

for the defence of the Germans afflicted for religion, your affairs prospered as ye would wish or desire. On the contrary, what hath become upon you since you were joined with the pope again, having received a sword from him for his own safeguard, and who was it that caused you to break the truce? God hath turned in a moment your prosperities into such afflictions, that they touch not only the state of your own person, but of your kingdom also. To what end became the enterprise of the duke of Guise in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purposing after his return to destroy the valleys of Piedmont, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our counsels and enterprises; as he overturned of late the enterprise of the constable of France at St. Quintin's; having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory. Have you not heard of L. Ponchet, archbishop of Tours, who made suit for the erection of a court called Chamber-Ardent, wherein to condemn the protestants to the fire? who afterwards was stricken with a disease, called the fire of God, which began at his feet, and so ascended upward, that one member after another had to be cut off, and so died miserably without any remedy. Also one Castellane, who having enriched himself by the gospel, and forsaking the pure doctrine thereof to return unto his vomit again, went about to persecute the Christians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was stricken in his body with a sickness unknown to the physicians, the one half of his body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as ice; and so most miserably crying and lamenting, ended his life.

"There be other infinite examples of God's judgments worthy to be remembered; as the death of the chancellor and legate Du Prat, which was the first that opened to the parliament the knowledge of heresies, and gave out the first commissions to put the faithful to death, who afterwards died at his house at Natioillet, swearing and horribly blaspheming God, and his stomach was found pierced and gnawn asunder with worms. Also John Ruse, councillor in the parliament, coming from the court, after he had made report of the process against the poor innocents, was taken with a burning in the lower part of his belly, and, before he could be brought home to his house, the fever invaded all his inward parts; and so he died miserably, without any sign or token of the acknowledging of God. Also one named Claude de Asses, a councillor in the said court, the same day that he gave his opinion and consent to burn a faithful Christian

(albeit it was not done in deed as he would have it,) after he had dined, committed whoredom with a servant in the house, and even in doing the act he was stricken with a disease called apoplexy, whereof he died out of hand. Peter Liset, chief president of the said court, and one of the authors of the fore-said burning chamber, was deposed from his office, for being known to be out of his right wit, and bereaved of his understanding. Also John Morin, lieutenant-criminal of the provost of Paris, after he had been the cause of the death of many Christians, was finally stricken with a disease in his legs, called the wolves, whereby he lost the use of them, and died also out of his wits, many days before denying and blaspheming God. Likewise John Andrew, bookbinder of the palace, a spy for the President Liset and of Bruscard the king's solicitor, died in a fury and madness. The inquisitor, John de Roma, in Provence, his flesh fell from him by piecemeal, so stinking that no man might come near him. Also John Minerius of Provence, who was the cause of the death of a great number of men, women, and children, at Cabriers and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his belly, blaspheming and despising God: besides many others whereof we might make recital, which were punished with the like kind of death.

"It may please your Majesty to remember yourself, that ye had no sooner determined to set upon us, but new troubles were by and by moved by your enemies, with whom ye could come to no agreement; which God would not suffer, forasmuch as your peace was grounded upon the persecution which ye pretended against God's servants: as also your cardinals cannot let through their cruelty the course of the gospel, which hath taken such root in your realm, that if God should give you leave to destroy the professors thereof, you should be almost a king without subjects.

"Tertullian hath well said, that 'the blood of martyrs is the seed of the gospel.' Wherefore, to take away all these evils coming of the riches of the papists, which cause so much whoredom, sodomitry, and incest, wherein they wallow like bogs, feeding their idle bellies, the best way were to put them from their lands and possessions, as the old sacrificing Levites were, according to the express commandment which was given to Joshua: for as long as the ordinances of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aspire to principalities, riches, and worldly honours, then began the abomination of desolation that Christ foretold.

"It was even so in the primitive church, for it

flourished and continued in all pureness as long as the ministers were of small wealth, and sought not their particular profit, but the glory of God only. But since the pope began to be prince-like, and to usurp the dominion of the empire under the colour of a false donation of Constantine, they have turned the Scriptures from their true sense, and have attributed the service to themselves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your Majesty may seize with good right upon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a safe conscience, to employ them to their true and right use.

"First, for the finding and maintaining of the faithful ministers of the word of God, for such livings as shall be requisite for them, according as the case shall require. Secondly, for the entertainment of your justices that give judgment. Thirdly, for the relieving of the poor, and maintenance of colleges to instruct the poor youth in that which they shall be most apt unto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own estate and affairs, to the great easement of your poor people, which alone bear the burden, and possess in manner nothing.

"In this doing, an infinite number of men, and even of your nobility, which live of the crucifix, should employ themselves to your service and the commonwealth's so much the more diligently, as they see that ye recompense none but those that have deserved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your kingdom, which occupy the chiefest and greatest benefices, which never deserved any part of them," &c. And thus much touching the superfluous possession of the pope's lordly clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth:

"But when the papists see that they have not to allege for themselves any reason, they essay to make odious to your Majesty the Lutherans, (as they call us,) and say: 'If their sayings take place, ye shall be fain to remain a private person; and that there is never change of religion, but there is also change of principedom.' A thing as false as when they accuse us to be sacramentaries, and that we deny the authority of magistrates, under the shadow of certain furious Anabaptists, which Satan hath raised in our time, to darken the light of the gospel. For the histories of the emperors which have begun to receive the Christian religion, and that which is come to pass in our time, show the contrary.

"Was there ever prince more feared and obeyed, than Constantine in receiving the Christian religion? was he therefore put from the empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and established in the same, and also his posterity which ruled them-

selves by his providence. But such as have fallen away, and followed men's traditions, God hath destroyed, and their race is no more known in earth: so much doth God detest them that forsake him.

"And in our time the late kings of England and Germany, were they constrained, in reproving superstitions which the wickedness of the time had brought in, to forsake their kingdoms and principedoms? All men see the contrary; and what honour, fidelity, and obedience the people in our time that have received the reformation of the gospel, do, under their princes and superiors. Yea, I may say, that the princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed at that time when the rude and ignorant people received so readily the dispensations of the pope, to drive out their own kings and natural lords.

"The true and only remedy, sir, is, that ye cause to be holden a holy and free council, where ye should be chief, and not the pope and his, who ought but only to defend their causes by the Holy Scriptures; that in the mean while ye may seek out men not corrupted, suspected, nor partial, whom ye may charge to give report faithfully unto you, of the true sense of Holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kings, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, ye shall take out of the church all idolatry, superstition, and abuse, which is found directly contrary to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: and by that means ye shall guide your people in the true and pure service of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the papists, which say that any such questions have been already answered at general councils: for it is known well enough, that no council hath been lawful since the popes have usurped the principality and tyranny upon men's souls; but they have made them serve to their covetousness, ambition, and cruelty; and the contrariety which is among those councils, maketh enough for their disproof, besides a hundred thousand other absurdities against the word of God, which be in them. The true proof for such matters, is in the true and Holy Scriptures, to the which no times nor age hath any prescription to be alleged against them; for by them we received the councils founded upon the word of God, and also by the same we reject that doctrine which is repugnant.

"And if ye do thus, sir, God will bless your enterprise; he will increase and confirm your reign and empire, and your posterity. If otherwise, destruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the people which shall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart, as he did Pharaoh's, and take off the crown from your head, as he did to Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Ahab:

and to many other kings, which have followed men's traditions, against the commandment of God; and give it to your enemies, to triumph over you and your children.

"And if the emperor Antoninus the meek, although he were a pagan and idolater, seeing himself bewrapt with so many wars, ceased the persecutions which were in his time against the Christians, and determined in the end to hear their causes and reasons, how much more ought you, that bear the name of the most Christian king, to be careful and diligent to cease the persecutions against the poor Christians, seeing they have not troubled, nor do trouble in any wise, the state of your kingdom and your affairs; considering also that the Jews be suffered through all Christendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we hold by common accord and consent for our God, Redeemer, and Saviour; and that until ye have heard lawfully debated and understand our reasons, taken out of the Holy Scriptures; and that your Majesty have judged, if we be worthy of such punishments. For if we be not overcome by the word of God, neither the fires, the swords, nor the cruellest torments, shall make us afraid. These be exercises that God hath promised to his, the which he foretold should come in the last times, that they should not be troubled when such persecutions shall come upon them."

[Translated out of the French book, intituled, Commentaries of the State of the Church and Public Weal, &c. page 7.]

The story and the end of the French king.

Whosoever was the author or authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou seest, good reader, good counsel given to the king. If he had had the grace to receive it, and had followed the same, no doubt but, God's blessing working with him, he had not only set that realm in a blessed state from much disturbance, but also had continued himself in all flourishing felicity of princely honour and dignity. For so doth the Lord commonly bless and advance such kings and princes as seek his honour, and submit their wills to his obedience. But commonly the fault of kings and potentates of this world is, that being set about with parasites, either they seldom hear the truth told them, or, if they do, yet will they not lightly be put from their own wills, disdaining to be admonished by their inferiors, be their counsel never so wholesome and godly; which thing many times turneth them to great plagues and calamities, as by plentiful examples of kings destroyed, wounded, imprisoned, deposed, drowned, poisoned, &c., may well, to them that read histories,

appear. But especially this present example of Henry the French king, the second of that name, is in this our age notoriously to be considered; who, being well warned before, (as may seem,) would not yet surcease his cruel persecution against the Lord's people, but rather was the more hardened in heart, and inflamed against them; insomuch that he said to Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, threatening him, that he would see him burn with his own eyes.

Further, how his purpose was to extend his power and force likewise against other places more, in persecuting the gospel of Christ, and professors thereof, to the uttermost of his ability, I leave it to the report of them, which in this matter know more than I here will utter.

But notwithstanding all these cracks and threatenings of the king, (to see what the Lord can do in making high kings to stoop,) even the same day when the king was in his most rage against these good men, Almighty God, taking the cause in hand to fight for his church, so turned the matter, that he made the great enemy of his, both with his mouth and with his hand to work his own destruction; with his mouth in commanding, with his hand in giving him the lance into his hand, which the same day gave him his death's wound, as by the sequel hereof in reading, ye may understand.

King Henry being in the parliament house which was kept at the Friar Augustines at Paris, because the palace was in preparing against the marriage of his daughter and his sister, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the said Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faux, counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of the count of Montgomery, the which carried them to prison. Against whom the king being wrathful and angry, among other talk, said to the said Anne du Bourg, "These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt." And so, on the nineteenth of June, commission was given to the judges to make his process.

During this mean while, great feasts and banquets were preparing in the court, for joy and gladness of the marriage that should be of the king's daughter and sister, against the last day of June save one. So, when the day and time above prefixed were come, the king employed all the morning in examining as well the presidents as counsellors of the said parliament against these prisoners, and other their companions that were charged with the same doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one

of the defendants at the tourney, which was solemnly made in St. Antony's Street, near to the prison where the foresaid prisoners were committed, entered into the lists; and therein jousting, as the manner is, had broken many staves right valiantly as could be, running as well against the count of Montgomery, as others more. Whereupon he was highly commended of the lookers-on. And because he had done so valiantly, and was thought now to have done enough, he was desired to cease with praise. But he, being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praise, would needs run another course with Montgomery; who then, refusing to run against the king, and kneeling upon his knees for pardon not to run, the king being eagerly set, commanded him

upon his allegiance to run, and (as some affirm) did also himself put the staff in his hand, unto whose hands he had committed the foresaid prisoners a little before. Montgomery, thus being enforced, whether he would or no, to run against the king, addressed himself after the best wise to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together so stoutly, that in breaking their spears the king was stricken with the counter-blow, so right in one of his eyes, by reason that the visor of his helmet suddenly fell down at the same instant, that the shivers entered into his head; so that the brains were perished, and thereupon so festered, that no remedy could be found, although physicians and surgeons were sent for from all places in the



realm, as also from Brabant by King Philip; but nothing availed, so that the eleventh day after, that is,

the tenth of July, 1559, he ended his life in great dolour, having reigned twelve years, three months, and ten days.

Some report, that among other words he said, that he feared he was stricken for casting the poor Christians wrongfully in prison: but the cardinal of Lorraine, standing by, (as he was always at hand,) said unto him, that it was the enemy that tempted him, and that he should be steadfast in the faith. By this means the hall, which was prepared for a place of joy and gladness, did now serve for a chapel to keep the corpse, being dressed with black mourning cloth, and night and day there was nothing heard but mourning and lamenting for the space of forty days.

About a year after this, which was the year of our Lord 1560, there were certain gentlemen put to death at Amboise, for taking arms against the house of Guise; touching which gentlemen this is to be noted, that as one of them should be brought to the place of execution, where the other lay dead before him, he thrust his hands into the blood of two of his companions which were there beheaded, and then, lifting them up to heaven, cried with a loud voice, "Lord! behold the blood of thy children: thou wilt in time and place revenge it."

Not long after the same, the chancellor Olivier, who was condemner of them, at the instigation and pursuit of the cardinal of Lorraine, through great remorse of conscience fell sick, and in a frenzy casting out sighs incessantly, and afflicting himself after a fearful and strange fashion for his unrighteous sentence, and more than barbarous cruelty, shrieked upon a sudden with a horrible cry, and said, "O cardinal! thou wilt make us all to be damned." And within a very few days after he died.

Francis, the second of that name, king of France, at the persuasion of the cardinal of Lorraine, and of certain others, caused an assembly of the estates of the realm in the town of Orleans, among other things to maintain the papal see, to the overthrow of those which would live after the sincerity of the gospel: but being fallen sick, shortly after, in the foresaid place, of a fever, through an imposthume in his left ear, he died the 5th of December, 1560, having reigned but one year and about five months.

It was said of this King Francis, (as the author above mentioned reporteth,) that when he was drawing toward his end, the cardinal of Lorraine made him to say and pronounce these words which follow: "Lord! forgive me my trespasses, and impute not unto me the faults which my ministers have done, under my name and authority."

Neither is it unworthy of observation, that, after the father, it happened in much like sort (by God's mighty judgment) unto Charles IX., his second son, and brother to Francis above mentioned, in these our later days; who, after the horrible and bloody murder of the admiral, and other true professors of Christ's gospel, both men, women, and children, to the number of many thousands of divers cities, insomuch that the prisons and streets are said to be coloured with blood, smoking after such a cruel sort, as in our time or country the like hath not hitherto been seen; by the stroke of God's just revenge, the same king, by credible report of story, is said to die of bleeding, not only at his ears and nose, but in all other places of his body, where blood might have any issue.

Unto these afore-recited histories of King Henry

and his two sons, might also be added the death of the emperor Charles V., who, in like manner, being an enemy, and a great terror to the gospel, was cut off likewise from doing any more hurt to the church, much about the same time, anno 1558; which was but three months before the death of Queen Mary, and ten months before the death of the said Henry II.

Not long after Anne du Bourg's death, the president Minard, who was a sore persecutor, and the condemner of the said Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the palace or council-chamber to his own house, being upon his mule, even hard by his house, was slain with a dag; but who was the doer thereof, or for what cause he was slain, for all the inquisition and diligent search that could be made, it was never known.

Among many other examples worthy to be noted, let us also consider the end of the king of Navarre, brother to the worthy prince of Condé, who, after he had sustained a certain time the cause of the gospel, at length being allured by the flattering word of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine his brother, and upon hope to have his lands restored again, which the king of Spain retained from him, was contented to alter his religion, and to join side with the papists; and so, being in camp with the duke of Guise, at the siege of Rouen, was there shot with a pellet. After which wound received, being brought to a town three miles from the camp, called Preaux, he did vehemently repent and lament his backsliding from the gospel, promising to God most earnestly, that if he might escape that hurt, he would bring to pass that the gospel should be preached freely through all France: notwithstanding, within five or six days after he died.

Neither did the duke of Guise himself, the great arch-enemy of God and his gospel, continue in life long after that, but both he and the whole triumvirate of France, that is, three the greatest captains of popery, were cut off from doing any more hurt, to wit, the duke of Guise before Orleans, the constable before Paris, the marshal of St. Andrew before Dreux.

Of the emperor Sigismund.

Amongst others, here is not to be past over nor forgotten, the notable example of God's just scourge upon Sigismund the emperor, of whom mention is made before, in the condemnation of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague. After the death and wrongful condemnation of which blessed martyrs, nothing afterward went prosperously with the said emperor, but all contrary; so that he both died without issue, and in his wars he ever went to the worst. And not long after, Ladislaus, his daughter's son, king

of Hungary, fighting against the Turk, was slain in the field. So that in the time of one generation all the posterity and offspring of this emperor perished. Besides this, Barbara his wife came to such ruin by her wicked lewdness, that she became a shame and slander to the name and state of all queens; whereby all Christian princes and emperors may sufficiently be admonished, if they have grace, what it is to defile themselves with the blood of Christ's blessed saints and martyrs.

A note of Christopher Parker.

Christopher Parker, called Parker the Wild, mentioned before in this Book of Monuments, who, being a persecutor of Richard Woodman, did manacle his hands with a cord, did cast himself into a pond, and so drowned himself at Herstmonceaux, in Sussex, the eighth of September, 1575.

The story of one Drainer of Kent, commonly called Justice Nine-holes.

I may not in this place omit the tragedy of one Drainer of Smarden in the county of Kent, esquire, who bearing grudge against one Gregory Dods, parson of the said town, for reproving his vicious life, sent for him by two men, which took him and brought him before him, where he was had into a parlour, as it were to breakfast; in which, behind the door, he had placed one Roger Matthew secretly, to bear witness what he should say, no more being in sight but the said Drainer and one of his men, who willed and persuaded him to speak freely his mind, for that there was not sufficient record of his words to hurt him. But the Lord kept his talk without peril, whereby the said Drainer sent him to the next justice, called Master George Dorell; who, perceiving it to be done more of malice than otherwise, delivered him upon sureties, to appear at the next sessions at Canterbury, and at length he was banished the country.

This said Drainer afterward, being chosen justice, to show himself diligent in seeking the trouble of his neighbours, made in the rood-loft nine holes, that he might look about the church in mass time. In which place alway, at the sacring thereof, he would stand to see who looked not, or held not up his hands thereto; which persons not so doing he would trouble and punish very sore. Whereby he purchased a name there, and is called to this day, Justice Nine-holes, who now (God be thanked) is John-out-of-office, and glad of his neighbour's good will.

It so fell out, that since this was published, the said Drainer came to the printer's house, with other

associates, demanding, "Is Foxe nere?" To whom answer was given, that Master Foxe was not within. "Is the printer within?" quoth Drainer. It was answered, Yea. Whereupon, being required to come up into his house, he was asked what his will was. "Marry," saith he, "you have printed me false in your book." "Why," saith the printer, "is not your name Master Drainer, otherwise called Justice Nine-holes?" "It is false," saith he, "I made but five with a great anger, and the parson made the rest." It was answered, "I have not read that a justice should make him a place in the rood-loft, to see if the people held up their hands." He said, "Whereas you allege, that I did it to see who adored the sacrament, or who not, it is untrue; for I set as little by it, as the best of you all." "Indeed," saith the printer, "so we understand now; for you being at supper in Cheapside among certain honest company, and there burdened with the matter, said then, that you did it rather to look upon fair wenches, than otherwise." He, being in a great rage, sware, saying to this purpose: "Can a man speak nothing but you must have understanding thereof? But," saith he, "did I do any man any hurt?" It was answered, that he meant little good to Master Dods aforesaid, especially procuring a secret witness behind his door, to catch some words that might tend to Dod's destruction: which thing Drainer sware, as before, was not true. To whom the printer replied, that it was most true, for that the party there secretly hidden, hath since, upon his knees, asking forgiveness for his intent, confessed the same to Dods himself. "I will hang that knave," saith he. And so he departed in a rage; and since is deceased, whose death, and order thereof, I refer to the secret Judge.

A lamentable story of John Whitman, shoemaker, who suffered most cruel torments at Ostend in Flanders, for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and the truth of his gospel, anno 1572.

John Whitman, shoemaker, being about the age of forty-nine years, born in Tienen, a town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rye in the county of Sussex, being married twenty-three years: always a professor of the gospel, as well in the time of the freedom thereof, as in time of persecution. About Candlemas, in the year 1572, unknown to his friends in Rye, understanding of shipping in Rye, which was ready bound for Ostend in Flanders, he went aboard the Saturday morning, and arrived at Ostend that night, where he lodged with one of his kinsmen there dwelling. The next

day being Sunday, in the morning he, accompanied with his said kinsman, took his journey as it were to have passed higher into the country.

When they were about three miles on their way out of the town, suddenly Whitman staid and would go no further; but immediately returned back again to Ostend, whither so soon as he was come, it being service-time in their church, he forthwith addressed himself thither, and at the time of the heave-offering stept to the sacrificer, and took from over his head his idol, saying these words in the Dutch tongue: "Is this your god?" and so breaking it, cast it down under his feet, and trod thereon. Forthwith the people in an uproar came to lay hold on him, and hardly in the church escaped he death by the soldiers there present; but, being rescued by some to the intent to be further examined and made a

public spectacle, he was carried immediately to prison. Upon the next day, being Monday, the judges and other counsellors being assembled he was brought forth into the common hall, and examined of his fact, the intent, the counsel and abettors thereof, and also of his faith: where he very constantly, in defence of his Christian faith, and great detestation of idolatry, demeaned himself in such sort, that he wrung tears from the eyes of divers, both of the chief, and others present. So was he committed again to prison.

The next day, being Tuesday, he was brought out again before the judges into the same place. And being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increased in his constancy: whereupon sentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his body scorched to death, and after to be hanged



up. So the day following, being Wednesday, he was brought out of prison to the town-hall, standing

in the market-place, all things belonging to execution being made ready there; which when they were all ready, the hangman went into the hall, and with a cord tied the hands of Whitman, and came out leading him thereby. So soon as Whitman was out of the house, he made such haste, and, as it were, ran so to the place of execution, that he drew the hangman after him. There was a post set up with

spars from the top thereof, aslope down to the ground, in manner of a tent, to the end that he should be only scorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the hangman commanded him to lay down his right hand upon a block, which he immediately with a hatchet smote off: the good man still continuing constant, the hangman stepped behind him, and bid him put out his tongue, which he forthwith did, as far as he could out of his mouth, through the which he thrust a long instrument like a pack-needle, and so let it stick. Then the judges, standing by in the common-hall, read again his fact and sentence. Whereunto he could make no answer, his tongue hanging out of his head: so was he stripped out of his cassock, his hose being put off in prison, and put within his tent, and made fast with two chains; and fire was put round about, which broiled and scorched his body most miserably, all black, he not being seen, but heard to make a noise within the tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a gibbet, beside the town.

Admonition to the reader, concerning the examples above mentioned.

It hath been a long persuasion, gendered in the heads of many men these many years, that to ground a man's faith upon God's word alone, and not upon the see and Church of Rome, following all the ordinances and constitutions of the same, was damnable heresy, and to persecute such men to death, was high service done to God; whereupon have risen so great persecutions, slaughters, and murders, with such effusion of Christian blood through all parts of Christendom, by the space of these seventy years, as hath not before been seen. And of these men Christ himself doth full well warn us long before, truly prophesying of such times to come, when they that slay his ministers and servants should think themselves to do good service unto God. Now what wicked service, and how detestable before God this is, which they falsely persuade themselves to be godly, what more evident demonstrations can we require, than these so many, so manifest, and so terrible examples of God's wrath pouring down from heaven upon these persecutors, whereof part we have already set forth; for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is impossible. Wherefore, although there be many which will neither hear, see, nor understand, what is for their profit, yet let all moderate and well-disposed natures take warning in time. And if the plain word of God will not suffice them, nor the blood of so many martyrs will move them to embrace the truth, and forsake error, yet let the desperate deaths and

horrible punishments of their own papists persuade them, how perilous is the end of this damnable doctrine of papistry. For if these papists, which make so much of their painted antiquity, do think their proceedings to be so catholic, and service so acceptable to God, let them join this withal, and tell us how come then their proceedings to be so accursed of God, and their end so miserably plagued, as by these examples above specified, is here notoriously to be seen? Again, if the doctrine of them be such heresy, whom they have hitherto persecuted for heretics unto death; how then is Almighty God become a maintainer of heretics, who hath revenged their blood so grievously upon their enemies and persecutors?

The putting out of the French king's eyes, which promised before with his eyes to see one of God's true servants burnt, who seeth not with his eyes to be the stroke of God's hand upon him? Then his son Francis after him, not regarding his father's stripe, would yet needs proceed in burning the same man: and did not the same God, which put out his father's eyes, give him such a blow on the ear, that it cost him his life?

If the platform of Stephen Gardiner had been a thing so necessary for the church, and so grateful unto God, why then did it not prosper with him, nor he with it, but both he and his platform lay in the dust, and none left behind him to build upon it?

After the time of Stephen Gardiner, and at the council of Trent, what conspiracies and policies were devised! what practices and trains were laid, through the secret confederacy of princes and prelates, for the utter subversion of the gospel and all gospellers! which if God had seen to have been for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, how or by whom were they disclosed and foreprised, but by the Lord himself, which would not have them come forward?

The vehement zeal of Queen Mary was like to have set up the pope here again in England for ever, if it had so much pleased the Lord God as it pleased herself; or if it had been so godly as it was bloody, no doubt but God's blessing would have gone withal. But when was the realm of England more barren of all God's blessings? what prince ever reigned here a shorter time, or less to his own heart's case, than did Queen Mary?

The constable of France, when he covenanted with God, that if he had the victory of St. Quentin's, he would set upon Geneva, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargain with God: much like unto Julian the emperor, who going against the Persians, made his vow, that if he sped

well, he would offer the blood of Christians. But what did God? came not both their vows to like effect?

The examples of such as revolted from the gospel to papistry be not many; but as few as they were, scarce can any be found which began to turn to the pope; but the Lord began to turn from them, and to leave them to their ghostly enemy; as we have heard of Francis Spira, a lawyer of Italy, of the king of Navarre in France, of Henry Smith and Dr. Shaxton in England, with others in other countries, of whom some died in great sorrow of conscience, some in miserable doubt of their salvation, some stricken by God's hand, some driven to hang or drown themselves.

The stinking death of Stephen Gardiner, of John de Roma, of Twyford, of the bailiff of Crowland;

the sudden death of Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, called Dick of Dover; of Dr. Dunning, of Dr. Jeffrey, of Beard the promoter; the miserable and wretched end of Poncher, archbishop of Tours, of Cardinal Crescentius, Castellanus; the desperate disease of Rockwood, of Latomus, of Guarlacus; the earthly ending of Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Winchester, of Eckius; the wilful and self-murder of Pavier, of Richard Long, of Bomelius, besides infinite others; the dreadful taking away and murder of so many persecuting bishops, so many bloody promoters and malicious adversaries, in such a short time together with Queen Mary, and that without any man's hand, but only by the secret working of God's just judgment.

To these add also, the stinking death of Edmund Bonner, commonly named the bloody bishop of



London; who, not many years ago, in the time and reign of Queen Elizabeth, after he had long feasted and ban-

queted in durance at the Marshalsea, as he wretchedly died in his blind popery, so as stinkingly and blindly, at midnight, was he brought out and buried in the outside of all the city, amongst thieves and murderers, a place right convenient for such a murderer; with confusion and derision both of men and children, who, trampling upon his grave, well declared how he was hated both of God and man.

What else be all these, I say, but plain visible arguments, testimonies, and demonstrations even from heaven, against the pope, his murdering religion, and his bloody doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to be good, whose end is so evil? If Christ bid us to know men by their fruits, and especially seeing by the end all things are to be tried, how can the profession of that doctrine please God, which endeth so ungodly? Esaias, prophesying of the end of God's enemies, which would needs walk in the light of their own setting up, and not in the light of the Lord's kindling, threateneth to them this final malediction, "In sorrow shall ye sleep."

Let us now take a survey of all those persecutors, which of late have so troubled the earth, (and almost have burned up the world with faggots and fire, for maintenance of the pope's religion,) and see what the end hath been of them that are now gone, and whither their religion hath brought them, but either to destruction, or desperation, or confusion and shame of life. So many great doctors and bishops have cried out of late so mightily against priests' marriage; and have they not, by God's just judgment, working their confusion, been detected themselves, and taken the most part of them in sinful adultery, and shameful fornication? Cardinal John de Crema, the pope's legate here in England, after he had set a law that priests should have no wives, was he not the next day after, being taken with his whores, driven out of London with confusion and shame enough, so that afterwards he durst not show his face here any more? besides the two bishops in the late council of Trent most shamefully taken in adultery, mentioned before. Also, besides innumerable other like foreign stories, which I let pass, to come now to our own domestical examples, I could well name half a score at least of famous doctors, and some bishops, with their great masters of popery, who, in standing earnestly against the marriages of priests, have afterward been taken in such dishonest facts themselves, that not only they have carried the public shame of adulterous lecherers, but some of them the marks also of burning fornication with them in their bodies to their graves: whose names although I suffer here to be suppressed, yet the examples of them may suffice to admonish all men that be wise, and which will avoid the wrath of God's terrible vengeance, to beware of popery.

And thus, having hitherto recited so many shameful lives and desperate ends of so many popish persecutors stricken by God's hand; now let us consider again, on the contrary side, the blessed ends given of Almighty God unto them, which have stood

so manfully in the defence of Christ's gospel, and the reformation of his religion; and let the papists themselves here be judges. First, what a peaceable and heavenly end made the worthy servant and singular organ of God, Martin Luther!

To speak likewise of the famous John, duke of Saxony and prince elector, of the good palsgrave, of Philip Melancthon, of Pomerane, Urbane Regius, Berengarius, of Ulricus Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Pellicane, Capito, Munster, John Calvin, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, John Musculus, Bibliander, Gesner, Hofman, Augustine Marloratus; Lewis of Bourbon, prince of Condé, and his godly wife before him; with many more, which were known to be learned men, and chief standards of the gospel side against the pope; and yet no man able to bring forth any one example either of these, or of any other true gospeller, that either killed himself, or showed forth any signification or appearance of despair; but full of hope and constant in faith, and replenished with the fruit of righteousness in Christ Jesus, so yielded they their lives in quiet peace unto the Lord.

From these foreigners, let us come now to the martyrs of England, and mark likewise the end both of them, and semblably of all others of the same profession. And first, to begin with the blessed and heavenly departure of King Edward the Sixth, that first put down the mass in England, and also of the like godly end of his good uncle the duke of Somerset, which died before him, with an infinite number of other private persons besides, of the like religion, in whose final departing no such blemish is to be noted, like to the desperate examples of them above recited. Let us now enter the consideration of the blessed martyrs, who although they suffered in their bodies, yet rejoiced they in their spirits; and albeit they were persecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lord with such inward joy and peace of conscience, that some, writing to their friends, professed they were never so merry before in all their lives, some leaped for joy, some for triumph would put on their scarfs, some their wedding garment, going to the fire; others kissed the stake, some embraced the faggots, some clapt their hands, some sang psalms; universally they all forgave and prayed for their enemies; no murmuring, no repining was ever heard amongst them: so that most truly might be verified in them, which their persecutors were wont to sing in their hymns,

*Cæduntur gladiis more bidentium,
Non murmur resonat, nec querimonia:
Sed corde tacito mens bene conscia
Conservat patientiam, &c.*

Briefly, so great was their patience, or rather so great was God's Spirit in them, that some of them, in the flaming fire, moved no more than the stake whereunto they were tied. In fine, in them most aptly agreed the special tokens which most certainly follow the true children of God; that is, outward persecution, and inward comfort in the Holy Ghost. In the world (saith Christ our Saviour) ye shall have affliction; but in me ye shall have peace, &c.

And likewise the words of St. Paul be plain: Whosoever, saith he, studieth to live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution.

But then, what followeth with this persecution? The said apostle again thus declareth, saying, As the passions of Christ abound in us, so aboundeth also our consolation by Christ, &c.; according as by the examples of these godly martyrs right perfectly we may perceive. For as their bodies outwardly lacked no persecutions by the hands of the wicked, so, amongst so many hundreds of them that stood and died in this religion, what one man can be brought forth, which either hath been found to have killed himself, or to have died otherwise than the true servant of God, in quiet peace, and much comfort of conscience?

Which being so, what greater proof can we have to justify their cause and doctrine against the persecuting Church of Rome, than to behold the ends of them both? first, of the protestants, how quietly they took their death, and cheerfully rested in the Lord; and contrariwise, to mark these persecutors, what a wretched end commonly they do all come unto. Experience whereof we have sufficient in the examples above declared, and also of late in Bonner, who albeit he died in his bed unrepentant, yet was it so provided by God, that as he had been a persecutor of the light, and a child of darkness, so his carcass was tumbled into the earth in obscure darkness, at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Christians; and as he had been a murderer, so was he laid amongst thieves and murderers, a place by God's judgment rightly appointed for him.

And albeit some peradventure, that have been notable persecutors in times past, do yet remain alive, who, being in the same cause as the others were, have not yet felt the weight of God's mighty hand, yet let not them think, that because the judgment of God hath lighted sooner upon others, therefore it will never light upon them; or because God of his mercy hath granted them space to repent, let not them therefore of God's lenity build to themselves an opinion of indemnity. The blood of Abel cried long, yet wrought at length. The souls of the saints slain under the altar were not revenged at the first. But read forth the chapter, and see what

followed in the end. Blood, especially of Christ's servants, is a perilous matter, and crieth sore in the ears of God, and will not be stilled with the laws of men.

Wherefore let such blood-guilty homicides beware, if not by counsel, at least by the examples of their fellows. And though princes and magistrates, under whose permission they are suffered, do spare their lives, let them not think therefore, (as some of them shame not to say,) that man hath no power to hurt them; and so think to escape unpunished, because they be not punished by man; but rather let them fear so much the more. For, oftentimes, such as have been persecutors and tormentors to God's children, God thinketh them not worthy to suffer by man, but either reserveth them to his own judgment, or else maketh them to be their own persecutors, and their own hands most commonly hangmen to their own bodies.

So Saul, after he had persecuted David, it was unneedful for David to pursue him again: for he was revenged of him, more than he desired. It was needless to cause Ahithophel to be hanged; for he himself was the stifler or strangler of his own life.

Neither for the apostles to pursue Judas that betrayed their Master; for he himself was his own hangman, and no man else, that his body burst, and his guts burst out.

Sennacherib, had he not for his persecutors his own sons, and it cost Hezekiah nothing to be revenged of him for his tyranny.

Antiochus and Herod, although the children of God, whom they so cruelly persecuted, laid no hands upon them, yet they escaped not unpunished of God's hand, who sent lice and worms to be their tormentors, which consumed and eat them up.

Pilate, after he had crucified Christ our Saviour, within few years after was he not driven to hang himself?

Nero, after his cruel murders and persecutions stirred up against the Christians, when he should have been taken by the Romans, God thought him not so worthy to be punished by the hands of them, but so disposed the matter, that Nero himself, when he could find no friend nor enemy to kill him, made his own hands to be his own cut-throat.

Dioclesian, with Maximinian his fellow emperor, which were the authors of the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, being in the midst of their furious tyranny against the name of Christ, needed no man's help, to bridle them and pluck them back: for God, of his secret judgment, put such a snaffle in the mouths of these tyrants, that they themselves, of their own accord, deposed and dispossessed themselves of their imperial function,

and lived as private persons all their lives after: and notwithstanding that Maximinian, after that, sought to resume his imperial state again, yet by Maxentius his son he was resisted, and shortly after slain.

What should I here speak of the cruel emperor Maximinus? who, when he had set forth his proclamation engraven in brass, for the utter abolishing of Christ and his religion, was not punished by man, but had lice and vermin gushing out of his entrails, to be his tormentors; with such a rotten stench laid upon his body, that no physicians could abide to come near, and was caused to be slain for the same.

Maxentius the son of Maximinian, and Pharaoh the king of Egypt, as they were both like enemies against God and his people, so drank they both of one cup, not perishing by any man's hand, but both in like manner, after, were drowned with their harness in the water. Furthermore, and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the kings among the Jews, which were bloody and wicked, were not spared, as Ahaz, Ahab, Jezebel, Manasseh, Jehoiakim, Zedekiah, with many others, but had at length, although it were long, the hire of their iniquity: let not these bloody catholics then think, which have been persecutors of Christ's saints, that they, being in the same cause as the others above recited were, shall escape the same judgment, which the longer it is deferred, the sorer many times it striketh, unless by due repentance it be prevented in time; which I pray God it may.

Innumerable examples more to the same effect and purpose might be inferred, whereof plentiful store we have in all places, and in all ages of men, to be collected. But these hitherto for this present may suffice, which I thought here to notify unto these our bloody children of the murdering mother Church of Rome, of whom it may well be said, "Your hands be full of blood," &c.; to the intent that they, by the examples of their other fellows before mentioned, may be admonished to follow the prophet's counsel which followeth, and biddeth,

"Be you washed, and make yourselves clean," &c.; and not to presume too far upon their own security, nor think themselves the further off from God's hand, because man's hand forbeareth them.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any, than God from above doth give. And what the laws of this realm could make against them, as against open murderers, I will not here discuss, nor open that I could say (because they shall not say that we desire their blood to be spilt, but rather to be spared): but yet this I say, and wish them well to understand, that the sparing of their lives, which have been murderers of so many, is not for want of power in magistrates, nor for lack of any just law against them, whereby they might justly have been condemned, if it had so pleased the magistrates to proceed (as they might) against them; but because Almighty God, peradventure, in his secret purpose, having something to do with these persecutors, hath spared them hitherto; not that they should escape unpunished, but that peradventure he will take his own cause into his own hand, either by death to take them away, (as he did by Bonner, and by all promoters in a manner of Queen Mary's time,) or else to make them to persecute themselves with their own hands; or will stir up their conscience to be their own confusion, in such sort as the church shall have no need to lay any hands upon them.

Wherefore, with this short admonition to close up the matter, as I have exhibited in these histories the terrible ends of so many persecutors plagued by God's hand; so would I wish all such whom God's lenity suffereth yet to live, this wisely to ponder with themselves: that as their cruel persecution hurteth not the saints of God, whom they have put to death, so the patience of Christ's church, suffering them to live, doth not profit them, but rather heapeth the greater judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unless they repent in time; which I pray God they may.



And now to re-enter again to the time and story of Queen Elizabeth, where we left before.

In her advancement and this her princely governance, it cannot sufficiently be expressed, what felicity and blessed happiness this realm hath received in receiving her at the Lord's almighty and gracious hand. For as there have been divers kings and rulers over this realm, and I have read of some, yet I could never find in English chronicle the like that may be written of this our noble and worthy queen, whose coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her reign hitherto, (reigning now twenty-four years and more,) hath been so quiet, that yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this present day, her sword is a virgin spotted and polluted with no drop of blood. In speaking whereof, I take not upon me the part here of the moral or of the divine philosopher, to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compass of an historiographer, declaring what hath been before, and comparing things done with things now present, the like whereof, as I said, is not to be found lightly in chronicles before. And this, as I speak truly, so I would to be taken without flattery, to be left to our posterity, *ad sempiternam clementiæ illius memoriam*. In commendation of which her clemency, I might also here add how mildly her Grace, after she was advanced to her kingdom, did forgive the foresaid Sir Henry Benifield without molestation, suffering him to enjoy goods, life, lands, and liberty. But I let this pass.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, simply but truly described unto thee the time, first of the sorrowful adversity of this our most sovereign queen that now is, also the miraculous protection of God, so gra-

ciously preserving her in so many straits and distresses, which I thought here briefly to notify, the rather for that the wondrous works of the Lord ought not to be suppressed, and that also her Majesty, and we likewise, her poor subjects, having thereby a present matter always before our eyes, be admonished both how much we are bound to his Divine Majesty, and also to render thanks to him condignly for the same. Now remaineth likewise, in prosecuting the order of this, as of other histories before, to notify and discourse of things memorable especially in the church, such as happened in the time of this her Majesty's quiet and joyful government. And first, here I let pass by the way the death of Cardinal Pole, which was the next day after the death of Queen Mary; the death also of Christopherson bishop of Chichester, and Hopton bishop of Norwich; omitting also to speak of Dr. Weston, who, being chief disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, as is before declared, first fell in displeasure with the cardinal and other bishops, because he was unwilling to part from his deanery and house of Westminster unto the monks, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things a maintainer of the Church of Rome. Then, being removed from thence, he was made dean of Windsor, where he, being apprehended in adultery, was by the same cardinal put from all his spiritual livings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and, flying out of the realm, was taken by the way and clapped in the Tower of London, where he remained until this time that Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed; at which time being delivered, he fell sick and died.

Also I let pass the coronation of this our most

noble and Christian princess, and the order of the same, which was the fifteenth day of January, anno 1559. To pass over also the triumphant passage and honourable entertainment of the said our most dread sovereign through the city of London, with such celebrity, prayers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, pageants, interludes, declamations, and verses set up, as the like hath not commonly been seen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earnest affection of loving hearts toward their sovereign. Item, To pretermitt in silence the letters gratulatory, sent to her Majesty from divers and sundry foreign places, as from Zurich, Geneva, Basil, Bern, Wittenburg, Strasburg, Frankfort, &c.: these, I say, with many other things to let pass, we will now (God willing) begin with the disceptation or conference between the popish bishops, and the learned men exiled in Germany, had at Westminster; after that first we have inserted a certain oration of a worthy gentleman, called Master John Hales, sent and delivered to the said Queen Elizabeth in the beginning of her reign, the copy whereof is this.

To the noble Queen Elizabeth.

"Albeit there be innumerable gifts and benefits of Almighty God, whereof every one would wonderfully comfort any person, on whom it should please his goodness to bestow it; yet is none of them, either separate by itself, or joined with any other, or yet all mingled together, to be compared to this one: that it hath pleased God of his mercy to deliver this realm, our country, from the tyranny of malicious Mary, and to commit it to the government of virtuous Elizabeth. For if a man had all the treasure of Solomon, and might not be suffered to have the use thereof, in what better case were he, than miserable Tantalus, over whose head the apples continually hung, yet, being hunger-starved, he could never touch them? If a man had as strong a body as had Samson, and besides, were as whole as a fish, as the proverb is, yet, if he were kept in bands, what should it avail him? Yea, rather, if it be well considered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt.

"If a man had as many children as had Gideon the judge, and might not be so suffered to bring them up in the fear of God, and good knowledge and manners, had he not been more happy to be without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as had St. Paul, and durst not profess it openly with mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death should declare the contrary in deed, slander the word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden, should it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwise?

"And, to be short, if any one man had all these gifts together, or generally all the gifts of fortune, the body, the mind, and of grace, yet if he might not have the use of them, what should they profit him? Verily, nothing at all. For felicity is not in having, but in using; not in possessing, but in occupying; not in knowledge, but in doing.

"But alas! our natural mother England, which hath been counted to be the surest, the richest, and of late also the most godly nation of the earth, hath been these whole five years most violently by tyrants forced to lack the use of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and nature hath endued her. Her natural and loving children could not be suffered to enjoy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and succour her or themselves; but whatsoever they had was, either by open force, or by crafty dealing, pulled from them. And surely this had been tolerable, if none other mischief had been therewith intended.

"He is a gentle thief, (if thieves may be counted gentle,) that only robbeth a man of his goods, and refraineth violent hands from his person: for such loss, with labour and diligence, may be recovered. He may be called a merciful murderer, that only killeth the aged parents, and useth no force on the children. For nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like space; and to kill the parents, is as it were but a prevention of a short time, if it were to the uttermost enjoyed. But these tyrants were more ungentle than common thieves, more empty of mercy than common murderers. For they were not only not contented to have the goods of the people, but they would have it delivered to them by the owners' own hands, that it might be said to the world, they gave it with their heart; and were not therewith pleased, but they would have their lives, that they should not bewray them; and yet herewith they were not satisfied, but they meant to root out the whole progeny and nation of Englishmen, that none should be left to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring our country into the Spaniards' dominion.

"It is a horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another, much more horrible for the children to lay violent and murdering hands on their parents, but most horrible of all to murder the children in the sight of their parents, or the parents in the sight of their children, as these most cruel tormentors have done.

"But what do I stand in these things, which have some defence, because the Turks perchance use so to do; and ethnics kill one another, to make sacrifice of men to their fantastical gods?

"It was not enough for these unnatural English

tormentors, tyrants, and false Christians, to be the lords of the goods, possessions, and bodies of their brethren and countrymen: but, being very anti-christ, and enemies of Christ's cross, they would be gods, and reign in the consciences and souls of men. Every man, woman, and child, must deny Christ in word openly, abhor Christ in their deeds, slander his gospel with word and deed, worship and honour false gods, as they would have them, and themselves did, and so give body and soul to the devil their master, or secretly flee; or, after inward torments, be burnt openly. O cruelty, cruelty! far exceeding all cruelties committed by those ancient and famous tyrants and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximinian, Dioclesian, Decius, whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, and their own tyranny practised on the people, have been, be, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their souls in continual torment in hell. If any man would take upon him to set forth particularly all the acts that have been done these full five years, by this unnatural woman, (no, no woman, but a monster, and the devil of hell covered with the shape of a woman,) as it is most necessary for the glory of God, and the profit of his church and this realm, it should be done; he shall find it a matter sufficient for a perfect great history, and not to be contained in an oration, to be uttered at one time by the voice of man. But to comprehend the sum of all their wickedness in few words: behold, whatsoever malice in mischief, covetousness in spoil, cruelty in punishing, tyranny in destruction could do, that all this poor English nation, this full five years, suffered already; or should have suffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

"And albeit there have been many that have hazarded and lost their lives to shake off this most rough break (wherewith this virago, rather than virgin, as she would be called and taken, boasted herself to be sent of God, to ride and tame the people of England); albeit there have been many that have gone about to loose their brethren out of the yoke of this most miserable captivity; and albeit some have proved to break the bands of this most cruel tyranny: yet could they never bring to pass that, which they so earnestly laboured, and so manfully attempted.

"And it is nothing to be wondered, let the papists boast thereof what it pleaseth them. For Almighty God, being a most indifferent Governor, punishing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his justice suffer his scourge so soon to be taken from this our land, if he meant the salvation of the people, as most manifestly it appeareth he did. For having once

given to this realm the greatest jewel that might be, that is, the free use of his lively word, (which if they had embraced and followed; it would have reformed all disorders and sins for which his wrath was kindled and provoked,) the people nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abused it; and many made it a cloak and colour to cover their mischief. So that if he should suddenly have withdrawn this plague, as tyrants and evil governors be the plague of God, they would neither have passed on his justice, nor yet should they have felt the sweetness of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things present, and neither remember things past, nor yet pass on things to come, unless they be warned by exceeding extremities.

"Besides this, it is most evident, that he had determined to make this noble conquest alone, with his own hand and mighty power; and would not that it should be done by man, lest man should impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own strength, or to his own policy; or that fortune should seem to bear any stroke in so glorious a conquest, and so be partaker, in men's opinions, of the triumph so worthy.

"Neither did his almighty power work this when man would have it despatched, that is, as soon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not so great a victory to discomfit a few dispersed people, as it is to destroy a perfectly united army: but he suffered them to make their force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever mischiefs by spoil, banishment, prisonment, hanging, heading, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

"Neither would his most provident wisdom do it out of season, but, as the good husbandman doth not crop his tree till he hath rendered his fruit, so would he not root out these pestilent tyrannies, till the most profit might be taken thereof.

"When he had given sufficient leisure to all kind of men to declare themselves; who were crocodiles, sometimes lying in water, sometimes on land, that is, both gospellers and papists; who were sponges, suspected whether they had life or not life, whether they were Christians or epicures; who were cameleons, that could turn themselves into all colours; with protestants, protestants; with papists, papists; with Spaniards, Spaniards; with Englishmen, Englishmen: who were gnathos, that could apply themselves to every man's appetite that was in authority, who were marigolds, that followed Mary's mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turn with every wind; who were mastiffs, that could bite, and bark not; who were curs, ever barking; who were foxes, that would promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with

many oaths, and do clean contrary; who were Cains, that sought the innocent Abels' deaths; who were the wolves, that worried the lambs. And finally, when he had suffered the spiritual shavelings to spew out their venom, and every man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly, then doth he work this most victorious conquest. And with his works he seemeth plainly to say thus unto us: 'Ye see, my people, what I have done for you, not for your sakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I most plenteously poured on you, and have deserved most grievous punishment for your unthankfulness; but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glory's sake, which I will have opened to all the world in these latter days, to the fear of evil-doers, and to the comfort of the well-doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye see what will follow it. Be hereafter more prudent and wise than ye were before. Ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in time to come, than ye have been in the time past: ye may, if ye list, put me to less trouble, and keep yourselves in more safety. I have not only discovered mine, yours, and my land of England's enemies, and all the crafts, subtleties, and policies that have been, or may be used by them, or any like hereafter; but I have also taken away their head and captain, and destroyed a great number of them, that ye should not be troubled with them; and some of them have I left, that ye may make them spectacles and examples, to the terror and fear of their posterity. Love me, and I will love you: seek my honour and glory, and I will work your commodity and safety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever.'

"Surely, if we consider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleased God to use towards us, in the delivering of the realm, and us his people, out of the hands of those most cruel tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare ourselves to be the most unthankful people that ever lived, we must needs judge it not only worthy to be compared to, but also far to exceed, the deliverance of the children of Israel out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and from the powers of Holofernes and Sennacherib: for it is not read, that either Pharaoh, or the other two, sought any other thing, than to be the lords of the goods and bodies of the Israelites: they forced them not to commit idolatry, and to serve false gods, as these English tyrants did.

"But besides, if we will note the wonderful works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his church and people, than perchance all men at the first do see. For he hath not only despatched the realm of the chief per-

sonages and head of these tyrants, but also as it were declareth, that he minded not that either they or their doings should continue. For, albeit that all acts done by tyrants tyrannously, be by all laws, reason, and equity, of no force, yet, because no disputation should follow on this—what is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannously done, he hath provided that this question needeth not to come in question; for he utterly blinded their eyes, and suffered them to build on false grounds, which can no longer stand than they be propt up with rope, sword, and faggot. For her first parliament, whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatsoever King Edward had for the advancement of God's glory brought to pass, was of no force or authority. For she, perceiving that her enemy's stomach could not be emptied, nor her malice spewed on the people by any good order, she committeth a great disorder. She, by force and violence, taketh from the commons their liberty, that, according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm, they could not have their free election of knights and burgesses for the parliament: for she well knew, that if either Christian men, or true Englishmen, should be elected, it was not possible [for] that to succeed, which she intended. And therefore in many places divers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serve her malicious affections. Wherefore that parliament was no parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of tyrants and traitors. For the greater part, by whose authority and voices things proceeded in that court, by their acts most manifestly declared themselves so: the rest, being both Christians and true Englishmen, although they had good wills, yet were not able to resist or prevail against the multitude of voices and suffrages of so many evil, false to God, and enemies to their country.

"Also divers burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully returned, as in some places the people did what they could to resist her purposes, were disorderly and unlawfully put out, and others, without any order of law, in their places placed. Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, a Christian bishop and a true Englishman, being lawfully and orderly called to the parliament, and placed in the lords' house in his degree, was, in his robes, violently thrust out of the house. Alexander Nowell with two others, all three being burgesses for divers shires, and Christian men and true Englishmen, and lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were, by force, put out of the house of the commons: for the which cause the said parliament is also void, as by a precedent of the parliament holden at Coventry, in the thirty-eighth year of King Henry the Sixth, it most manifestly

appeareth. And the third parliament, called in the name of her husband, and of her evil Grace, wherein they would have undone that her noble father and the realm had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and for extinguishment of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, is also void, and of none authority; for that the title and style of supreme head of the Church of England, which by a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the said King Henry, was ordained, that it should be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm, was omitted in the writs of summoning. Wherefore, as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, so cannot those writs bring forth good and sure fruit, because this part of the title, which was ordained by the parliament for the form to be always used in the king's style, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter; and where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no law spiritual nor temporal, (as they term them,) nor any good reason, but allows these rules for infallible principles. And if any man will say, that it was in the free choice, liberty, and pleasure of the king of this realm, and the queen, whether they would express the said title in their style, or not,—as that subtle serpent Gardiner, being chancellor of the realm, and traitorously sending out the writs of parliament without the same style, perceiving he had over-shot himself in calling the parliament, and having committed many horrible murders and most mischievous acts, would have excused it, as appeareth by a piece of a statute made in the same parliament, in the eighth chapter and two-and-twentieth leaf,—it may be justly and truly answered, that they could not so do. For although every person may by law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person.

“And this title and style more touched the commonwealth and realm of England, than the king. For, as I said before, it was ordained for the conservation of the liberty of the whole realm, and to exclude the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. And therefore no king nor queen alone could renounce such title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally by act of parliament, sufficiently called and summoned. For the natural and right way to loose and undo things, is to dissolve them by that means they were ordained. And so it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, force, or authority: but all that they have done, hath been mere tyranny. O most marvellous providence of

Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth that is best for the wealth of his people! O most mighty power, that so suddenly overthroweth the counsels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to nought! O infinite mercy, that so gently dealeth with his people, that he saveth them whom he might most justly destroy! O most joyful, most merry, and never to be forgotten ‘Hope-Wednesday,’ in which it hath pleased thee, O God, to deliver thy church, this realm, and thy people from so horrible tyranny! No tongue can express, no pen can indite, no eloquence can worthily set out, much less exornate these thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodness sufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped this most joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy most sharp visitation, and utter destruction of this realm, as of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Jerusalem? But we see and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all men's sins, and far above all thy works.

“And albeit there is no Christian and natural Englishman, woman, or child, either present, or that shall succeed us, which is not or shall not be partaker of this most exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praise and thank him; yet there is not one creature that is more bound so to do, than you, noble Queen Elizabeth! For in this horrible tyranny, and most cruel persecution, your Grace hath been more hunted for than any other. Divers times they have taken you; sometimes they have had you in stronghold, secluded from all liberty; sometimes at liberty, but not without most cruel gaolers' custody; and many times they determined, that without justice ye should be murdered privily. They thought, if your Grace had been suppressed, they should have fully prevailed: if ye had been destroyed, their doings for ever should be established: if ye had been taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo that they had ordained. But He that sitteth on high, and laugheth at their madness, would not suffer that the malicious purposes and most cruel devised injustice should have success. He took upon him the protection of you. He only hath been our Jehosheba, that preserved you from this wicked Athaliah: he only was the Jehoiada, that destroyed this cruel Athaliah: he only hath made you queen of this realm, instead of this mischievous Marana. No earthly creature can claim any piece of thanks therefor; no man's force, no man's counsel, no man's aid, hath been the cause thereof. Wherefore, the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to seek his glory, and to set forth his honour. Ye see his

power, what he is able to do: he alone can save, and he can destroy; he can pull down, and he can set up. If ye fear him, and seek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all enemies, as he did King David. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than Saul had showed to him. But I have a good hope, that both his justice and benefits be so printed in your heart, that ye will never forget them; but seek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I trust, also, your wisdom will not only consider the causes of this late most sharp visitation, but also to your uttermost power endeavour to out-root them.

“And forasmuch as, besides this infinite mercy poured on your Grace, it hath pleased his Divine providence to constitute your Highness to be our Deborah, to be the governess and head of the body of this realm, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requisite above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your discharge, quietness, and safety, to labour that the same body now at the first be cleansed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as, if the body of man be corrupted and diseased, he is not able to manage his things at home, much less to do any thing abroad; so, if the body of a realm be corrupt and out of order, it shall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if necessity should require, nor yet prosper in itself. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobbling and botching, as was used in time past, whilst your most noble father and brother reigned. For as if a man cut off one head of the serpent Hydra, and destroy not the whole body, many will grow instead of that one; and as in a corrupt body that hath many diseases, if the physician should labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in short time break out afresh: so, unless the body of a realm or commonwealth be clean purged from corruption, all the particular laws and statutes that can be devised, shall not profit it. We need no foreign examples to prove it: look upon this realm itself, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the body from its corruption, but there must be also preservatives ministered to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of itself it is disposed to putrefy; so, after the body of a realm is purged, unless there be godly ordinances for the preservation thereof ordained and duly ministered, it will return to the old state. For this body, which is the people, is universally, naturally, disposed to evil, and without compulsion will hardly do that is its duty.

“Thus must your Grace do, if ye mind the advancement of God’s glory, your own quietness and safety, and the wealth of this your body politic.

And they be not hard to bring to pass, where goodwill will vouchsafe to take to her a little pain. The realm will soon be purged, if vice and self-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good state preserved, if these three things—God’s word truly taught and preached, youth well brought up in godly and honest exercises, and justice rightly ministered—may be perfectly constituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it pleaseth them, the spiritual house of God shall never be well-framed nor builded, nor the public state of your realm well-ordered. For in what body God’s word lacketh, the unity and charity that ought to be among the members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is soon extinguished. Where the youth are neglected, there can no good success be hoped, no more than the husbandman can look for a good crop where he sowed no good seed. And where justice is not truly and rightly ministered, there the more laws and statutes be heaped together, the more they be contemned. And surely if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compassed, as God forbid that charges should be weighed, be they never so great, where God’s glory and the wealth of the realm may be furthered; yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did King David the father, and King Solomon his son, employ to build the stony house of God! How much more charges should a Christian employ to build and set up the lively house of God! But verily, I am fully persuaded that it shall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of superfluous charges, which otherwise your Grace shall be forced to sustain, shall be thus clean cut away, and so your revenues by a mean most profitable, and to no good person hurtful, increased.

“Wherefore, for God’s sake, noble queen, let not the opportunity, now by God offered, be by your Grace omitted. A physician can in nothing so much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchase himself so great estimation, as when he findeth his patient thoroughly sick and weakened, and doth restore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewise, if a prince should desire of God a thing whereby he might declare the zeal that he beareth to God, or whereby he might win fame and glory, he could desire nothing so much, as to come into a state corrupted, as this realm of England at this present is; not to destroy it, as did Cæsar, but to make it, as did Romulus.

“If your Grace can bring this to pass, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly, ye shall do more than any of your progenitors did before you. All men shall confess, that you are not only for proximity of blood preferred, but rather of God specially sent and

ordained. And as the queen of Sheba came from far off, to see the glory of King Solomon, a woman to a man, even so shall the princes of our time come, men to a woman, and kings marvel at the virtue of Queen Elizabeth. Thus shall we your subjects be most bound to praise God, and to think ourselves most happy, that coming so suddenly from the worse, be forthwith preferred to the best, rid from extremest calamity, and brought to the greatest felicity; and it shall be besides an example for all evil princes, to leave their persecution of Christ and his members, to cease from their tyranny, wherewith they continually oppress their poor subjects. And so all people, not only we of this your realm, but of all other nations, shall have just cause to pray for your Grace's health, and increase of honour."

This oration of Master Hales being premised, now let ^{the} prosecute, the Lord willing, that which we promised, concerning the disputation or conference had at Westminster. The copy whereof here followeth.

So it pleased the queen's most excellent Majesty, having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain matters of religion amongst sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and Christian concord, (by the advice of the lords and others of the privy council,) as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference, to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon by her Majesty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York, (being also one of the same privy council,) and required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part. And further also they declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matter should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soon as possibly might be agreed upon. And then, after certain days past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there were appointed, by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is to say, four bishops and four doctors: the names of whom here follow underwritten.

THE PAPISTS.

The bishop of Winchester.
The bishop of Lichfield.

THE PROTESTANTS.

Dr. Scory, bishop of
Chichester.

The bishop of Chester.
The bishop of Carlisle.
The bishop of Lincoln.
Dr. Cole.
Dr. Harpsfield.
Dr. Langdale.
Dr. Chedsey.

Dr. Coxe.
Master Whitehead.
Master Grindall.
Master Horne.
Master Dr. Sands.
Master Guest.
Master Ælmer.
Master Jewell.

They were content, at the queen's Majesty's commandment, to show their opinions; and, as the said archbishop termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that especially in writing; although, he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them.

The matter which they should talk upon, was comprehended in these three propositions, hereunder specified.

- "1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayers, and the administration of the sacraments.
- "2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification.
- "3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is, in the mass, offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead."

It was hereupon fully resolved by the queen's Majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that, according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops would, because they were in authority of degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, being also nine men of good degree in schools, and some having been in dignity in the Church of England, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner; and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the nobility and states of the realm understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certain matters, whereupon (the court of parliament consequently following) some laws might be grounded; they made earnest means to her Majesty, that the

parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobility and others of her parliament house, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend hereupon.

This also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the first meeting, to be the Friday in the forenoon, being the last of March, at Westminster church. At which foresaid day and place, both for good order and for honour of the conference, by the queen's Majesty's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also. And notwithstanding this former order appointed, and consented unto by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues alleged they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book, saying their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would, for that time, repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and especially from that which themselves had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to subversion of the hearer, seemed to the queen's Majesty's council somewhat strange; and yet was it permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, deliver it to the other part; and so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed Dr. Cole, dean of Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds; who, partly by speech only, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to their first proposition: which being ended, they were asked by the lord keeper, if any of them had any more to be said, and they said, No. So, as the other part was licensed to show their minds, they did it according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a book written; which, after a prayer and invocation, made most humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholic church, builded upon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horne, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Durham, and after-

wards bishop of Winchester. The copy of which their protestation here followeth, according as it was by them penned and exhibited, with their preface also before the same.

"Forasmuch as it is thought good unto the queen's most excellent Majesty, (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due,) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as becometh us to do herein, most gladly obey.

"Seeing that Christ is our only Master, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from the which it is not lawful for us to depart, no, not one hair's breath, and against the which (as the apostle saith) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit ourselves unto this truth, and do protest, that we will affirm nothing against the same.

"And forasmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is of Christ the Head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her authority as becometh children; and we do devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds, that is to say, of the apostles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanasius.

"And seeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God which is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ; but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, unto the which our doctrine and faith the most part also of our adversaries did subscribe not many years past, (although now, as unnatural, they are revolted from the same,) we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and show some cause wherefore they do not only resist that doctrine which they have before professed, but also persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the queen's most excellent Majesty, we shall in these disputations be entreated more gently than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scantily after the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most Holy Scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred): notwithstanding by the catholic church we understand not the Romish church, whereunto our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm ought to be sought in the Holy Scriptures, and, which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

"It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

"By these words, 'the word of God,' we mean only the written word of God, or canonical Scriptures: and by 'the custom of the primitive church,' we mean the order most generally used in the church for the space of five hundred years after Christ, in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

"This assertion above written hath two parts. First, that the use of the tongue not understood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

"The second, that the same is against the use of the primitive church.

"I. The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter; in the which chapter St. Paul entreateth of this matter, *ex professo*, purposely. And although some do cavil that St. Paul speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any speech in the church or congregation. For of praying he saith: I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with my mind. And of thanksgiving, (which is a kind of prayer,) Thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen, to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest? And in the end, descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul; and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies which shall follow afterward.

"Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather these reasons following.

"1. All things done in the church or congregation, ought so to be done as they may edify the same.

"But the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

"Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in pub-

lic prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

"The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

"The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First by this similitude: If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battle? Even so likewise, when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying. And afterwards, in the same chapter he saith, How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. These be St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understood doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

"2. Secondly, Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For saith Paul, If there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, let him hold his peace in the church. And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue, neither interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

"3. The minister, in prayer or administration of sacraments, using language not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien; which of St. Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

"4. It is not to be counted a Christian common prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen; wherein is implied all other words of assent.

"But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as afore.

"Therefore it is no Christian common prayer where the people understand not what is said.

"5. Paul would not suffer, in his time, a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be suffered now, amongst Christian and faithful men: especially being no miracle nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

"6. Some will peradventure answer, that to use

any kind of tongue, in common prayer or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

"But St. Paul is to the contrary: for he commandeth all things to be done to edification; he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter; and in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus: If any man be spiritual or a prophet, let him know that the things which I write are the commandments of the Lord. And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue, in prayer and administration, is against the word and commandment of God.

"To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwise.

"1. In the Old Testament all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In 2 Chron. xxix. it is written, that Hezekiah commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David and Asaph the prophet, which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who, as Christ saith, must pray *in spiritu et veritate*.

"2. The final end of our prayer, as David saith, is, *Ut populi et convenient in unum, et annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, et laudes ejus in Hierusalem*, Psal. cii.

"But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand: therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

"3. The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, *Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente*, 1 Cor. xiv. Common prayer is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues; which definition is approved by St. Augustine, (*De Magistro*, cap. i.) *Nihil opus est, inquit, locutione, nisi forte ut sacerdotes faciant, significandæ mentis causâ ut populus intelligat*.

"4. The ministration of the Lord's supper and baptism are as it were sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

"But sermons to the people must be had in such language as the people may perceive; otherwise they should be had in vain.

"5. It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gifts of God. For the tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, 'There

is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose cause we speak understand not our speaking.'

"6. The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, were they never so wild, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue. Which is a manifest declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

"Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reasons out of the Scriptures, joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as the testimony of the law of nature.

"II. Now for the second part of the assertion, which is, that the use of a strange tongue in public prayer and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church; it is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either of great ignorance, or else of wilful malice.

"For first of all Justin Martyr, describing the order of the communion in his time, saith thus: 'Upon the Sunday, assemblies are made both of the citizens and countrymen, where the writings of the apostles and of the prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards, when the reader doth cease, the head minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together and offer prayers; which being ended, (as we have said,) bread and water are brought forth. Then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgiving, as much as he can, and the people answer Amen.'

"These words of Justin, who lived about one hundred and sixty years after Christ, considered with their circumstance, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the prayers and administration of the Lord's supper were done, in a tongue understood.

"The liturgies both of Basil and Chrysostom declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes 'Amen;' sometimes, 'Lord have mercy upon us;' sometimes, 'And with thy spirit,' and, 'We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord,' &c.: which answers they could not have made in due time, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue understood.

"And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocæsarea: 'As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have thus to say: that our customs and usages in all churches be uniform and agreeable. For in the night the people with us rise, go to the

house of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God; and at the last, rising again, go to their songs or psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with divers songs and prayers passing over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.'

"If you will fly us from henceforth for these things, ye must fly also the Egyptians, and the Libyans; ye must eschew both the Thebans, Palestinians, Arabians, the Phœnicians, and the Syrians, and those that dwell beside the Euphrates; and, to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms, are had in honour."

Testimonies of St. Ambrose, written upon 1 Cor. xiv., Super illud, Qui enim loquitur linguis.

"This is it that he saith, He which speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh to God: for he knoweth all things; but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.'

"Upon these words, If thou bless or give thanks with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? *Hoc est, si laudem Dei linguâ loquaris ignotâ*, &c. 'That is,' saith Ambrose. 'if thou speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he answereth not Amen, that is as much as to say, true, that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.'

"Afterward in the same place, upon these words, If any infidel or unlearned come in, &c.

"For when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised, and Christ to be worshipped, he seeth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be revered, wherein he seeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, that they, seeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with divers vani-

ties. For all falsehood seeketh darkness, and sheweth false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can understand, or of whom he may be tried, he may say, there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore sung in tongues not understood; he meaneth, because it is a shame to open it.'

"Let all things be done to edify.

"This is the conclusion, that nothing should be done in the church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might profit, lest any part of the body should be dark through ignorance.'

"Again, *Si non fuerit interpret, taceat in ecclesiâ*.

"Hoc est, intra se tacite oret aut loquatur Deo, qui audit muta omnia. In ecclesiâ enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus prosit.

"If there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church.

"That is, let him pray secretly, or speak to God within himself, which heareth all dumb things: for in the church he ought to speak which may profit all men.'

Testimonies out of St. Jerome, upon that place of Paul, Quomodo, qui supplet locum idiotæ, &c.

"It is the layman, which hath no ecclesiastical office,' saith he, 'whom Paul here understandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man. How shall he answer Amen, to the prayer that he understandeth not?'

"This is Paul's meaning,' saith Jerome: 'If any man speaketh in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is not to himself without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.'

"And in the end of his commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, he saith thus: 'That Amen signifieth the consent of the hearer, and is the sealing up of the truth, Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians teacheth, saying, But if thou shalt bless in spirit, how shall he who supplieth the place of the ignorant, at thy prayer answer Amen, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned man cannot answer, although that which is spoken is true, unless he understand what is said.'

"The same Jerome saith in the preface of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, that the noise of Amen soundeth in the Roman church, like a heavenly thunder.

Testimonies out of Basil, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Cyprian, Augustine, and Justinian.

“As Jerome compareth this sound of common prayer to thunder, so Basil compareth it to the sound of the sea, in these words: ‘If the sea be fair, how is not the assembly of the congregation much fairer? in the which a joined sound of men, women, and children, as it were of the waves beating on the shore, is sent forth in our prayers unto our God.

“‘When the people once hear these words, World without end, they all forthwith answer, Amen.’

“And the same writer upon the same chapter, upon these words, How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen? *En rursus amussi (quod dicitur) solum applicat, ecclesiæ ædificationem ubique requirens*, &c. ‘Behold again, he applieth the stone unto the square, (as the proverb is,) requiring the edifying of the congregation in all places.’ The unlearned he calleth the common people, and sheweth that it is no small discommodity, if they cannot say Amen.

“And again, the same Chrysostom, ‘Yea, in prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray all together commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the priests’ limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all after one sort lie down upon the earth, and all again after one sort rise up together. Now when the peace is given, we all in like manner salute one another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries wisheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for, ‘and with thy spirit,’ is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.’

“Hereby it may appear, that not the priest alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say with the priest; which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

“Dionysius, describing the manner of the ministration of the Lord’s supper, saith, ‘that hymns were said of the whole multitude of the people.’

“Cyprian saith, ‘The priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, saying, Lift up your hearts: that while the people doth answer, We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord, they may be admonished that they

ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.’

“St. Augustine, ‘What this should be we ought to understand, that we may sing with reason of man, not with chatting of birds. For ousels, and popinjays, and ravens, and pies, and other such-like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to sing with understanding, is given by God’s holy will to the nature of man.’

“The same Augustine: ‘There needeth no speech when we pray, saving perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that men may hear them; and so, being put in remembrance by consenting with the priests, may hang upon God.’

“To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one constitution of Justinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Christ: ‘We command that all bishops and priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so the holy apostle teacheth in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, saying, Truly, if thou only bless or give thanks in spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned say Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he understandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily givest thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the Epistle to the Romans, he saith, With the heart a man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

“‘Therefore for these causes it is convenient, that amongst other prayers those things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and spoken of the most religious bishops and priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ, our God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither will the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, neither will we, when we know it, rest, and leave it unrevenged.’

“Out of this constitution of Justinian the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

“1. That the common prayer and ministration done with a loud voice, so as may be heard and understood of the people, is a mean to stir up devotion in the people; contrary to the common assertion of Eckius and other adversaries, who affirm that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

“That Justinian maketh this matter of not ordering common ministration and prayers, so as it may

he understood of the people, not a matter of indifference, but such a thing as must be answered for at the day of judgment.

"3. That this emperor, being a Christian emperor, doth not only make constitution of ecclesiastical matters, but also threateneth revenge and sharp punishment to the violaters of the same.

"These are sufficient to prove that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understood of the people, in common prayer and ministration of the sacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept at the first into the church, but also, how it is maintained so stiffly at this day; and upon what ground these that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church, are so loth to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

"The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like-minded one towards another in Christ Jesus; that we all, agreeing together, may with one mouth praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

John Scory.	John Jewell.
Richard Cox.	Robert Horne.
David Whitehead.	John Aylmer.
Edmund Grindall.	Edmund Guest."

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audience; certain of the bishops began to say, contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter: wherein although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet, for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon of both parts, in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could; and first read the same: and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the mean time, the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Dr. Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same: and as soon as they possibly could, to send the same book touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receive of them that writing which Master Horne had there read that day; and upon Monday it shall be agreed what day they should exhibit their answers

touching the first proposition. Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

The order of the second day's talk.

The lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop of York, the duke of Norfolk, and all the council, being set, the bishops on the one side, and the protestants, that is, the late banished preachers, on the other side, thus began the lord keeper.

"My Lord and Masters, I am sure ye remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, at our last meeting, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it; which was, that ye appointed that on both sides ye should bring in English writing, what ye had to say in the second question, and in this place appointed to read the same. Therefore begin, my Lords."

Winchester.—"I am determined, for my part, that there shall be now read, that which we have to say for the first question."

Lord Keeper.—"Will ye not then proceed in the order appointed you?"

Winchester.—"I am, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition; and we should suffer prejudice, if ye permit us not to entreat of that first; and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge all my brethren are so minded."

Bishops.—"We are so determined."

Lord Keeper.—"I know not what you would do for your determined order, but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which ye by this means do break, and little regard."

Winchester.—"Sith our adversaries' part, if it please your Grace and Honours, have so confirmed their assertion and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like." Hereat Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, being at this talk very desirous to have spoken, said now to the bishop of Winchester, "I pray you let me speak:" which was permitted him. "We are not used indifferently, since that you allow us not to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, insomuch as that which ye take for the infirmation of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose; for that which Master Cole spake in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his oration of himself, and *ex tempore*, that is, with no fore-studied talk."

At such the bishop's words, the nobility and others of the audience much frowned and grudged, sith that they all well knew, that Master Cole spake

out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same; and that in the same places which the bishops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditate, and not done *ex tempore*, for that Master Cole was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon this of the bishop of Lincoln was the worse taken, notwithstanding he went onward complaining, and said, "We are also evil-ordered as touching the time, our adversaries' part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole last night. For we may in no wise betray the cause of God, nor will do, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers; as we ought so to endeavour by all manner of means. But hereunto we want presently indifferent using."

Lord Keeper.—"Take ye heed that ye deceive not yourselves when it shall come to just trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved against you, that ye complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it shall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reason therein; and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you."

The bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.—"Let us suffer no misorder or injury herein, but be heard with indifferency, that is convenient and meet we should have here."

Lord Keeper.—"I pray you, sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my Lords of the council, of whom you well know, that their writing, which ye are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day; and then did we understand that Master Cole had said what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to say; and, upon that indifferency among us, I judge ye were asked in the end of Master Cole's rehearsal, whether that which he spake, was *it* ye would have him say; and ye granted it. Then, whether ye would, that he should say any more in the matter: ye answered no. Whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed, without all good indifferency or plain dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to say. So mark you with how small equity you used yourselves."

The bishops.—"We had indeed more to say, if we might have been indifferently heard."

Lord Keeper.—"Give me leave, I say, and look what gains you should have, if your present request should be granted you, that call so much of indifferent using, how you should use those other men?

For many who are here present, were then away; so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs, sith to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned at one time. Howbeit, to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen's most honourable council, that you despatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the first; so that when the day cometh that each of you shall answer the other in confirmation of the first question, then the same day ye shall have time to read this your first writing, which ye now would so fain read." To this order all the council willingly condescended.

Lichfield and Coventry.—"Nay, my Lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time."

Lord Keeper.—"For my part, I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience." At which saying there was a shout, crying on all sides, "Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly."

Lincoln.—"We cannot read them both at one time; for their writing, I am sure, would require an hour and a half, if so be it be so long as their last was; and then our answer would require no less time after the first question."

Lord Keeper.—"I have showed you we could be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto: therefore ye need not to be therein so curious. And we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no orders, I cannot tell what I shall say unto you."

Lincoln.—"We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this disputation: for first it was appointed us by my Lord the archbishop, that we should dispute, and that in Latin. And then had we another commandment that we should provide a Latin writing, and now at last we are willed to bring forth our writings in English."

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council, much mused, and many murmured at such his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon, with an admiration, the lord keeper answered, "I marvel much of the using of yourself in this point, sith I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English writing, what you had to say for your purpose."

Hereupon the bishops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my Lord of Lincoln, said, "We so understood the order, my Lords."

Lord Keeper.—"How likely is that, sith that it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to entreat of the second question."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"We were appointed this day, by your Honours, to bring in what we had to say in the first question." At the which saying the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to such his report.

Lord Keeper.—"The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that ye should yield the same to these men, meaning the protestants, as soon as ye might; and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have theirs. And this day you should entreat of the second question, and of the third, if that ye had leisure enough. This was the order, my Lords, except my memory much fail me." The same all the council affirmed.

Lincoln.—"We were willed then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also."

Lord Keeper.—"Ah sirs! if ye be so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my Lords here say what was then determined."

Archbishop of York.—"Ye are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order taken, for you to entreat of the second question. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and show what ye have to say in the second question."

Lord Keeper.—"Go to now, begin, my Lords."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin."

Chester.—"We have the negative, they the affirmative; therefore they must begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"They must first speak what they can bring in against us, sith we are the defending part."

Chester.—"So is the school manner; and likewise the manner in Westminster Hall is, that the plaintiff's part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin."

Lord Keeper.—"The order was taken that ye should begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"But then we should do against the school order."

Lord Keeper.—"My masters, ye enforce much the school orders. I wonder much at it, sith divers of those orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many

prescriptions, which we need not here to recite, much less observe. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to set forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to change."

Carlisle.—"We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and stand in the possessions of the truth; and therefore must they say what they have to allege against us; and so we to maintain and defend our cause."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"Yea, even so must the matter be ordered."

Chester.—"When they bring any thing against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it: therefore must they begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"And when they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behoveth them to show first, what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose."

Lord Keeper.—"Here resteth our purpose and whole matter, whether you will begin; if they do not, sith it was determined ye should begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"We heard of no such order."

Lord Keeper.—"No did? Yes, and in the first question ye began willingly. How cometh it to pass that ye will not now do so?"

Chester.—"Then had we the affirmation, which sith that our adversaries have now, they should presently begin."

This the protestants denied, saying, that they in the first day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuse to begin.

Lord Keeper.—"If you have any thing to say, my Lords, to the purpose, say on."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"A particular sort of men can never break a universal church, which we now maintain: and as for these men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as have named themselves to be of the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we."

Protestants.—"We do so, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof."

Lincoln.—"Yet would ye overthrow all catholic order."

Horne.—"I wonder that ye so much stand in who should begin."

Lincoln.—"You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands, in that sort as you have assigned them."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"Yea, even so are we driven to do now."

Lord Keeper.—"Nay, I judge, if ye mark the

matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered indifferently to you both."

Horne.—"Indeed, my Lords of the queen's most honourable council, these questions or propositions were proposed unto us by your Honours; and they then having the pre-eminence, chose to themselves the negative, and yet freely began first. Now, again, why do they not the like?"

Lichfield being angry that he should so straitly speak against them, went quite from the matter, saying, "My Lord Keeper of the great seal, and you the rest of the queen's most honourable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's Majesty herself, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we must, will, or can do no otherwise, but earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power; and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true catholic church, they, or we."

Lord Keeper.—"Tarry now, you go from the matter, and make questions of your own."

Lichfield, yet not straying from his digression, said thus: "We must needs go to work, and try that first, what church they be of: for there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, Master Horne, I pray you which of these churches are you of?"

Horne.—"I am of Christ's catholic church."

Lord Keeper.—"Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to devise new questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk: ye ought not so to do. But say on, if you have any thing to say in this matter."

Lichfield and Coventry.—"Nay, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if that we will search a truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for that we assuredly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretend to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us withal."

Winchester.—"Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter."

Chester.—"Otherwise, my Lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then should the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they should depart speaking last, with the rejoicing triumph of the people."

Winchester.—"Therefore I am resolved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing."

Chester.—"I am sorry, my Lords, that we should so long stand in the matter with your Honours, and make so many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no in-

differency if they begin not; and surely we think it meet, that they should, for their parts, give us place."

Lichfield.—"Yea, that they should, and ought to do, where any indifferency is used."

Elmer.—"We give you the place: do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops; therefore I pray you begin."

The bishop.—"A goodly giving of place, I assure you: yea marry, ye gave place." Such words they used, with more scoffs.

Lord Keeper.—"If ye make this assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart."

Winchester.—"Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over. I pray you, my Lords, require not at our hands that we should be any cause of hinderance or let to our religion, or give any such evil example to our posterity, which we should do, if we gave over to them; which in no wise we may, or will do."

Lord Keeper.—"Let us then break up, if you be thus minded." With these words the bishops were straightways rising. But then said the lord keeper, "Let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How say you, my Lord of Winchester, will you not begin to read your writing?"

Winchester.—"No surely, I am fully determined and fully at a point therein, howsoever my brethren do."

Then the lord keeper asked how the bishop was called, who sat next to Winchester in order. It was the bishop of Exeter, who, being inquired his mind herein, answered that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the others, in order: and first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was: and so likewise answered Lichfield and Coventry, Cole, and Chedsey. Then Chester, being asked his sentence, said, "My Lords, I say not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it: yet I desire your Honours not so to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not so."

Lord Keeper.—"How say you to it, my Lord of Carlisle?"

Carlisle.—"If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be last read, so am I contented that ours shall be first read."

Lord Keeper.—"So would ye make orders yourselves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you."

Then the abbot of Westminster was asked his mind; who said, "If it please your Honours, I judge that my Lords here stay most on this point, that they fear when they shall begin first, and the

other answer thereupon, there shall be no time given to them to speak; which my Lord misliketh."

Lord Keeper.—"How can it otherwise be in talk appointed in such assembly and audience: think you that there can be continual answering one another? when should it after that sort have an end?"

Lichfield and Coventry.—"It must be so in disputation, to seek out the truth."

Lord Keeper.—"But how say you, my Lord Abbot, are you of the mind it shall be read?"

Abbot.—"Yea forsooth, my Lord, I am very well pleased withal."—Harpsfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

Lord Keeper.—"My Lord, sith that ye are not willing, but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for

that ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us."

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this communication or conference at Westminster, between these two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge, good reader, where the fault was; and consider withal what these papists be, from whom if ye take away their sword and authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lieth in the dust; or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? Why would they, or durst they, not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we say ignorance or stubbornness to be in them more, or both together? who first being gently (as is said) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being, secondly,



(as appeared by the lord keeper's words,) pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the

authority, &c., of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein, they all, saving one, (which was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the others,) utterly and plainly denied to

have their book read, some of them, as more earnestly than others, so also some others more indiscreetly and unreverently than others. Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornness, and self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realm, the nobility and the commons, besides the presence of the queen's Majesty's most honourable privy council, the same assembly was dismissed, and the godly and most Christian purpose of the queen's Majesty made frustrate. And afterward, for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, having most obstinately both disobeyed common authority, and varied manifestly from their own order, and specially Lincoln, who showed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London, and the rest (saving the abbot of Westminster) stood bound to make daily their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

Besides the former protestation or libel written and exhibited by the protestants concerning the first question, there was also another like writing of the said protestants made of the second question, but not published, which, if it come to our hand, we will likewise impart it unto thee.

As these bishops above named were committed to the Tower, so Bonner, bishop of London, about the same time was commanded to the Marshalsea, where he both in his blind bloody heresy, and also in his deserved captivity, long remained, abiding the queen's pleasure. God's pleasure, I beseech him, so be wrought on that person, that the church of Christ's flock, if they can take or look for no goodness of that man to come, yet they may take of him and of others no more harm hereafter, than they have done already. We all beseech thee this, O Lord eternal, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reign of Queen Elizabeth, was a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters touching religion, and great study on both parties employed, the one to retain still, the other to impugn, the doctrine and faction which before, in Queen Mary's time, had been established. But especially here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industry on the papists' side, to hold fast that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means practised to come by; yet, notwithstanding, such was the providence of God at that time, that for lack of the

other bishops, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, the residue that there were left, could do the less; and in very need, God be praised there-for, did nothing at all, in effect: although yet, notwithstanding, there lacked in them neither will nor labour to do what they could, if their cruel ability there might have served. But, namely, amongst all others, not only the industrious courage of Dr. Story, but also his words in this parliament, are worthy to be known of posterity; who, like a stout and furious champion of the pope's side, to declare himself how lusty he was, and what he had and would do in his master's quarrel, shamed not openly, in the said parliament-house, to burst out into such an impudent sort of words, as was a wonder to all good ears to hear, and no less worthy of history. The sum of which his shameless talk was uttered to this effect:—

“First, beginning with himself, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a setter-forth of such religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late sovereign that dead is, Queen Mary, were set forth in this realm, he denied nothing the same; protesting, moreover, that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also doth discharge him for the same, being no less ready now also to do the like, and more, in case he, by this queen, were authorized likewise, and commanded thereunto: ‘wherefore, as I see,’ saith he, ‘nothing to be ashamed of, so less I see to be sorry for;’ but rather said, that he was sorry for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those laws, they had not been more vehement and severe. Wherein he said there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earnestly had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little sprigs and twigs, while they should have stricken at the root, and clean have rooted it out, &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an ear-wig (for so he termed it) at Uxbridge, where he tossed a faggot at his face, as he was singing psalms, and set a whin-bush of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him; with many other words of like effect. In the which words he named, moreover, Sir Philip Hobby, and another knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counsel was to pluck at, and bring them under *coram*, wherein (said he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wisely.”

This, or much like, was the effect of the shameless and tyrannical excuse of himself, more meet to speak with the voice of a beast, than a man.

Although in this parliament some diversity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet, notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the papists' hope was frustrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of King Edward's time concerning religion were revived again, the supremacy of the pope abolished, the articles and bloody statutes of Queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel persecution, which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for that they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and

not subscribing to the queen's just and lawful title: in whose rooms and places, first, for Cardinal Pole succeeded Dr. Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. In the place of Heath succeeded Dr. Young. Instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thirlby, Tonstall, Pates, Christopherson, Petow, Cotes, Morgan, Voysey, White, Oglethorpe, &c., were placed Dr. John Parkhurst in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewell in Salisbury, Pilkinton in Durham, Dr. Sands in Worcester, Master Downham in Westchester, Bentham in Coventry and Lichfield, Davies in St. David's, Alley in Exeter, Horne in Winchester, Scory in Hereford, Best in Carlisle, Bullingham in Lincoln, Scambler in Peterborough, Barkley in Bath, Guest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c.

THE APPENDIX

OF SUCH NOTES AND MATTERS, AS EITHER HAVE BEEN IN THIS HISTORY OMITTED,
OR NEWLY INSERTED.



IN the story of Sir Roger Acton above mentioned, I find that with him were taken many other persons, that all the prisons in and about London were replenished with people. The chief of them, which were twenty and nine, were condemned of heresy; and attainted of high treason, as movers of war against their king, by the temporal law in the Guildhall, the twelfth day of December; and adjudged to be drawn and hanged for treason, and for heresy to be consumed with fire, gallows and all: which judgment was executed in January following on the said Sir Roger Acton, and twenty-eight others.

Some say that the occasion of their death was the conveyance of the Lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason (as the adversaries termed it) and heresy.

Certain affirm, that it was for feigned causes surmised by the spirituality, more of displeasure than truth, as seemeth more near to the truth.

Concerning John Frith, of his life and story this followeth more to be added.

First, this John Frith was born in the town of Westerham in Kent, who after, by diligent espials, was taken in Essex, flying beyond the seas, and brought before the council, Sir Thomas More then being chancellor; and so from them committed unto the Tower, where he remained prisoner the space of a quarter of a year, or thereabout. It chanced that Dr. Currein, ordinary chaplain unto King Henry the Eighth, preached a sermon in Lent before his Majesty: and there, very sore inveighing against the sacramentaries (as they them termed and named) which favoured not the gross opinion that Christ's body was carnally real in the sacrament, he so far discoursed in that matter, that at the length he brake out thus far and said, "It is no marvel though this abominable heresy do much prevail amongst us; for there is one now, in the Tower of London, so bold as to write in the defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation:" meaning John Frith, who then had answered Sir Thomas More in writing against a confutation of that erroneous opinion, which of late, before, the said Master More had written against

John Frith's assertion in that behalf. This sermon of purpose was devised and appointed by the bishop of Winchester and others, to seek the destruction of Frith, by putting the king in remembrance that the said Frith was in the Tower there staid, rather for his safeguard than for his punishment, by such as favoured him; as the Lord Cromwell, who, being vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, came then into suspicion there-for: for in such sort was the matter handled before the king, that all men might well understand what they meant. The king then, being in no point resolved of the true and sincere understanding of the doctrine of that article, but rather a perverse stout adversary to the contrary, called to him my Lord of Canterbury and my Lord Cromwell, and willed them forthwith to call Frith unto examination, so that he might either be compelled to recant, or else by the law, to suffer condign punishment.

Frith's long protract in the Tower without examination, was so heinously taken of the king, that now my Lord of Canterbury, with other bishops, (as Stokesley, then bishop of London, and other learned men,) were undelayedly appointed to examine Frith. And for that there should be no con-course of citizens at the said examination, my Lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom resorted the rest of the commissioners. Now, before the day of execution appointed, my Lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen, and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebeane, a Welshman born, to fetch John Frith from the Tower unto Croydon. This gentleman had both my Lord's letters and the king's ring unto my Lord Fitzwilliam, constable of the Tower, then lying in Cannon Row at Westminster in extreme anguish and pain of the strangury, for the delivery of the prisoner. Master Fitzwilliam, more passionate than patient, understanding for what purpose my Lord's gentleman was come, banned and cursed Frith and all other heretics, saying, "Take this my ring unto the lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man your heretic with you; and I am glad that I am rid of him." When Frith was delivered unto my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman, (they twain, with Perlebeane, sitting in a wherry, and rowing towards Lambeth,) the said gentleman, much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Frith, began in this wise:

He exhorted him to consider in what estate he was, a man altogether cast away in the world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet, though his cause were never so dangerous, he might somewhat (in relenting to authority and so giving place for a time) help both himself out of the trouble, and

when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause which he then went about to defend: declaring further, that he had many well-willers and friends, which would stand on his side so far forth as possibly they were able and durst do; adding hereunto, that it were a great pity that he, being of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek, and both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, and that namely as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient doctors, should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, with little commodity or profit to the world, and less comfort to his wife and children, and other his kinsfolk and friends. "And as for the verity of your opinion in the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, it is so untimely opened here among us in England, that you shall rather do harm than good: wherefore be wise, and be ruled by good counsel, until a better opportunity may serve."

"This I am sure of," quoth the gentleman, "that my Lord Cromwell, and my Lord of Canterbury, much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness and likelihood to be a most profitable member of this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel. On the other side, if you stand stiff to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life: for like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies."

"I most heartily thank you," quoth Master Frith unto the gentleman, "both for your good will and for your counsel; by the which I well perceive that you mind well unto me. Howbeit my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I either may or can, for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the supper of the Lord, or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar: for if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives, if I had so many. And this you shall well understand, that I am not unfurnished, either of Scriptures or ancient doctors, schoolmen, or others, for my defence; so that if I may be indifferently heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me both St. Augustine, and the most part of the old writers; yea, the very bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me, and defend my cause."

"Yea marry," quoth the gentleman, "you say well; if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Master Christ was not indifferently heard, nor should be, as I think, if he were now present again in the world; specially in this your opinion, the same being so odious unto the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof."

"Well, well," quoth Frith then unto the gentleman, "I know very well, that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, which I hold, and have opened contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested both of the clergy and laity. But this I will say to you," taking the gentleman by the hand, "that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion concerning this

sacrament of the altar; namely, the whole estate of the same, though some sort of men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein. And if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable to my friends. I grant," quoth he, "that for a small time it would so be. But if I should so mollify, qualify, and temper my cause in such sort, as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small disquietness both of body and mind. And therefore, all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what he hath to do



with his poor servant, whose cause I now defend, and not mine own; from the which I assuredly do intend (God will-

ing) never to start, or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life."

This communication, or like in effect, my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman and Frith had, coming in a wherry upon the Thames from the Tower to Lambeth.

Now when they were landed, after some repast by them taken at Lambeth, the gentleman, the

porter, and Frith, went forward towards Croydon on foot. This gentleman, still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny towards the said Frith (namely, if he once came amongst the bishops); and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Frith, devised with himself some way or means to convey him clean out of their hands; and thereupon considering that there were no more persons there to convey the prisoner but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose.

Quoth the gentleman unto Perlebeane the porter, (they twain privately walking by themselves without the hearing of Frith,) "You have heard this man, I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the Tower." "Yea, that I have right well marked him," quoth the porter, "and I never heard so constant a man, nor so eloquent a person."

"You have heard nothing," quoth the gentleman, "in respect both of his knowledge and eloquence: if he might liberally either in university or pulpit declare his learning, you would then much more marvel at his knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his age, in all kind of learning and knowledge of tongues, as this realm never yet in mine opinion brought forth; and yet those singular gifts in him are no more considered of our bishops, than if he were a very dolt or an idiot; yea, they abhor him as a devil there-for, and covet utterly to extinguish him, as a member of the devil, without any consideration of God's special gifts."

"Marry," quoth the porter, "if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage, both comely and amiable, and of natural disposition, gentle, meek, and humble, it were pity he should be cast away." "Cast away!" quoth the gentleman, "he shall be sure cast away, if we once bring him to Croydon; and surely," quoth the gentleman, "before God I speak it, if thou, Perlebeane, wert of my mind, we would never bring him thither."

"Say you so?" quoth the porter; "I know that you be of a great deal more credit than I am in this matter; and therefore if you can devise honestly, or find some reasonable excuse, whereby we may let him go and provide for himself, I will, with all my heart, condescend to your device."

"As for that," quoth the gentleman, "it is already invented how and which ways he shall convey himself without any great danger or displeasure taken towards us, as the matter shall be handled. You see," quoth the gentleman, "yonder hill before us, named Bristow Cawsie, two miles from London; there are great woods on both sides. When we come there, we will permit Frith to go into the woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may

convey himself into Kent among his friends (for he is a Kentish man born); and when he is gone, we will linger an hour or twain about the highway, until that it somewhat draw towards the night. Then in great haste we will approach unto Streatham, which is a mile and a half off, and make an outcry in the town that our prisoner is broken from us into the woods on the right hand towards Waynesworth, so that we will draw as many as we may, of the town, to search the country that way for our prisoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the woods, because we had no more company. And so we will, rather than fail, lie out one night in searching for him, and send word from Streatham to my Lord of Canterbury at Croydon in the evening of the prisoner's escape, and to what coast he is fled: so that by the morning, if he have any good luck at all, he will so provide for himself, that the bishops shall fail of their purpose." "I assure you," quoth Perlebeane, "I like very well the device herein; and therefore go ye to Frith, and declare what we have devised for his delivery: for now we are almost at the place."

When my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman came nigh to the hill, he joined himself in company with the said Frith, and calling him by his name, said, "Now, Master Frith, let us twain commune together another whiles. You must consider, that the journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little pass what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the lion's mouth. And yet yonder good fellow and I have so devised a means, whereby you may both easily escape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion." And thereupon declared unto Frith the full process discoursed before, how every thing in order should be handled.

When Frith had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, "O good Lord," with a smiling countenance; "is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long between you twain? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this; for if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon, declaring to the bishops, that you had lost Frith, I would surely follow after as fast as I might, and bring them news that I had found and brought Frith again. Do you think," quoth he, "that I am afraid to declare my opinion unto the bishops of England, in a manifest truth?"

"You are a fond man," quoth the gentleman, "thus to talk; as though your reasoning with them

might do some good. But I do much marvel, that you were so willing to fly the realm before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself."

"Marry, there was and is a great diversity of escaping between the one and the other," quoth Frith. "Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was not attached, but at liberty; which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue, according to St. Paul's counsel. Howbeit now, being taken by the higher power, and as it were by Almighty God's permission and providence delivered into the hands of the bishops, only for religion and doctrine's sake, (namely, such as in conscience, and under pain of damnation, I am bound to maintain and defend,) if I should now start aside and run away, I should run from my God, and from the testimony of his holy word, worthy then of a thousand hells. And therefore I most heartily thank you both, for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought; for else I will go thither all alone." And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time in pleasant and godly communication, until they came to Croydon; wherefore that night he was well entertained in the porter's lodge.

On the morrow Frith was called before certain bishops and other learned men, sitting in commission with my Lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he showed himself passing ready and ripe in answering to all objections, as some then reported, incredibly and contrary to all men's expectations. And his allegations, both out of St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers of the church, were such, that some of them much doubted of St. Augustine's authority in that behalf: insomuch, that it was reported of such as were nigh and about the archbishop of Canterbury, (who then was not fully resolved of the sincere truth of that article,) that when they had finished their examination of Frith, the archbishop, conferring with Dr. Heath, privately between themselves, said, "This man hath wonderfully travailed in this matter, and yet, in mine opinion, he taketh the doctors amiss." "Well, my Lord," should Dr. Heath say, "there was no man that could avoid his authorities of St. Augustine." "Wherein?" said my Lord. Then Dr. Heath began to repeat the said authorities of St. Augustine again, inferring and applying them so straitly against my Lord of Canterbury, that my Lord was driven to this sheet-anchor, and said, "I see by it," quoth he to Heath, "that you, with a little more study, will be easily brought to Frith's opinion;" or such-like words in effect. And some chaplains there

were of my Lord of Canterbury's, which openly reported, that Dr. Heath was as able to defend Frith's assertions in the sacrament, as Frith was himself.

This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say or do in his cause, there was no man willing to prefer him to answer in open disputation as poor Lambert was. But now, without regard of learning or good knowledge, he was sent and detained unto the butcher's stall, (I mean Bishop Stokesley's consistory,) there to hear, not the opinion of St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers of Christ's primitive church, of the said sacrament, but either to be instructed and to hear the maimed and half-cut-away sacrament of antichrist, the bishop of Rome, with the gross and fleshly imagination thereof, or else to perish in the fire, as he most constantly did, after he had, before the bishop of London, Winchester, and Chichester, in the consistory in Paul's church, most plainly and sincerely confessed his doctrine and faith in this weighty matter, &c.

A note of William Plane.

In the latter days of King Henry the Eighth, about that time Anne Askew was in trouble, one Dr. Crome was travailed withal to recant, for that he had preached somewhat against things maintained of the papists in the church. And one Master Tracy, hearing thereof, brought a letter secretly to one Plane, dwelling in Budge Row, and desired him to carry it to Dr. Crome, which letter tended to the end to persuade him not to recant, but to stand in the truth. When this good man, William Plane, had it, as he was ever willing to further the truth, so he gladly delivered the same to Dr. Crome: which when he had received, and read it, he laid it down upon the table. And after the said William Plane was gone, an arch-papist came thither to persuade him to recant; and, in travailing with him, he found the said letter on the board, which when he had read, he examined him from whence it came; so, what through flattery and threatening, he declared who was the messenger that brought it. Then was William Plane sent for, and cast in the Tower, where he lay miserably thirteen weeks, none admitted to come to him; in which time he was extremely racked, within half a finger breadth as far as Anne Askew: but they could never get of him of whom he had the letter, nor for all their extremity would he accuse any man; so in the end he was delivered out of the Tower, and lived about three years after, and so godly ended his life. But unto this day would that Tracy never inquire in what condition his wife and children were left, although he was his messenger in carrying the letter. But

(good Lord!) the strange disease that grew upon him by that extreme racking, as it is odious to rehearse, so I will wish them to repent that were the instruments of his torments, if they be alive; and warn other papists to the same, in whom any cruelty hath been in the like cause.

A note of Lady Jane.

The Lady Jane, she whom the Lord Guilford married, being on a time, when she was very young, at Newhall in Essex, at the Lady Mary's, was by one Lady Anne Wharton desired to walk: and they passing by the chapel, the Lady Wharton made low curtesy to the popish sacrament hanging on the altar; which when the Lady Jane saw, she marvelled why she did so, and asked her whether the Lady Mary were there, or not. Unto whom the Lady Wharton answered, No: but she said, that she made her curtesy to him that made us all. "Why," quoth the Lady Jane, "how can he be there, that made us all, and the baker made him?" This her answer coming to the Lady Mary's ear, she did never love her after, as credibly reported, but esteemed her as the rest of that Christian profession.

A letter of Queen Mary to the duke of Norfolk.

"Right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well; and having by the assistance of God, and our loving subjects, discomfited Wyat and the other rebels of our county of Kent, who having passed the river at Kingston, came back again towards London, and were encountered above Charing Cross, and there were overthrown, and the most part of them were there slain; Wyat and three of the Cobhams, Bret, Knevet, Rudstone, Iseley, and other the chief captains, taken prisoners: We have thought good as well to give you knowledge hereof, to the end ye may with us, and the rest of our loving subjects, rejoice, and give God thanks for this our victory, as also further to signify unto you, that whereas the said rebel did alway pretend the matter of our marriage to be the cause of this unlawful stir, now plainly appeareth, by good and substantial examinations of divers of the said traitors, that whatsoever they pretended, the final meaning was to have deprived us from our estate and dignity royal, and consequently, to have destroyed our person. Which thing, as we do ascertain you of our honour to be matter of truth, so we pray you to cause the same to be published in all places of those our counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the intent our good and loving subjects thereof be no more abused with such false pretences, or other untrue rumours or tales, by whomsoever the same shall be

set forth. And now, things being in this sort quieted, we cannot but give you thanks for the readiness that you have been in with the force of our said country, to have served us, if need had been; praying you to do the like on our behalf to all the gentlemen and others with you, with whom nevertheless we require you to take such orders as the force of our said country may be still in like readiness, to be employed under good and substantial captains, to be chosen of the gentlemen inheritors within the said shire, for our further service upon one hour's warning, whensoever we shall require the same. And in the mean time our pleasure is, that ye have good regard to the quietness and good order of the country, specially to the apprehension of spreaders of false and untrue tales and rumours, whereby ye shall both deserve well of your whole country, and also do acceptable service, which we will not fail to remember accordingly.

"Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the eighth of February, the first year of our reign.

"In haste."

A treatise of Master Nicholas Ridley, in the name, as it seemeth, of the whole clergy, to King Edward the Sixth, concerning images not to be set up, nor worshipped in churches.

"Certain reasons which move us that we cannot with safe consciences give our assent, that the images of Christ, &c., should be placed and erected in churches.

"First, the words of the commandment, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c. And the same is repeated more plainly, Cursed is the man which maketh a graven or molten image, &c., and setteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall say, Amen.

"In the first place, these words are to be noted: Thou shalt not make to thyself, that is, to any use of religion. In the latter place, these words, and setteth it in a secret place; for no man durst then commit idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear, that images, both for use of religion and in place of peril for idolatry, are forbidden.

"God, knowing the inclination of man to idolatry, sheweth the reason why he made this general prohibition, Lest peradventure thou, being deceived, shouldst bow down to them and worship them.

"This general law is generally to be observed, notwithstanding that, peradventure, a great number cannot be hurt by them; which may appear by the example following. God forbade the people to join their children in marriage with strangers, adding

the reason, For she will seduce thy son, that he shall not follow me.

“Moses was not deceived nor seduced by Jethro’s daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet for all that, the general law was to be observed, Thou shalt join no marriage with them. And so likewise, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c.

“God giveth a special charge to avoid images. Beware, saith he, that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and so make to thyself any graven image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee; for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, and a jealous God. If thou have children and nephews, and do well in the land, and being deceived, do make to yourselves any graven image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call heaven and earth to witness, that you shall quickly perish out of the land which ye shall possess; ye shall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will destroy you, and scatter you amongst all nations.

“Note, what solemn obtestation God useth, and what grievous punishments he threateneth, to the breakers of the second commandment.

“In the tabernacle and temple of God no image was by God appointed openly to be set, nor by practice afterwards used or permitted, so long as religion was purely observed; so that the use and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

“If by virtue of the second commandment images were not lawful in the temple of the Jews, then, by the same commandment, they are not lawful in the churches of Christians: for, being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial, (for by consent of writers, only a part of the precept of observing the sabbath is ceremonial,) it is a perpetual commandment, and bindeth us, as well as the Jews.

“The Jews by no means would consent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that images should be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, but rather offered themselves to the death, than to assent unto it; who, besides that they are commended by Josephus for observing the meaning of the law, would not have endangered themselves so far, if they had thought images had been indifferent in the temple of God. For, as St. Paul saith, *Quid templo Dei cum simulacris*, &c.

“God’s Scripture doth in no place commend the use of images, but in a great number of places doth disallow and condemn them.

“They are called in the book of Wisdom, The trap and snare of the feet of the ignorant. It is said that the invention of them was the beginning of

spiritual fornication; and that they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end. In the 15th chapter of the same book it is said, *Umbra pictura, labor sine fructu*, &c. And again, They are worthy of death, both that put their trust in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worship them.

“The Psalms and prophets are full of like sentences; and how can we then praise the thing which God’s Spirit doth always dispraise?

“Furthermore, an image made by a father (as appeareth in the same book) for the memorial of his son departed, was the first invention of images, and occasion of idolatry. How much more then shall an image made in the memory of Christ, and set up in the place of religion, occasion the same offence? Images have their beginning from the heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to Christians. Whereunto Athanasius agreeth, writing of images against the Gentiles: The invention of images came of no good, but of evil; and whatsoever hath an evil beginning, can never in any thing be judged good, seeing it is wholly naught.

“St. John saith, My little children, beware of images. But to set them in the churches, which are places dedicated to the service and invocation of God, and that over the Lord’s table, being the highest and most honourable place, where most danger of abuse both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to flee from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. Tertullian expounding the same words, writeth thus: ‘Little children, keep yourselves from the shape itself, or form of them.’

“Images in the church either serve to edify or to destroy. If they edify, then there is one kind of edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, but always disallow: if they destroy, they are not to be used; for in the church of God all things ought to be done to edify.

“The commandment of God is, Thou shalt not lay a stumbling-block or a stone before the blind: and cursed is he that maketh the blind wander in his way.

“The simple and unlearned people, who have been so long under blind guides, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore to set images before them to stumble at, (they be snares and traps for the feet of the ignorant,) or to lead them out of the true way, is not only against the commandment of God, but deserveth also the malediction and curse of God.

“The use of images is, to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, neither necessary nor profitable: to the superstitious, a confirmation in error: to the simple and weak, an occasion of fall, and very offen-

sive and wounding of their consciences ; and therefore very dangerous. For St. Paul saith, offending the brethren, and wounding their weak consciences, they sin against Christ. And, Woe be to him by whom offence or occasion of falling cometh : it were better that a millstone were tied about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than to offend one of the little ones that believe in Christ. And whereas objection may be made, that such offence may be taken away by sincere doctrine and preaching ; it is to be answered, that that is not sufficient ; as hereafter more at large shall appear.

"And though it should be admitted as true, yet should it follow, that sincere doctrine and preaching should always, and in all places, continue as well as images ; and so wheresoever an image to offend were erected, there should also of reason a godly and sincere preacher be continually maintained : for it is reason that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poison ; but that is not possible in the realm of England, that images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

"As good magistrates, which intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all naughty persons, specially out of such places as be suspected ; even so images, being *meretrices*, i. e. whores, for that the worshipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and adultery, ought to be banished ; and especially out of churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual fornication hath been most committed. It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greatest number ; but in all churches and commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greatest number, to whom images are hurtful, and not profitable. And whereas it is commonly alleged, that images in churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered, that contrariwise they do rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing of God's word, and other godly meditations ; as we read that in the council-chamber of the Lacedemonians no picture or image was suffered, lest in consultation of weighty matters of the commonweal, their minds, by the sight of the outward image, might be occasioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

"The experience of this present time doth declare, that those parts of the realm, which think and are persuaded that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an image, do most desire the restitution of images, and have been most diligent to set them up again : restitution, therefore, of them by common authority, shall confirm them more in their error to the danger of their souls, than ever they were before. For as one man writeth, *Nihil magis*

est certum, quàm quod ex dubio actum est certum : that is to say, 'Nothing is more certain or sure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.'

"The profit of images is uncertain ; the peril, by experience of all ages and states of the church, (as afore,) is most certain. The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very small ; the danger in seeing of them, which is the danger of idolatry, is the greatest of all other. Now, to allow a most certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greatest danger for the smallest benefit, in matters of faith and religion, is a tempting of God, and a grievous offence."

Probations out of the fathers, councils, and histories.

"First, it is manifest, that in the primitive church images were not commonly used in churches, oratories, and places of assembly for religion ; but they were generally detested and abhorred, insomuch that the want of imagery was objected to the Christians for a crime.

"Origen reporteth, that Celsus objected to the lack of images.

"Arnobius saith also, that the ethnics accused the Christians, that they had neither altars nor images.

"Zephirus, in his Commentary upon the Apology of Tertullian, gathereth thus of Tertullian's words : 'Which place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always : that Christians in those days did hate most of all images, with their trim decking and ornaments.'

"Irenæus reproveth the heretics called Gnostici, for that they carried about the image of Christ made in Pilate's time after his own proportion (which were much more to be esteemed than any that can be made now) ; using also, for declaration of their affection towards it, to set garlands upon the head of it.

"Lactantius affirmeth plainly, 'It is not to be doubted, that there is no religion, wheresoever is any image.' If Christians then had used images, he would not have made his proposition so large.

"St. Augustine commendeth Varro the Roman in these words : 'When Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without images, who doth not see how near he came to the truth ?' So that not only by M. Varro's judgment, but also by St. Augustine's approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of religion, and nearest the truth, is to be without images.

"The same St. Augustine hath these words : 'Images have more force to bow down and crook the silly soul than to teach it.'

"And upon the same psalm he moveth this question: 'Every child, yea every beast, knoweth that it is not God which they see: why then doth the Holy Ghost so oft give warning to beware of that thing which all do know?'

"St. Augustine's answer [is this]: 'For when they are set in churches, and begin once to be worshipped of the multitude or common people, straightway springeth up a most filthy affection of error.'

"This place of St. Augustine doth well open how weak a reason it is to say, images are a thing indifferent in chambers and in churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the market, but not so in churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not so in churches. And therefore saith St. Paul, Have you not houses to eat and drink in? Do you condemn the church of God?

"Many other actions there be, which are lawful and honest in private places, which are neither comely nor honest, not only in churches, but also in other assemblies of honest people.

"Tertullian saith, he used sometimes to burn frankincense in his chamber, which was then used of idolaters, and is yet in the Romish churches. But he joineth withal, 'But not after such a rite or ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or sumptuousness, as it is done before the idols.'

"So that images placed in churches, and set 'in an honourable place of estimation,' as St. Augustine saith, and especially over the Lord's table, which is done (using the words of Tertullian) 'after the same manner and fashion,' which the papists did use, especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many souls.

"Epiphanius, in his epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, (which epistle was translated out of the Greek by St. Jerome, being a likelihood that Jerome misliked not the doctrine of the same,) doth write a fact of his own, which doth most clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned bishop concerning the use of images. His words are these: 'When I came to a village called Anablatha; and saw there, as I passed by, a candle burning, and inquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a veil or cloth hanging at the door of the same church, dyed and painted; having on it the image of Christ as it were, or of some saint (for I remember not well

whose it was). Then when I saw this, that in the church of Christ, against the authority of the Scriptures, the image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, &c., and commanded that such manner of veils or clothes, which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the church of Christ.'

"Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be observed.

"First, that by the judgment of this ancient father, to permit images in churches is against the authority of the Scriptures, meaning against the second commandment, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c.

"Secondly, that Epiphanius doth reject not only graven and molten, but also painted images; forasmuch as he cut in pieces the image painted in a veil hanging at the church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lord's table?

"Thirdly, that he spareth not the image of Christ: for no doubt that image is most perilous in the church of all others.

"Fourthly, that he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good King Hezekias, who brake the brazen serpent, and burnt it to ashes.

"Last of all, that Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant bishops to be careful, that no such kind of painted images be permitted in the church.

"Serenus, bishop of Marseille, broke down images, and destroyed them, when he did see them begin to be worshipped.

"Experience of the times since hath declared, whether of these two sentences were better. For since Gregory's time, the images standing in the West church, it hath been overflowed with idolatry, notwithstanding his or other men's doctrine; whereas, if Serenus's judgment had universally taken place, no such thing had happened: for if no images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped; and consequently, no idolatry committed by them.

"To recite the process of histories and councils about the matter of images, it would require a long discourse; but it shall be sufficient here briefly to touch a few.

"It is manifest to them that read histories, that not only emperors, but also divers and sundry councils in the East church, have condemned and abolished images both by decrees and examples.

"Petrus Crinitus, in his Book of Honest Discipline, wrote out of the emperor's books these words: 'Valens and Theodosius the emperors wrote to the high marshal or lieutenant in this sort: Whereas we are very careful that the religion of Almighty

God should be in all things kept, we permit no man to cast, grave, or paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, stone, or other matter; but wheresoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, punishing them most grievously that shall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees and empire.'

"Leo the Third, a man commended in histories for his excellent virtues and godliness, who (as is judged of some men) was the author of the book *De Re Militari*, that is, *Of the Feat of War*, being translated out of the Greek by Sir John Cheeke, and dedicated to King Henry the Eighth, your Highness's father, by public authority commanded abolishing of images; and in Constantinople caused all the images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them unto ashes.

"Constantine the Fifth, his son, assembled a council of the bishops of the East church, in which council it was decreed as followeth: 'It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Christ, to have any images, either of the Creator, or of any creatures set up in temples to be worshipped; but rather that all images by the law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of churches:' which decree was executed in all places where any images were, either in Greece or in Asia. But in all these times, the bishops of Rome rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, weighing like Christian bishops the peril of the church, always in their assemblies allowed images.

"Not long after, the bishop of Rome, practising with Tharasius patriarch of Constantinople, obtained of Irene the empress, (her son Constantine being then young,) that a council was called at Nice, in the which the pope's legates were presidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that council it was decreed, that images should not only be permitted in churches, but also worshipped: which council was confuted by a book written by the emperor Charlemagne, calling it a foolish and an arrogant council.

"Soon after this council, arose a sharp contention between Irene the empress, and her son Constantine the Sixth, the emperor, who destroyed images. And in the end, as she had before wickedly burned the bones of her father in law, Constantine the Fifth, so afterward unnaturally she put out the eyes of her son Constantine the Sixth. About which time, as Eutropius writeth, the sun was darkened most terribly for the space of seventeen days, God showing, by that dreadful sign, how much he disliked those kinds of proceedings.

"To be short, there was never thing that made more division, or brought more mischief into the church, than the controversy of images: by reason

whereof, not only the East church was divided from the West, and never since perfectly reconciled, but also the empire was cut asunder and divided, and the gate opened to the Saracens and Turks, to enter and overcome a great piece of Christendom. The fault whereof most justly is to be ascribed to the patrons of images, who could not be contented with the example of the primitive church, being most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the Scripture; for, as Tertullian saith, 'What is first, that is true, and that which is later is counterfeit:' but with all extremity maintained the use of images in churches, whereof no profit nor commodity did ever grow to the church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of souls have been cast into eternal damnation by the occasion of images used in place of religion; and no history can record, that ever any one soul was won unto Christ by having of images. But lest it might appear that the West church had always generally retained and commended images, it is to be noted, that in a council holden in Spain, called the council of Elvira, the use of images in churches was clearly prohibited in this form of words: 'We decree, that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that be painted upon the walls, which is worshipped or adored.'

"But this notwithstanding, experience hath declared, that neither assembling in councils, neither writings, preachings, decrees, making of laws, prescribing of punishments, hath holpen against images, to the which idolatry hath been committed, nor against idolatry whilst images stood. For these blind books and dumb schoolmasters (which they call laymen's books) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of idolatry, than all other written books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

"Having thus declared unto your Highness a few causes of many which do move our consciences in this matter; we beseech your Highness most humbly not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent unto the thing which in our learning and conscience we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry: and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day. We pray your Majesty also not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and Christian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops.

"St. Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words: 'But neither is it the part of

an emperor to deny free liberty of speaking, nor yet the duty of a priest not to speak what he thinketh.' And again: 'In God's cause whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the priest, to whose great peril the fault should be committed? Who dare say the truth unto thee, if the priest dare not?' These and such-like speeches of St. Ambrose, Theodosius and Valentinian the emperors did always take in good part, and we doubt not but your Grace will do the like, of whose not only clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

"We beseech your Majesty also, in these and such-like controversies of religion, to refer the discussion and deciding of them to a synod of your bishops and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantine the Great, and other Christian emperors, that the reasons of both parts being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

"And to return to this present matter, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of your honourable councillors, the stablishment of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministers, as builders up of the things which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly father, and such notable fathers as have given their life for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

"The almighty and everliving God plentifully endue your Majesty with his Spirit and heavenly wisdom, and long preserve your most gracious reign and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of his glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your Highness's loving subjects."

A note of Master Ridley.

Master Doctor Ridley, sometime bishop of London, of whom mention is made, was a man so revered for his learning and knowledge in the Scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent clerk, whose life, if it might have been redeemed with the sum of ten thousand marks, yea, ten thousand pounds, the Lord Dacres of the north, being his kinsman, would have given it to Queen Mary, rather than he should have been burned. And yet was she so unmerciful, for all his gentleness in King Edward's days, that it would not be granted for any suit that could be made. Oh that she had remembered his labour for her to King Edward the Sixth with Cranmer before mentioned, in such sort that even she had yielded but the reward of a publican; then had the

earth not so been bereft of him as it was. But the Lord forgive us our sins which were the cause thereof, and grant that we never so provoke his anger again, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

Another note of Master Ridley.

Master Ridley, late bishop of London, being prisoner in the Tower, had there given him the liberty of the same, to prove belike whether he would go to mass or no, which once he did. And Master Bradford being there prisoner also the same time, and hearing thereof, taketh his pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual letter to persuade him from the same, and sheweth the occasion that thereby should ensue, which (God be honoured) did Master Ridley no little good: for he repented his fact therein, as he himself maketh mention, writing again in the latter end of the book of Marcus Antonius, which he sent to Master Bradford, and never after that polluted himself with that filthy dregs of antichristian service.

A note concerning Dr. Cranmer in his disputation.

That day wherein Dr. Cranmer, late bishop of Canterbury, answered in the divinity school at Oxford, there was alleged unto him by Dr. Weston, that he (the said Cranmer) in his book of the sacrament falsely falsified the saying of the doctors, and specially the saying of St. Hilary, in these words, *vero* for *vere*, showing a print or two thereof, to have defaced his doings therein: but Dr. Cranmer, with a grave and fatherly sobriety, answered, that the print of St. Hilary's works, whereout he took his notes, was verbatim according to his book; and that could his books testify, if they were there to be seen: saying further, that he supposed Dr. Smith in that order rehearsed it in his book of the sacrament: to the which Dr. Smith there present (though he were demanded the answer thereof) stood in silence. But by and by Dr. Weston, without shame, to shadow Dr. Smith's silence, spitedly said to Cranmer, "Belike you took your learning out of Master Dr. Smith's book."

There chanced, at that present, to be in the school one William Holcot, gentleman, then a sojourner in the University college. He, hearing the same untruth, and remembering that he had amongst his books in his study the said book of Dr. Smith, at his return to his said study desirous to see the truth therein, found it agreeable to the writing and affirmation of Dr. Cranmer. And the said Holcot, then and there better remembering himself, found amongst his books the book of Stephen Gardiner, intituled *The Devil's Sophistry*. In which book

was the said saying of St. Hilary alleged by the said Stephen verbatim, both in Latin and English, according to Dr. Cranmer's confirmation. Then the said William Holcot intending (for the manifest opening and trial of the truth therein) to have delivered the said Gardiner's book to Dr. Cranmer, brought it to Bocardo the prison of Oxford, where Dr. Cranmer then remained: but there, in the delivery thereof, he was apprehended by the bailiffs, and by them brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues, then at dinner at Corpus Christi college, who straightways laid treason to the charge of the said William Holcot for the maintenance of Cranmer in his naughtiness (as they called it); and so, upon strait examination to know who were privy to his doings in delivery of the said Gardiner's book, committed him to the said prison of Bocardo, where he sojourned and slept in the straw that night.

And in the morrow in the morning, Dr. Cole, yet alive, then dean of Paul's, and Dr. Jeffery, two of them then visitors, further examined the said Holcot of that his doings; threatening him to lay treason to his charge, and so to send him to the trial thereof to the then lord chancellor Stephen Gardiner, willing him presently to subscribe to the articles then in question; but he refused, desiring respite until the laws of the realm had determined the same. And so was he again committed to the said prison. And after three days Dr. Weston and the residue of the visitors solemnly, in St. Mary's church, pronouncing sentence against the late bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; amongst others called there before them the said Holcot, willing him to subscribe to their three articles. He demanding

them then these demands, first, whether they thought in their consciences that the articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe, were according to the Scriptures, and that the religion then they went about to plant, were the true religion of Christ: they answered all with one voice, "Yea, yea." Then asked he them whether they thought themselves able to answer, and would answer before God for him, if he subscribed thereunto as they willed him. And they likewise answered, "Yea, yea." And so he, the said Holcot, through fear and frailty of the flesh, (as being a novice,) upon their threats subscribed. Then they with many fair and flattering words delivered him, but would not let him have again his book brought to Bocardo, lest (as it seemed) he should show it to their shame. And they privily willed the master and the fellows of the said University college to see the said William Holcot forthcoming: and if they, within a fortnight after, did not hear from the then lord chancellor what should be done with him, that then they, at the fortnight's end, should expel him out of the said college; which they would have done, if the then vice-chancellor had not willed them to the contrary. This Holcot, though then an apostate, is yet now a penitent preacher.

A note of Bishop Ferrar.

Dr. Leyson, doctor of law, a civilian, a justice of peace, the same who is mentioned before, would not suffer Bishop Ferrar, when he was at the stake to be burnt, to speak his mind; and about half a year after the said Dr. Leyson died; and when he would have spoke himself, he could not.

The trouble of Thomas Hitton, martyr, with his examinations, answers, condemnation, and martyrdom, anno 1529, the twentieth of February.



THOMAS HITTON
of Martham in
the diocess of
Norwich, an
honest poor man
and religious,
ever fearing
God from his

youth, and loving his word; when persecution for the same word in the days of King Henry the Eighth grew to be somewhat hot, took his journey toward Rochester in Kent, intending to have gone to Dover, and so to have crossed the seas into France and other countries for a time, where, reposing himself a while, he might be free from the heat of persecution. As he was going on his intended journey, one Thomas Swainesland, bailiff to William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, meeting him by the way, and suspecting him to be (as they called them) a heretic, caused him to be staid and brought before the said William archbishop of

Canterbury, his master; who demanded of him from whence he came, and whither he intended to have gone, if he had not been intercepted? The same Thomas answered, that he came out of the diocess of Norwich, and purposed to have gone beyond the seas, if God had so permitted. Then the bishop asked him, if he had ever been beyond the seas before, and what books he had brought over. He answered, that he had been once beyond the seas before, and had brought certain books with him from thence, namely, two New Testaments, and one Primer in English. The bishop asked him to whom he gave the said books. He answered, he would not declare: "for," saith he, such is your bloody cruelty, that you would never sleep quietly till you have sucked their blood, as you mean to do mine." The bishop, seeing he could extort no more out of him, and perceiving his constant spirit and fervent zeal to the truth, commanded him to prison till further opportunity might serve for the shedding of his blood.

The second appearance of Thomas Hitton, before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury.

Within a while after, the bishop commanded the said Thomas to be brought before him again, who demanded of him how he judged and believed of the religion then in force, and of the authority of the bishop of Rome. The said Thomas answered, that the religion then used, was most abominable idolatry, and contrary to the holy word of God: "And as for the pope," quoth he, "he is antichrist, the first-born of Satan, and hath no more power or authority than any other bishop hath in his own diocese, nor so much neither." The bishop hearing this, was in such a pelting chafe, that at that time he would talk no more with him, but returned him from whence he came, namely to Bocardo, with commandment to appear before him again upon the thirteenth day of the same month following, at his manor of Knoll, to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be objected *ex officio* against him.

His third appearance, &c.

The said Thomas Hitton, at the day prefixed, made his personal appearance before the bishop at the place appointed; to whom the bishop ministered certain articles and interrogatories for him to answer unto, commanding him to swear to answer truly and unfeignedly unto them, and every part of them. The said Thomas Hitton refused to swear, saying, "It is against God's laws and good conscience, for any man to swear to shed his own blood, for so he should be a murderer of himself, and become guilty of his own death." But notwithstanding that he refused to swear to answer, yet he answered truly and directly to every particular article and interrogatory propounded unto him; but so as was small to their contentation, yet no doubt to the great glory of God, and comfort of the godly.

This done, the bishop brake off his session for that time, and commanded him to prison again, and to appear before him in the place aforesaid upon the Friday next following, to answer further as should be demanded of him, granting him liberty withal to add to or subtract from his former answers, or else utterly to deny and revoke the same.

His fourth appearance, &c.

The day and time approaching, the said Thomas Hitton appeared again accordingly, and having heard his former answers and confessions distinctly by the notary read unto him, he reformed them in certain points; to some he added, from other some he subtracted, but none he denied. Then the bishop, per-

ceiving his unmovable constancy in the truth, setting learning and reason apart, being not able to convince him by arguments and truth, nor yet to reprove the spirit which spake in him, fell to exhorting of him to have respect to his soul's health, and not so wilfully (as he termed it) to cast away himself for ever, but to repent, and abjure his errors, and in so doing, he would be good unto him, he said.

When the bishop with all his persuasions could do no good with him to withdraw him from the truth of God's word, then the doctors and other the assistants attempted the like: all which notwithstanding, the said Thomas Hitton would not desist nor shrink one jot from the truth, but both affirmed and confirmed his former articles and confessions to the end; inferring withal, that they sinned against the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as they knew that God's word was the truth, and that the mass and all popish religion is nothing but idolatry, lies, and open blasphemy against the majesty of God and his word, and contrary to God's word in every respect, and yet they would allow and maintain the same, contrary to their own consciences: whereat all the bench was greatly offended, and commanded him to prison again, assigning him a day to come before them again.

His fifth appearance, &c.

At the day appointed, the said Thomas Hitton appeared, to whom the bishop said, "Thomas, dost thou believe that any man, either spiritual or temporal, is of sufficient authority to set forth any law or sanction of himself, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin?" To whom Thomas Hitton answered, that no man, either spiritual or temporal, might make any law or sanction, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin, except the same law or sanction be drawn out of the word of God, or else grounded upon the same with a good conscience; and therefore the church cannot set forth any law, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin, unless it be grounded upon the word of God also. But if any man, or the church of God itself, do set forth any law grounded upon the word of God and good conscience, the breach thereof to the violater is mortal and deadly sin. After all manner of ways and means attempted to draw this poor man from Christ and his truth, the bishop, seeing that he could not prevail, determined to send him to the bishop of Rochester, and so he did; who assayed by all means possible to remove him from his former professed truth. But seeing all his endeavours frustrate, and that he profited nothing, he signified the same to the archbishop, and withal both went himself unto him, and carried the poor prisoner with him thither also.

In the afternoon of the same day, the said archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and divers other assistants, called the said poor man before them again, and caused all the former articles, interrogatories, and demands to be read unto him in English, to the end he should either have revoked the same, or else recanted them altogether, using both threats and fair promises, to the performance thereof, but all in vain: for his faith was built upon the rock Christ Jesus, and therefore unable to be removed with any storms of persecution whatsoever.

In fine, the archbishop, (with mature judgment you must believe,) consulting with the bishop of Rochester, and others, proceeded to his condemnation, reading the bloody sentence of death against him; and so was he, being condemned, delivered to the secular power, who carried him to the prison; and soon after he was burnt for the testimony of Jesus Christ, as you may see more at large in his story, for whose constancy in the truth, the everlasting God be praised, Amen.

A note of a certain good man troubled in Boulogne the first year of King Edward the Sixth, for the gospel.

“The examination of me, William Hastlen, gunner, in the castle of High Boulogne, in the year of our Lord 1547, and the first year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth. As I was in the church of Boulogne, called the Stals, upon the twelfth of April, being Easter Tuesday, reading of a godly book, called The Lamentation of a Christian against the Citizens of London, between the hours of three and four at afternoon, there came certain men to me as I stood at an altar in the church reading to myself, and asked me what good book I had; and I said, they should hear if they pleased. Then they desired me to read out that they might hear, and so did I very gladly; but I had not read long (the priests and clerks were at their Latin evensong, I reading mine English book) but there came a tipstaff for me, taking my two books from me, and commanded me to go with him; for he said I must go before the council of the town.

“Then went I forthwith with him; and a little without the church-door Sir John Bridges met us, and bade the tipstaff carry me to Sir Leonard Beckwith, knight, to be examined; and coming before his presence, he asked me what books they were that I had at the church, and was reading of one of them openly in the church to the people. And I said, so far as I had read them they were good godly books. And he said, they were heresy. And with that he asked me how I did believe of the sacrament

of the altar, whether I did not believe that to be the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bones: and I asked him whether he meant that that was in the pix or no? and he said, Yea, even that in the pix. And I said, that since I had sure knowledge of Scriptures, I did not believe it to be the body of Christ, but a bare piece of bread; nor by God's help will I ever believe it otherwise to be. Then he said, I was a heretic, and asked me what I made of the sacrament; and I said, if it were duly ministered according to Christ's institution, that then I did believe that the faithful communicants, in receiving that blessed sacrament, did receive into their inward man or soul, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Then said he, ‘Dost thou not believe it to remain the very body of Christ after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest?’ And I said, No. Then said he, ‘What dost thou make of the church?’ I said, ‘As it is now used, it is a den of thieves, and the synagogue of Satan.’ ‘Thou heretic,’ said he, ‘there remaineth the very body of Christ.’ But I said, that Christ being God and man, dwelleth not in the temples made with men's hands. Much other communication had we at that time, but this was the effect that day. Then he asked me whether I would be forthcoming till to-morrow. And I said, ‘Sir, if you think that I will not, you may lay me where I shall be so.’ Then he let me go for that night, and said, ‘We shall talk further with thee to-morrow; so I departed home.’

“And about the space of two hours after, Master Huntingdon the preacher (which did much good with his preaching in Boulogne at that time) came to me, and said, that he heard me spoken of at my Lord Gray's, who was then lord deputy of the town and country of Boulogne; ‘and I perceive,’ said he, ‘that you are in great danger of trouble, if you escape with your life: for there are some of the council marvellously bent against you.’ I said, ‘The Lord's will be done.’ ‘Well,’ said he, ‘without you feel in yourself a full purpose, by God's help, to stand earnestly to the thing that ye have spoken, you shall do more hurt than good. Wherefore,’ said he, ‘if you will go to Calais, I will send you where you shall be well used, and be out of this danger.’ Then I thanked Master Huntingdon, saying, ‘I purpose by God's assistance to abide the uttermost that they can do unto me.’ ‘Well then,’ said he, ‘I can tell you you will be sent for to-morrow betimes before the whole council.’ ‘That is,’ said I, ‘the thing that I look for.’

“Then rose I betimes in the morning and went into the market-place, that I might spy which way the officer should come for me. I had not tarried

there long, but I spied a tipstaff, and went toward him, and asked him whom he sought; and he said, 'A gunner of the great ordnance in the castle of Boulogne:' and I said, 'I am he:' then said he, 'You must go with me to my Lords:' and I said, 'There-for I looked.'

"When I came there, I saw my Lord and the whole council were assembled together in a close parlour. Doing my duty to them, my Lord said to me, 'It is informed me that thou hast seditiously congregated a company together in the church, and there in the time of service thou didst read unto them an heretical book, and hast not reverently used silence in the time of the divine service. What sayest thou to this?'

"I said, 'If it please your Honour, I was in the church a good while before any service began, and nobody with me, reading to myself alone, upon a book that is agreeable to God's word, and no heresy in it that I read; and when it drew toward service time, there came men to the church, and, some of them coming to me whom I knew not, asking me what good book I had, I said it was a new book that I had not yet read over. Then they prayed me that I should read so that they might hear some part with me; and so I did, not calling, pointing, nor assembling any company to me. And the service being in Latin, that for the strangeness of the tongue, besides much superstition joined with it, was not understood of the most part of them that said or sung it, much less of them that stood by and did hear it; whereas, by the word of God, all things in the church or congregation should be done to the edifying of the people; and seeing I could have no such thing by their service, I did endeavour to edify myself, and others that were desirous of reading godly books. And because the church is so abused contrary to the word of God, being beset round about with a sort of abominable idols, before whom no man ought to kneel, nor do any manner of reverence, because the Scriptures do curse both the idol and the idol-maker, and all that do any worship or reverence unto them, or before them, for that cause I used no reverence there.'

"'Well,' said my Lord, 'I would thou couldst answer to the rest, as well as thou hast done to this; but I fear me thou canst not: for it is told me that thou hast spoken against the blessed sacrament.' And I said, 'If it please your Lordship, that did I never in all my life, nor ever will do, by the grace of God.'

"With that my chief accuser, Sir Leonard Beckwith, knight, said to me, 'Didst thou not say to me yesterday, that thou didst not believe the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration by the

priest, to be the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bones, as it was born of the Virgin Mary?'

"'It is true indeed that I said so; for neither do I believe it to remain Christ's body, nor ever will by the grace of God believe it so to be: for I believe that Christ, with that body that was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, did ascend up into heaven; and there (according to our belief) he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father; and from thence that body shall come at the day of judgment to judge the quick and the dead. And yet, in the mean while, I believe, that (the sacrament duly ministered according to Christ's institution) all the faithful receivers of this sacrament, lifting up the eyes of their mind into heaven where Christ's body is, do receive in that sacrament into their soul or inward man the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ: yea, and I believe further, that Christ, concerning his Divine power, or the power of his Godhead, is wheresoever two or three be gathered together in his name, that he is in the midst even amongst them; and that he is so with his faithful flock even to the world's end.'

"Then they laid their heads together and had privy talk. After that two of them said to me, that it was rank heresy, that I did believe it to remain bare bread after the priest had consecrated it; and not believing it to be the very body of Christ, I was worthy to be burned. Then said I earnestly unto them, 'Think you not, though I be a vile object in your sight, and he that is most busy among you to seek my blood, but that my blood shall be required at his or their hands?'

"Then had they privy talk together again, after the which my Lord said unto me, 'Thou hearest that they here lay heresy to thy charge, and I am a man of war, and have no skill in such high mysteries; wherefore thine accusers say, that thou must suffer here as a heretic, that all the rest of the garrison may beware by thee, that they fall not into the like heresy, and so cast away themselves.' Then said I, 'I appeal from this council to the council of England.' Then said my Lord, 'I am very glad that thou hast appealed to the council of England, for there are learned men and divines that can skill of such matters: thither shalt thou be sent ere it be long.'

"Then was I carried to Sir John Bridges' house; and having pen and ink, I was bidden to write mine articles, which were in effect those points of religion which you have heard before in my examination. Then on the morrow, being Thursday, and the fourteenth of April, I was brought to the prison in the town, called the Marshalsea, where I was very gently used: for a good gentleman, one Master Waghan,

was the keeper there at that time. But surely, when I was apprehended, I had not so much as one penny to help myself with, for we had been long unpaid. Furthermore, I thought in that town of war, that there were very few or none that favoured the word of God; for I looked for no help there, but to be hated and despised of all men there: for I knew not past two or three there that had any love to the gospel till I was in prison; and then there came very many soldiers unto me that I never knew before, and gave me money, so that I had as good as three pounds given me in a small time that I was in prison. The fourteenth day of May, toward night, I was sent into England; one Master Messenger and one other man brought me to London even the same day, being Sunday at night and the fifteenth day of May. There was a great talk over all the city of one Dr. Smith that recanted that day. They brought me to the Marshalsea and there left me, I hearing no more of them that brought me thither: but Master Huntingdon, as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, that gave me warning before of all this trouble, came from Boulogne to London, causing my articles to be seen, so that by his painful diligence to the council for me, after that I had been there little more than one month, I was discharged out of prison, and bid get me home to Boulogne, to my living again.

"But surely if I had not appealed to the council of England, I had been burnt in Boulogne; for it was told me of them that knew much in that matter, that it was already determined shortly to have been accomplished, if I had not appealed: for the which deliverance I give praise to the everliving God."

Verses laid in Queen Mary's closet upon her desk, against her coming unto her prayers.

"O lovesome rose, most redolent,
Of fading flowers most fresh,
In England pleasant is thy scent,
For now thou art peerless.
This rose which beareth such a smell,
Doth represent our queen;
O listen, that I may you tell
Her colours fresh and green.
The love of God within her heart
Shall beautify her Grace:
The fear of God on the other part,
Shall stablish her in place.
'This love and fear her colours are,
Whereby if she be known,
She may compare both nigh and far,
Unable to be overthrown.
The love of God, it will her cause
(Unfeigned if it be)

To have respect unto his laws,
And hate idolatry.
If that she have the fear of God,
And be thereto right bent,
She will do that that he her bode,
And not her own intent.
O noble queen, take heed, take heed,
Beware of your own intent:
Look ere you leap; then shall you speed.
Haste maketh many shent.
Remember Saul, that noble king,
What shame did him befall,
Because that unto the Lord's bidding
He had no lust at all.
The Lord hath bid you shall love him,
And other gods defy:
Alas, take heed! do not begin
To place idolatry.
What greater disobedience
Against God may be wrought,
Than this, to move men's conscience
To worship things of nought?
What greater folly can you invent
Than such men to obey?
How can you serve your own intent,
Not foreseeing your own decay?
And whereas first ye should maintain
Your realm in perfect unity:
To rent the people's hearts in twain
Through false idolatry.
Is this the way to get you fame,
Is this to get you love?
Is this to purchase you a name,
To fight with God above?
Is this your care to set up mass,
Your subjects' souls to 'stroy?
Is this your study no more to pass,
God's people to annoy?
Is this to reign, to serve your will,
Good men in bonds to keep;
And to exalt such as be evil,
And for your Grace unmeet?
Such as made that fond divorce,
Your mother to deface;
Are nighest you in power and force,
And bounden most unto your Grace.
Well, yet take heed of 'had-I-wist,'
Let God's word bear the bell:
If you will reign, learn to know Christ,
As David doth you tell.
What great presumption doth appear,
Thus in a week or twain,
To work more shame than in seven year
Can be redrest again!

All is done without a law,
 For will doth work in place :
 And thus all men may see and know
 The weakness of your case.
 That miserable masking mass,
 Which all good men do hate ;
 Is now by you brought up again,
 The root of all debate.
 Your ministers that love God's word,
 They feel this bitter rod ;
 Who are robbed from house and goods,
 As though there were no God.
 And yet you would seem merciful
 In the midst of tyranny,
 And holy, whereas you maintain
 Most vile idolatry.
 For fear that thou shouldst hear the truth,
 True preachers may not speak ;
 But on good prophets you make ruth,
 And unkindly them entreat.
 Him have you made lord chancellor,
 Who did your blood most stain :
 That he may suck the righteous blood,
 As he was wont, again.
 Those whom our late king did love,
 You do them most disdain ;
 These things do manifestly prove
 Your colours to be but vain.
 God's word you cannot abide,
 But as your prophets tell :
 In this you may be well compared
 To wicked Jezebel,
 Who had four hundred prophets false,
 And fifty on a rout :
 Through whose false preaching poor Eli
 Was chased in and out.
 God's prophets you do evil entreat,
 Baal's priests defend your Grace :
 Thus did the Jews put Christ to death,
 And let go Barrabas.
 Hath God thus high exalted you,
 And set you on a throne,
 That you should prison and deface
 His flock that maketh moan ?
 The Lord which doth his flock defend,
 As the apple of an eye ;
 Of this full quickly will make an end,
 And banish cruelty.
 Therefore my counsel pray you take,
 And think thereof no scorn :
 You shall find it the best counsel,
 Ye had since you were born.
 Put away blind affection ;
 Let God's word be umpire,

To try our true religion,
 From this evil-favoured gear."

*The instruction of King Edward the Sixth,
 given to Sir Anthony St. Leger, knight of his
 privy chamber : being of a corrupt judgment
 of the eucharist, upon this saying of an an-
 cient doctor of the catholic church : " Dici-
 mus eucharistiam panem vocari in Scripturis
 Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt," &c.*

" In eucharist then there is bread,
 Whereto I do consent :
 Then with bread are our bodies fed,
 But further what is meant ?
 I say that Christ in flesh and blood
 Is there continually,
 Unto our soul a special food,
 Taking it spiritually.
 And this transubstantiation I
 Believe as I have read :
 That Christ sacramentally
 Is there in form of bread.
 St. Austin saith, ' The Word doth come
 Unto the element :
 And there is made,' he saith, ' in sum
 A perfect sacrament.'
 The element doth then remain ;
 Or else must needs ensue,
 St. Austin's words be nothing plain,
 Nor cannot be found true.
 For, if the Word, as he doth say,
 Come to the element,
 Then is not the element away,
 But bides there verament.
 Yet, whoso eateth that lively food,
 And hath a perfect faith,
 Receiveth Christ's flesh and blood,
 For Christ himself so saith.
 Not with our teeth his flesh to tear,
 Nor take blood for our drink :
 Too great an absurdity it were,
 So grossly for to think.
 For we must eat him spiritually,
 If we be spiritual ;
 And whoso eats him carnally,
 Thereby shall have a fall.
 For he is now a spiritual meat,
 And spiritually we must
 That spiritual meat spiritually eat,
 And leave our carnal lust.
 Thus by the Spirit, I spiritually
 Believe, say what men list :
 None other transubstantiation I
 Believe—of the eucharist ;

But that there is both bread and wine,
Which we see with our eye :
Yet Christ is there, by power divine,
To those that spiritually
Do eat that bread and drink that cup,
Esteeming it but light ;
As Judas did, which eat that sop,
Not judging it aright.
For I was taught not long ago,
I should lean to the Sprite ;
And let the carnal flesh alone,
For it doth not profit.
God save him that teaching me taught,
For I thereby did win,
To put from me that carnal thought,
That I before was in :
For I believe Christ corporally
In heaven doth keep his place :
And yet Christ sacramentally
Is here with us by grace.
So that in this high mystery
We must eat spiritual meat,
To keep his death in memory,
Lest we should it forget.
This do I say, this have I said ;
This saying say will I :
This saying though I once denaid,
I will no more to die."

"This young prince became a perfect school-master unto old erroneous men, so as no divine could amend him ; and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetual memory to his immortal fame and glory.

"When Queen Mary came to her reign, a friend of Master St. Leger charged him with this his pamphlet. 'Well,' quoth he, 'content yourself: I perceive that a man may have too much of God's blessing. And even Peter began to deny Christ; such is men's frailty.'"

By W. M., as it is supposed.

*A letter of one John Melvyn, prisoner in
Newgate.*

"Christi electis salutem.

"The Almighty Lord hath made this world for many ; but the world or life to come, but for a few.

"Most certain it is, dearly beloved, that Christ's elect be but few in comparison of that great number which go in the broad way into everlasting perdition, which live after the flesh, loving this present evil world, deny God in word and deed, whose eyes are blinded, and their hearts hardened.

"Most certain it is also, that our Saviour Jesus

Christ hath and knoweth his own, whose names are written in the book of life, redeemed with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that the eternal Father knoweth them that be his.

"The almighty and eternal God grant, that we may have the testimony of our conscience, and the Spirit of God to bear record with our spirits, that we be his elect children, walking in the Spirit, not fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, but as Christ's members, having Christ Jesus fixed before our eyes, he being to us the true way, the infallible verity, and the eternal life. Christ hath given us example ; let us follow him as dear children, for God's delight is to behold his saints which be in the earth. Let us put on the whole armour of God, and walk in the light in these evil days, in the which Satan, with his angels, seeketh whom he may devour. The almighty Lord deliver us from the mouths of those unshamefaced dogs ! They truly seek ours, and not us unto the Lord. Esdras saith and writeth truly, 'The world is made for them, and they for the world.' Dearly bought, let us remember Christ which saith : 'I have chosen you out of the world ; you shall be hated of all worldly men.' Did ever the covetous, idolaters, oppressors, or whoremongers, love us ? Nay, they love mass-mongers, which say, Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Nay, either they flatter the ears, or else they say nothing, as dumb dogs not able to bark, of whom be you ware ; for though they come in sheep's clothing, they be ravening wolves, whose damnation sleepeth not, from whose captivity the holy will of God save and preserve you, Amen !

"Dearly beloved, we having the record of our conscience, that we be very members in Christ's body, separate from that malignant antichrist's church : let us rejoice in conscience, and in the Lord, having heavenly hope in all his promises, which be eternal and most sure to us in Christ our Saviour, who loseth none of all them, whom the eternal Father hath given him, but at his appearing to be our merciful Judge, shall raise us up at the last day ; for the trumpet of God shall blow, and be heard of all Adam's posterity, sounding, *Venite ad judicium*, Come unto judgment, come and be judged. Let us therefore be prepared, having the wedding garment, yea, the whole armour of God, the marriage garment, clear lamps, that is, pure hearts, and burning heavenly light in the same. Let us prepare ourselves richly to restore to our Lord and Master our talents, with the increase of heavenly living and occupying. Then, without all doubt, we shall hear that most blessed wish of our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, who shall then say, Rejoice, good servants, I will make you stewards over many

things: enter into the everlasting rest and kingdom, which hath been prepared for you from the beginning. This is the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which at this present is in Babylon, and banished to the desert, the troublesome waters of Satan in the antichrist and his shavelings, spewed out of Christ's mouth. The Lord be our aid, avenger, and deliverer, when his holy will is, Amen!

"Dearly bought with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ! that we be not deceived by the antichrist, let us ponder, weigh, mark, and study, the heavenly doctrine of our Saviour Christ in his last supper: the text is, *Benedixit, dixit bene, gratias egit*: he spake heavenly and well; he gave thanks; he took bread, brake it and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat this sacramental bread, and me the bread of life which came down from heaven, which giveth life to the world. Take true faith, heavenly hope kindled with Christian charity, thanksgiving for my death. Let these heavenly virtues enter into your souls; then enter I. This is my body: this is the true eating of my body, which is given to the death of the cross, for the ransom and sins of God's elect.' Likewise after supper he took the cup, he spake well, gave thanks, and gave it them, saying, 'Drink ye all of this: drink, I say, by this infallible verity and everlasting word joined and annexed with this cup, my blood, which is shed from before the beginning of the world, for many, in remission of sins: he or she that thus dwelleth in me, and I in him, eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood.' St. Augustine saith, 'Why preparest thou thy tooth and belly? believe, and thou hast eaten.' St. Bernard saith, 'When faith, hope, Christian love, and thanksgiving for Christ's death enter into a Christian, Christ entereth.' And again St. Augustine saith, upon these words of Christ, You shall always have the poor with you, but me shall ye not have always with you: 'the church had him but a few days touching his humanity; now they have him by faith, with these eyes they do not see him.' O Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, which art in the bosom of thy Father, God with God, the very image of God the Father eternal, give us victory over this antichrist in thy most precious blood. Be faithful to the end, and our Saviour shall crown us in glory: let us sanctify the name of God in thought, word, and deed.

"I say unto the papist, and will not flatter,

Our God is in heaven whom they will not see:
And is no such little pretty matter,

As their god the pope feigneth him to be.

Pray for all the preachers of the verity,

That God may give us grace and constancy.

They sing and say, they have him in a string:

Tie not the dog so, for fear of hanging.

To all the faithful, whose names in general,

In the book of life, by Christ are written all;

The godly thought and patient mind,

Doth liberty in prison find.

Whoso to patience can attain,

Shall find in prison is no pain.

Thrall, trouble, bound or free,

As pleaseth God, so shall all be.

Wherefore I never will forsake

What pleaseth God lay on my back.

JOHN MELVYN,

preacher, and prisoner in Newgate."

*A note concerning the trouble of Julius Palmer,
lately come to my hands.*

*To his assured friend and brother in Christ,
Master Perry, preacher at Beverstone.*

"Master Perry, after my hearty commendations in the Lord Jesus Christ unto you and your wife, &c. Whereas you have written unto me for my help in stopping the malicious and envious mouth of Thomas Thackam, I would be as glad as any man to testify the truth, both for that I know of the shameless malice of the said party against the members of Christ, as also the godly and virtuous behaviour of Palmer, both before he was in prison, and after in prison, with the credit of that good and godly work of that history: but surely many things are out of my head, which I cannot as yet remember. And for those things I know, I write unto you. And first, as touching the friendship showed unto the Lady Vane, and his zeal therein uttered, truth it is that he received her into his house for money for a small space, in the which time they two did not well agree, for that she could not suffer his wickedness of words and gestures unproved, but that his wife many times, being of more honesty, made the matter well again: but to be short, such was his friendship in the end towards that good lady, being out of his house, that she feared no man more for her life than him. And I being her man, she gave me great charge always to beware of him. As touching his friendship towards John Bolton in prison, I am sure he never found any, as they that used to visit him can somewhat say: except you account this friendship, that he, being bereft of his senses, Thackam wrought him to yield unto the papists, and as a right member of them became his surety, that he should be obedient unto them. And he, being burdened in conscience therewith, fled away unto Geneva: for the which flying Thackam had nothing said unto him, which sheweth that he was

their instrument. And this friendship to John Bolton: for Downer, I have heard no evil of him: for Gately, and Radley now vicar of St. Lawrence, and Bowyer a tanner, they three left no means unpractised to catch and persecute the members of Christ, as I myself can well prove.

"As touching Palmer, for that I many times frequented his company in his lodging, he would utter sometimes unto me the grief of his mind. Among other things once he told me, that for that he heard he was somewhat suspected with the woman of the house, he was much grieved withal, the which he uttered with many tears. I then counselling him to depart thence to avoid the occasion of offence, he said No, but the Lord should try him ere it were long: for, said he, Thackam hath let me his school, and now would have it again, and because I will not let him have it, this he hath brought upon me; but God forgive him! Afterward, being in prison, I talking with him at the grate, he showed me his judgment of the Scriptures, and delivered it unto me: what became of it, I know not now. He praised God highly for his estate, and then he said, he trusted it would appear whether Thackam had said of him well or not. And further he said, that now Thackam hath his will to leave his school again: for if I would have yielded up the school, he would have sent me away. I never trusted him so well, said he, to communicate my mind unto him before witness, but sometimes alone; and therefore he hath devised a letter in my name, and brought it to light, to cause me to be examined of my conscience. This is as much as I can say at this time. Thus fare you well in the Lord, Amen.—From Corsley, this eighteenth of May.

"Yours to command in Christ,
JOHN MOYER, minister.

"Have me commended, I pray you, to all my friends at Reading."

Another note of Julius Palmer.

Also being at Magdalene college about a month before he was burned, and reasoning against one Barwick, master of arts, sometime his familiar friend and old acquaintance in the said college: after much talk Barwick said unto him, "Well, Palmer, now thou talkest boldly and stoutly at thy pleasure; if thou wert brought to a stake, thou wouldst tell me another tale. Take heed, it is a hard matter to burn." Hereunto Palmer answered, "Indeed it is a hard matter for him to burn, that hath his soul linked to his body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters. But if a man be once able, through God's help, to separate and divide the soul from the body,

for him it is no harder thing to burn, than for me to eat this crumb of bread."

A true copy of the confession of Patrick Patingham, sent out of Newgate to certain of his friends.

"I, Patrick Patingham, being condemned for the verity of God's truth, that is to say, in confessing of one God, which was the Creator of all things visible and invisible, and also that he made those by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things. And also I confess, that he is the only begotten Son of God, in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins. And also in confessing God's most holy church, being builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone. In whom, saith St. Paul, every building coupled together groweth to a holy temple in the Lord, in whom I believe I am builded together as a member, and made a habitation for God in the Spirit. And also I confess, that Christ is the head of the holy church, as St. Paul saith, and that God is Christ's head.

"And also I had ten articles, that is to say, against their wicked traditions and commandments which they use, which are against the commandments of God, whereof they did condemn me, not suffering me to speak in the consistory-house, but condemning me, my cause not heard. But yet I did protest unto them, that their church or synagogue is of Satan, that is to say, Satan being the head thereof. Furthermore, my friend or friends unknown, I have received your letter, and read it over, wherein you say, that I am in a blasphemous error. Indeed, friends, I confess, that it is an error: if you will make my belief, that is to say, that Christ is the Son of the living God, to be an error, and to believe that there is one God, as St. Paul saith, and one Mediator betwixt God and man, even the man Christ Jesus. And although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be gods many, and lords many, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. I believe that there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God in all, and above all, and through all; which only God, as St. Paul saith, worketh in all creatures that believe in him; and speaketh in them, as, St. Paul saith, God in times past diversely, and many ways, spake unto the fathers by prophets, but in these last days he spake unto us by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things. My friend or friends, be it known unto you, that this is no error, as ye suppose, but it is the truth of God's will, that we should believe, as St. John saith, that Christ Jesus is the Son of the living God; and in

so believing, we should have everlasting life. Thus with love I write unto you, praying God night and day to deliver you from evil which is in you, and to keep you from it. Wherefore, my friend or friends, you are not crucified with Christ, you are not dead with him as concerning sin, you are not grafted with him in baptism, nor do you know God, or his Son whom he hath sent, or his commandments which he hath commanded; and yet will ye teach others. With most hearty prayer praying to God for you continually;

PATRICK PATINGHAM."

A certain letter of William Tyms.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, through the mercies of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour, with the comfort of his Holy Spirit, that as you have full godly begun, even so you may continue to the end to the glory of God and your everlasting comfort, which thing to do I pray God to give you grace, who is the giver of all good and perfect gifts, to the glory of his holy name. Amen.

"My dear sisters, after most hearty commendations unto you, and also most hearty thanksgiving unto you for all the great kindness that you have always showed unto me, most unworthy of the same; I certify you that I am very glad to hear of your good health, which I pray God long to continue to his glory. And especially I do much rejoice in your most godly constancy in the gospel of Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation, unto so many as believe it. Therefore, my dear hearts, go forward as you have godly begun: for the time will come that these cruel tyrants, which now so cruelly persecute the true members of Christ, shall say for very anguish of mind, 'These are they, whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their life to have been very madness, and their end to have been without honour: but lo, how they are counted among the children of God, and their portion is amongst the saints. Therefore we have erred from the way of truth. The light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the Sun of understanding rose not upon us. We have wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction. Tedious ways have we gone, but as for the way of the Lord, we have not known it. What good hath our pride done unto us? or what profit hath the pomp of riches brought us? All these things have passed away as a shadow, or as a messenger running before: as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, which when it is gone, by the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the path in the floods, &c. For as soon as we were born, we began

inordinately to draw to our end, and have showed no token of virtue, but are consumed in our own wickedness.' Such words shall they that thus have sinned speak in the hell. 'But the righteous shall live for evermore; their reward is also with the Lord, and remembrance with the Highest: therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown at the Lord's hands; for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his holy arm shall he defend them,' &c. 'The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and the pains of death shall not touch them; but in the sight of the unwise they appear to die, and their end is taken for very destruction, but they are in rest. And though they suffer pain before men, yet is their hope full of immortality. They are punished but in few things, nevertheless in many things shall they be well rewarded; for God proveth them, and findeth them meet for himself: yea, as the gold in the furnace doth he try them, and receiveth them as a burnt-offering; and when the time cometh, they shall be looked upon, the righteous shall shine as the sparks that run through the red bush; they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever. They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth, and such as be faithful will agree unto him in love.' 'And he shall be a pillar in the temple of God, and shall no more go out, and there shall be written upon him the name of God. And they shall lie under the altar (which is Christ) crying with a loud voice, saying: How long tarriest thou, Lord! holy and true! to judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And they shall have long white garments given unto them, and it shall be said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, till the number of their fellows and brethren of them that should be killed as they were, were fulfilled.' For, as St. John saith, they are worthy that thus overcome, to be clothed in white array, and their names shall not be put out of the book of life, but shall be separated from the goats, and set on Christ's right hand, hearing his sweet and comfortable voice, when he shall say, Come, ye blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. And the very ready way to obtain the same, is, as our Master Christ saith, to forsake ourselves, taking up our cross, following our Master Christ, which for the joy that was set before him abode the cross, and despised the shame, and is set down on the throne, at the right hand of God. Therefore let us follow his example in suffering for his word, seeing that he, of his merciful goodness, suffered so much for us when we were his enemies: for it was our sin

that killed Christ, and he by his death hath made us alive. Therefore with joy (seeing all these his merciful benefits purchased for us only by his death and blood-shedding) let us with boldness confess his holy word before this wicked generation, even to death, when we be called thereto; and so be well assured, that our lives be not in the hands of men, but in God's hands. Therefore, my dear sisters, as you have godly begun, so go forward even through many tribulations, even into the everlasting kingdom of heaven. To the which, God, the Father of all mercy, for his dear Son Christ's sake, bring both you and all yours, Amen.

"Yours to command, to my poor power,
WILLIAM TYMS.

"Continue in prayer, ask in faith, and obtain your desire: praying for you, as I know that you do for me."

A note of William Gie.

One William Gie, servant with Master Revet, merchant, bought a Bible and Service-book of Richard Waterson, who then dwelt with Master Duixile in Paul's Churchyard, and one Spilman bound the book: and when the said Gie had inquired for the said Richard to have his book at Duixile's, answer was made that he was not within; and so the said Gie went his way to Spilman's for the book; and because he found it not done, he left it there, and immediately search was made in Spilman's house, and the said Bible and Service-book was found and carried to Bonner, then bishop of London. He having the books, commanded Spilman for the binding thereof to Lollard's Tower; and as Cluney went for the key thereof Spilman conveyed himself away. After that, Waterson and Gie being apprehended by Robin Calie, John Hill, and John Auales, and being two days in the Compter, were brought before Bonner and other commissioners. Being examined, Dr. Story demanded Gie, wherefore he bought the Bible? He answered, "To serve God withal." Then said Bonner, "Our Lady Matins would serve a Christian man to serve God." "The Bible," said Story, "would breed heresies; a bible-babble were more fit for thee." So they concluded that either of them should have forty stripes lacking one; and Bonner said, it was the law. And they said to Waterson, if he would pay forty pounds, he should be released of his stripes. At length they came to ten pounds; and when they saw he would not, they made a warrant to Master Grafton, and sent Waterson and Gie to Bridewell, to be beaten upon the cross. And because the matter should not be slightly handled, Story was sent with them to see it done. Gie being whipped upon the

cross, intercession was made, that he might be forgiven part of his penance.

A note of Michael's wife.

Michael's wife aforementioned, being prisoner in Ipswich for religion, resorted daily from the prison to her husband's house, and returned again, keeping faith and promise. And her husband thereat being fearful, she would comfort him, saying, she came not to trouble him, neither should he sustain trouble by her. Wherefore she would will him to be of good cheer, for her coming was of good will to see him and her children, and not to bring them into trouble, but to show her duty therein, while she might have liberty.

A note of John Spicer.

In Queen Mary's time, there was one John Spicer, of whom mention is made before, he being at the stake, ready to give his life for the truth, a bag of gunpowder was brought him by his son. And another standing by (one named Master Beckingham) took the gunpowder of his son, and put it under the girdle of the said Spicer, and exhorted him to be strong in the Lord; also divers of the sheriff's servants comforted him in like manner, and desired him not to faint. Unto whom Spicer answered, "Doubt you not of me," saith he, "my soul is quiet: but be ye strong and stand fast in the Lord Jesus, and commit yourselves to him in the confession of his holy name, and profession of his truth."

A note of Mandrel.

Mandrel, standing at the stake, as is mentioned before, Dr. Jeffery the chancellor spake to him, wishing him to yield to the doctors, who many hundred years had taught otherwise than he doth believe, &c. To whom Mandrel answered, "Master Chancellor," said he, "trouble me with none of your doctors, whatsoever they say; but bring me the book of God, the Old Testament and the New, and I will answer you." "What sayest thou, Mandrel," quoth he, "by the saints in the church, the image of our Lady, of the crucifix, and other holy saints? be they not necessary?" &c. "Yes, Master Chancellor," said he, "very necessary to roast a shoulder of mutton." Then Dr. Billing, a friar once, standing by, said: "Master Chancellor," quoth he, "hear how these heretics speak against the crucifix, and the holy cross; and yet the holy cross is mentioned in all the tongues, both Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. For in Latin it is called T, in Greek Tau," &c. Whereupon one Thomas Gilford, a merchant of Poole, standing by, said: "Ah merciful Lord," said he, "is not this a marvellous mat-

ter, for a poor man thus to be charged, and put to the pains of fire, for 'T, Tau?' "

When Mandrel and Spicer were examined before the chancellor, the chancellor called them, saying, "Come on, come on," saith he; "thou, Spicer, art to blame, for thou hast taught Mandrel these heresies. Thou art by thy occupation a bricklayer" "Yea, that I am." "And can sing in the choir." "Yea, that I can," saith he. "And can play on the organs." "True," saith he. "Well then," said the chancellor, "and thou hast marred this poor man, and hast taught him all these heresies." "No, Master Chancellor," quoth he, "I have not taught him, but I have read him. He is able, thanks be to God, to teach both you and me."

A note of Elizabeth Pepper.

Elizabeth Pepper, before mentioned, when she was burnt at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as she then testified to one Bosom's wife, who then unloosed her neckerchief: and moreover, when she was asked why she did not tell them, answered, "Why," quoth she, "they knew it well enough." Oh, such are the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the saints of the Lord, that truly profess Christ crucified only and alone, for the satisfaction of their sins.

A note of one confessing God's truth at the gallows.

A notorious felon, one Dick Adams, being upon the gallows, making his confession, and ready to be cast down from the ladder, was desired at that instant by one Mistress Harris, the grammar-school-master's wife, to remember the blessed sacrament before he died; to whom the said Adams said, "Marry, mistress, never in better time;" who went up to the top of the ladder, and said it was the most abominable idol that ever was, and willed all men to take it so; "for we have been greatly deceived thereby." Whereupon the sheriff caused him to hold his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went down to his place, and was cast from the ladder, speaking to his last word, that it was an abominable idol: his body, therefore, was buried out of the churchyard by the highway; who although he was a thief in his life, yet he earnestly repented thereof, so that I doubt not but he died the child of God, and not unworthy to be put in the register of the Lord's accepted confessors.

A note of Gertrude Crockhay.

In the late days of Queen Mary, among other strange dealings of the papists with the faithful, this

is not with the rest to be forgotten, that a godly matron named Gertrude Crockhay, the wife of Master Robert Crockhay, dwelling then at St. Katharine's by the Tower of London, abstained herself from the popish church. And she, being in her husband's house, it happened in anno 1556, that the foolish popish St. Nicholas went about the parish; which she understanding shut her doors against him, and would not suffer him to come within her house. Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof, (and being then master of the said St. Katharine's,) next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her; and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus: "Sir, I know no St. Nicholas," said she, "that came hither." "Yes," quoth Mallet, "here was one that represented St. Nicholas." "Indeed, sir," said she, "here was one that is my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas: for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have had my purse cut by them, for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks," &c. So Mallet, perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then, in anno 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house, after the order of the Service-book in King Edward's time; and that being shortly known to her enemies, she was sought for, which understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Gelderland, to see certain lands that should have come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born. And being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Wille of Antwerp, shipper, who, seeing her there, went of malice to the margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist; whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claimed of Master Crockhay her husband a piece of money, which was not his due, for a ship, that the said Master Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight; in which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rhenish wine-fats, and after secretly put in sacks, and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last she was called before the margrave, and charged with Anabaptistry; which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the suit of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book; and so she came over into England again. And being at home in her husband's house, he thinking to find means to get her to go abroad, made one Vicars, a yeoman of the Tower, a friend of his, who was great with Bonner, to work that liberty for her. Now this Vicars making means to Bonner for the same, Bonner put the matter over to Darbishire his chancellor, who enjoined her to give certain money to poor folks, and to go on the Wednesday and Sunday after to church to evensong; which she so did, and afterward had such trouble in her conscience thereby, that she thought verily God had cast her off, and that she should be damned, and never be saved.

So, not long after this, it happened that Master Rough, of whom mention is made before, came to her house, unto whom she made moan of her unquietness for going to church, and desired his counsel what she might do, that should best please God, and ease her troubled soul, &c. Unto whom Master Rough replied many comfortable sentences of Scripture to comfort her; and, in the end, gave her counsel to go to the Christian congregation, which secretly the persecuted had, and confess her fault unto them, and so to be received into their fellowship again; which, hearing that, was glad, and intended so to do; and so would have done, if sore sickness had not immediately prevented the same. But when Dr. Mallet heard by one Robert Hemmings, woodmonger, that she lay very sick indeed, which Hemmings was her great enemy, he came to her twice, to persuade her to recant, and to receive (as the papists term it) the rites of the church. Unto whom she answered, she could not, nor would, for that she was subject to vomit; and therefore he would not (she was sure, she said) have her to cast up their god again; as she should do, if she did receive it. And so immediately vomited, indeed! Wherefore he, seeing that, went from her into the hall to her daughter named Clare Sacke, and told her, if her mother would not receive, she should not be buried in Christian burial, as he termed it. Then Clare went and told her sick mother what he said unto her; which, hearing the same, spake these words following: "Oh," said she, "how happy am I, that I shall not rise with them, but against them. Well," quoth she, "the earth is the Lord's, and all

that therein is; and therefore I commit the matter to him."

Shortly hereupon, that is, the twenty-seventh day of March, 1558, the said Dr. Mallet came again to her with one Dr. West, Queen Mary's chaplain. And coming in, he saluted her, and told her that he had brought her a good learned man to persuade her, who was one of the queen's chaplains, &c., and therefore he desired her to hear and believe him in that he should say, &c. Then Dr. West exhorted her to receive their sacrament, and to be annealed, for he said, she was strong enough for it, &c. Unto whom she answered, that she was able and strong enough to receive it indeed; but she would not, for that it was abominable, &c. Then said West, "Ye be in an ill mind; do ye think to die a Christian woman?" "Yea," said she, "that I do." "I pray you," said West, "how came you first into that opinion?" "Marry," said she, "there is he that first taught it me," meaning Dr. Mallet, "at the marriage of my brother and his sister, where I heard him earnestly preach this doctrine, which I now do hold. And if God shall lay our sins to our charge, if we repent not, much more damnable is his offence, being once a public preacher of the same, and now to turn from it."

Then Mallet told her he was then deceived by little new-fangled two-penny books, "as you be now," said he; "but now I am otherwise persuaded, as I would have you, and to receive the sacrament, which if you would, you should, I warrant you, be saved, my soul for yours." At whose words she earnestly desired them to be content: "for," saith she, "ye be come to rob and to draw me from my Christ, which, I tell you truth, you shall not do: for I will never consent to you while I live." When West heard her say so, he drew his stool nigher to hear her speak, and being drunken, he fell down, whereby Mallet was fain to help him up again; and so immediately after they departed thence. And the thirteenth day of April next after that, she died constantly in the Lord, and yielded her soul and life into his holy hands, with these words: "O Lord, into thy hands receive my soul!" and so immediately gave up her life unto the Lord, to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

While she was beyond sea, as it is said before, Master Crockhay her husband, by the procurement of Dr. Mallet, was cited to come before Master Hussey the commissary, who (had it not been for that he made means unto the said Hussey before) would have sent him to prison, and bound him in recognisance to seek her out. But he more easily escaped their hands by friendship, as before I have said.

Now, when Dr. Mallet heard of her death, Master Crockhay, and one Robert Hemmings, bailiff of St. Katharine's, being before him for the burying of her, he said plainly, she should be buried nigh to some highway, and a mark set up, in token that a heretic was buried there. Then the said Hemmings told him, the hogs would scrape her up, which were not decent, nor best; and Master Crockhay entreated she might be buried in his garden; which at length he granted, and willed the said Hemmings to see it done, and that he should be sure he buried her there indeed.

After, when the corpse was brought to the said garden, the said Robert Hemmings the bailiff would needs see it opened: which when the cover was taken off, the wife of the said Hemmings put her hand within the sheet, and felt the hair of the said dead corpse, saying, "Now will I justify that she is here;" and so she did, telling Mallet that those her hands did feel her. 'This is the effect of this story.

Now, since the coming in of Queen Elizabeth, the said Dr. Mallet came to the said Master Crockhay, and asked him forgiveness, alleging this verse of the poet:

"Amantium iræ amoris integratio est."

The Lord give him repentance and grace to seek perfect friendship with him, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

A note of William Wood.

"According as I have sent unto you the true record of my examination before the doctors above mentioned, so I thought it not inconvenient to send you likewise certain notes of my other two deliverances in Queen Mary's time; and this I do not (as God knoweth) to get any praise to myself, or to reproach any other, but that God may be glorified in his works, and that our brethren may know, that though there be many times but little help on earth, yet that there is more in heaven.

"About a month after my examination, one Apleby and his wife (that were persecuted from Maidstone in Kent) came to my house in Stroud, and desired me that he might have a place in my house for him and his wife for a time, because persecution was so hot, that he could no longer stay there; and I, at his instance, let him have a place with me. But, within a fortnight after, the papists espied him, and complained of him to the bishop of Rochester; and the bishop sent his chief man, called Ralph Crowch, and he carried him to Rochester, before the bishop. And the said Apleby stood in the defence of the truth boldly, and the bishop sent

both him and his wife to the jail of Maidstone, and there they were burnt for the testimony of the gospel of God.

"And the Friday fortnight after, I was in the market at Rochester talking with another man, and the said Ralph Crowch was sent for me; and he coming within a stone's cast of me where I was talking with my neighbour George Smally, one William Stanley a papist, dwelling also in Stroud, met with the said Crowch, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, because many times in their talk they looked on me; and then the said Ralph Crowch went over the street to another officer or constable which knew not me, and sent the said constable for me, and coming for me, knowing my neighbour George Smally, took him instead of me, and carried him to the bishop. And when he came before him, the bishop said to the officers, 'This is not the knave; this is not the knave.' And the bishop checked the mayor and his officers, and said that they mocked him, because he carried the other man for me: such was the mighty providence of God to defend me. And the mayor the same night sent forty bills, and men with other weapons to beset my house, to take me; but the Lord kept me from them, and delivered me out of their hands; to him be glory therefore, Amen.

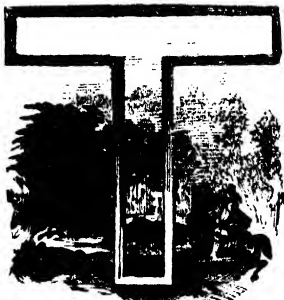
"The third time that the Lord delivered me, was on Easter day next after. I had been at London all the Lent; and on Easter even at night, I came home to Stroud to my wife; and a child of three years old told one of the neighbours, that her father was come home. And on Easter day, after their popish even-song was done, came Master Reade, Thomas Crowch, (brother to the abovesaid Ralph Crowch,) William Stanley, Thomas Bets, Lionel Newman, and Roger Braunch, with threescore people or thereabouts, and searched my house very straitly for me: but as God's providence was, there was malt a-drying upon the kiln; and they searched so narrowly for me, that I was glad to heave up a corner of the hair whereon the malt lay, and went into the kiln hole, and there stood till they were gone, and so I escaped from them. But within an hour after, there came a woman to my wife to borrow a brush, and spied me through the keyhole of the door; and there she carrying tidings abroad, immediately came a great company of men and beset my house round about; and I said to my wife, 'You see that these four men seek for my life, that is, Master Reade, Thomas Crowch, William Stanley, and Thomas Bets: for I do think that none of the rest will lay hands on me; and therefore I pray thee, wife, follow these four men, and talk loud to them

that I may hear, and so escape; and if they search on the back side, I may avoid on the street side. And be of good comfort, for our lives are in God's hand, and though there be little help here on earth, yet there is help enough from heaven. And when these men were searching on the back side, I went into the street, among (as I guess) a hundred people, and none of them laid hands on me, neither said they any thing to me; so I went out of the town, and lay there at an honest man's house at the parish of Cobham that night.

"And at the same time also two of my neighbours, honest men and of good wealth, the one called John Pemmet, a fisherman, the other named John Bailly a glover, because they came not to their popish church, to buy some of their idolatrous wares, were complained of to the justices, who did bind them to answer for their faith before the judges at the assizes which were holden at Midsummer after, (as I remember,) at Rochester in the Palace-yard; and there was at that time a sail-cloth of a ship tied to the top of the bishop's palace-wall, to keep away the sun from the judges, because it was hot, and the wind blew and shook the sail, so that when these two men were called to be examined, and when they should have answered, there fell from the top of the wall three or four great stones upon the judges' necks, so that some of them which sat on the bench were sore hurt and maimed, so that they arose suddenly all amazed, and departed, and the two men were delivered.—From Tuddenham in Suffolk, the twenty-fifth day of July, 1583.

"Per me Gulielmum Wood, Vicarium de Tuddenham."

The story of John Alcocke.



his John Alcocke, or Aucocke, of whom mention is made before, was a very faithful honest man, by his occupation a woad-setter, singularly well learned in the

Holy Scriptures, and in all his conversation a just and righteous man, that feared God, and studied to do indeed that thing that he had learned in the Scriptures. Now, after that Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, and the people on Sundays and other days came to the church, and had no man to teach them any thing: for as yet Parson Newel was not come to Hadley to dwell, nor had gotten any

curate—besides that, the laws made by King Edward were in force, and the Latin mumblings not received every where—John Alcocke therefore took the English book used by King Edward, exhorting the people to pray with him, and so read certain prayers in English before them. And moreover, he gave them godly lessons and exhortations out of chapters that he read unto them. For this the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) sent for him, and cast him into Newgate at London; where, after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where, with evil keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr of Christ's verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well-foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves. Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

He wrote two epistles to Hadley, which follow here.

The first epistle of John Alcocke.

"Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

"O my brethren of Hadley! why are you so soon turned from them which called you in the grace of Christ, unto another doctrine? which is nothing else but that there be some which trouble you, and intend to pervert the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, though these should come unto you that have been your true preachers, and preach another way of salvation, than by Jesus Christ's death and passion, hold them accursed. Yea, if it were an angel come from heaven, and would tell you that the sacrifice of Christ's body upon the cross once for all, for all the sins of all those which shall be saved, were not sufficient; accursed be he. If he were an angel, or whatsoever he were, that would say that our service in English were not God's right service, but will better allow the most wicked mumming that you now have; those, whatsoever they be, except they do repent and allow the gospel of Jesus Christ, they shall never come into that kingdom, that Christ hath prepared for those that be his. Wherefore, my dearly beloved brethren of Hadley, remember you well what you have been taught heretofore, of

the Lord God's true and simple prophets, that only did wish your health and consolation.

"Do not, my good brethren, I pray you, forget the comfortable word of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Come unto me, all you that are troubled and laden with the dangers that ye are in these stormy days, and hear my words, and believe them; and you shall see the unspeakable comfort that you shall receive. The Lord is my shepherd, saith the prophet David, so that I can want nothing. He feedeth his sheep in green pastures, and leadeth them unto clear and wholesome waters of comfort. I am that good Shepherd, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, for I give my life for my sheep; and I know my sheep, and my sheep know me. But my sheep will not know an hireling: for he careth not but only for his god the belly, and so seeketh the destruction of their souls. Therefore beware of hirelings, you that count yourselves the sheep of Jesus Christ. Be sure that ye know his voice and obey it; and be not deceived through strange voices, but go from them, and earnestly abide by your profession that you have made in your baptism, and shrink not from it: for if you do, you shall declare yourselves to be a vain people, and without understanding. And for this cause doth God plague his people, and suffereth them to be deceived with false prophets and wicked men. I pray you note what the prophet Isaiah saith to the people of those days, because they were slipping from the Lord their God, which had done so marvellous works for them, as you well do know in the histories of the Bible: Hear, O heaven, saith he, and hearken, thou earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, but they have done wickedly against me. The ox hath known his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel hath received no knowledge, my people hath no understanding. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity, a froward generation, unnatural children. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked his wrath, and are gone backward. Hearken also what the prophet Jeremiah saith: Be astonished, ye heavens; be afraid and ashamed at such a thing, saith the Lord, for my people hath done two evils: they have forsaken me, the well of the waters of life, and digged them broken pits, that can hold no water. Is Israel a bond-servant, or one of the household of the Lord? Why then is he so spoiled? Why then do they roar and cry upon him as a lion? Understand those things now, in these days that the prophet spake of them. O my brethren of Hadley! why cometh this plague upon us, that we have now, in these days and other times? Hearken what the prophet saith, Cometh not this upon thee

because thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God? Thine own wickedness shall reprove thee, and thy turning away shall condemn thee, that thou mayest know and understand how evil and hurtful a thing it is, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and not feared him, saith the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel; that is to say, he that maketh Israel holy. And understand by Israel the children of God; and those things that were spoken to the carnal Israel, are spoken unto us, that are or should be the spiritual Israel. Grace be with you all, Amen.

"Yours, JOHN ALCOCKE,
Prisoner for God's word in Newgate, at London."

The second epistle of John Alcocke.

"My brethren of Hadley, note well what St. Paul said, in the 10th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians: Brethren, I would you should not be ignorant of this, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were baptized under Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did eat one spiritual meat, and drank of one spiritual drink. They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ: nevertheless in many of them had God no delight, for they were over-smitten in the wilderness. These are examples unto us, that we should not lust after evil things as they lusted; that is to say, we should stand forth to defend the verity of God, which we would do right well, alas, were it not for loss of goods: we do so much lust after them, that we will rather say there is no God, than we will profess his word to be truth, to the losing of our goods. And our Saviour Christ saith, He that is not content to forsake father and mother, wife and children, house and land, corn and cattle, yea, and his own life, for my truth's sake, is not meet for me. And if we be not for our Lord God, then we must needs be meet for the devil; and we must needs be servants to one of them. If we be not ashamed of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but earnestly confess it to the uttermost of our power, then are we sure to be confessed of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that before the angels in heaven, to be his servants. But if we will so lust to keep our goods, and rather deny him than to lose our goods, then doth it follow whose servants we are. Therefore, my dear brethren of Hadley, beware that you do not consent to any thing against your conscience: for if you do, beware of God's great wrath.

"I exhort you therefore, my beloved brethren in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to stand fast in your profession, and become not manifest runaways

from the truth of our Lord God, but stick earnestly to it; and doubt not but our God will be unto you a strong defence and refuge in the needful time. Bow down thine ear, O Lord, (saith David, Psalm lxxvi.,) and hear me: for I am poor and in misery. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I will call daily upon thee: comfort the soul of thy servant; for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul. For thou, Lord, art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Give ear, Lord, unto my prayer, and ponder the voice of my humble petition. All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name: for thou art great, and dost wonderful things; thou art God alone. Teach me thy ways, O Lord, and I will walk in thy truth. O knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy name. I will thank thee, O my God, with all my heart, and will praise thy name for ever. O you Christian people of Hadley, comfort yourselves one another in these notable Psalms of David, and the whole Bible. Embrace the noble jewel of our Lord God, the Bible, and endeavour yourselves to walk the way that it doth teach you. My good brethren, we as helpers, saith St. Paul, do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For, behold, now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation. Let us beware that we take sure hold while we have time; for time will away. While ye have the light walk in it, lest when ye would desire it ye cannot have it. Understand the light, to be the knowledge of Christ; and to obey, that is, to have the light. For that cause came our Saviour Jesus Christ, to make himself known; Unto those that did receive him, he gave power to be the sons of God; and so to be made inheritors of his kingdom, which shall never end. Who would not be glad to become the king's son, that he thereby might be partaker of the kingdom that never shall have end? O vain man! what art thou, that wilt refuse everlasting life for a day or two, or an hour, thou canst not tell how short? Open thine eyes, and see thine own comfort and refuge to Christ. O fly, and refuse this worldly wisdom; for worldly wisdom doth shut out the wisdom of God. For the word of the cross is foolishness unto them that perish; but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God: for it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where are the wise? where are the scribes? where are the disputers of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For insomuch as the world, by the wisdom thereof, knew not God in his wisdom, it pleased God, through foolishness of preaching, to save them that

believe. For the Jews require tokens, and the Greeks ask after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, saith St. Paul, to the Jews an occasion of falling, and unto the Greeks, (a people that are wise in their own conceits,) to them is the preaching of Christ crucified foolishness. But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

“Brethren, look upon your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many of high degree are called. But that which is foolish before the world hath God chosen, that he might confound the wise; and that which is despised before the world hath he chosen, and that which is nothing, that he might destroy that which is aught, that no flesh should rejoice. Of the same are ye also in Christ Jesus, which is made of God unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctifying and redemption, according as it is written, He that rejoiceth, should rejoice in the Lord, &c.; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. We speak of this wisdom among them that are perfect—not the wisdom of this world, nor the rulers of this world, which go to nought—but we speak of the wisdom of God, which the carnal man doth not understand. The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God: it is foolishness with him. But God hath opened it to us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth out all things. Wherefore, my dear brethren, try yourselves well, whether you have the Spirit of Christ, or no. If you have the Spirit of Christ, then are ye dead concerning sin; but ye are alive unto God through Jesus Christ. If this Spirit dwell in you, then will ye increase and go forward in your profession, and not fear what flesh may do unto the carcass. Therefore stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not wrapped up again in the yoke of bondage; that is to say, to go from God by wicked life, or serve God another way than he hath commanded in his holy word. I trust you go forward, my dear brethren and sisters, in your promise that you made to your Lord God in your baptism. I pray God open unto you the knowledge of himself, and lighten the eyes of your understanding, that you may know what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance are upon the saints. For ye are the chosen generation, the kingly priesthood, that holy nation, that peculiar people, that should show the virtues of Him which hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light; that is to say, to fear God, and to work righteousness, and so to receive the end of your faith,

the salvation of your souls. This is a true saying: If we be dead with Christ, we shall live with him also. If we be patient, we shall also reign with him. If we deny him, he also will deny us. If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself. The very God of peace sanctify you throughout, and I pray God that your spirit, soul, and bodies be kept blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus. Faithful is he that hath called you, which will also do it. Brethren, pray for us, and greet all the brethren among you.

“By me, your brother in the Lord and Saviour Christ, John Alcocke, prisoner of the Lord at Newgate.

“Give glory to God.

“God be merciful to thee, O England, and send thee a great number of such faithful fathers and godly pastors, as Dr. Taylor was, to guide thee, feed thee, and comfort thee after thy great miseries and troubles, that thou hast suffered under the tyrannous captivity and rage of the Roman antichrist, and such ravening wolves, as have, without all mercy, murdered thy godly and learned preachers; and give all men grace to consider that such horrible plagues and mutations have justly fallen upon this realm for sin; and with unfeigned hearts to turn to God, who, as he hath scourged us with less plagues than we deserved, so he calleth us again by his undeserved and unspeakable mercy unto repentance and amendment of our living. It is doubtless now high time to turn unfeignedly to God, and to correct our sinful livings, and to remember what St. John Baptist saith: The axe is now set to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire. For this may all men assure themselves of, both rich and poor, high and low, old and young, that the almighty, jealous, and righteous God, will not suffer the sinful and wicked life of the ungodly unrepentant, that condemn his mercy now proffered unto them, to be unpunished; but, as he hath from the beginning of the world showed himself a righteous judge, and punisher of wickedness, even so will he do still now.

“God expelled our first parents, Adam and Eve, from Paradise, and laid upon them and upon us all, these miseries, sickness, calamities, and death, that we daily feel, and miserably are oppressed withal. God in Noah's days drowned the whole world; only eight persons were preserved. God burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed those cities and all the country about. God gave over Jerusalem, called the holy city of God, and delivered his own people the Jews into

perpetual captivity. If we seek the cause of these punishments, was it not sinful living and unrepentant hearts?

“What should I recite the calamity of other lands, seeing God's judgments have not been unexecuted upon this realm of England for sinful living? The old Britons were, with Cadwallader their king, constrained to flee and leave this land, because of pestilence and famine: what miseries and destructions brought the Danes in with them! and what troubles sustained the inhabitants of this realm afore the same were again driven out! What bloodshed was here in King William the Conqueror's days! were not the noblemen slain, and gentlemen brought into bondage? were not their matrons defiled, and their daughters given to be kitchen-drudges under the Normans' proud ladies? were not their lands, houses, and possessions divided by lot unto strangers? Their gold and silver wherein they trusted, was the bait that their enemies hunted after. What a plague was the civil war between the king and barons! what horrible bloodshed was in this realm! till at the last God's merciful providence ended those miseries by the happy joining of the two regal houses together, in the marriage of King Henry the Seventh. What miseries have chanced in our time, we have not only seen and heard, but we have felt them; and, God be praised, had our parts of them. Doubtless this all hath chanced for the sins of the people, as the prophet Jeremiah plainly teacheth, saying, Who is a wise man that understandeth this? and to whom shall the word of the Lord's mouth come, that he may preach it forth? Why hath the land perished, and is burnt like a wilderness, so that no man may pass through it? And the Lord saith, Because they have forsaken my law, which I have given them, and they have not heard my voice, and have not walked in them; and have gone after the vanity of their own hearts, after Baalim, and the images of Baal, which they have learned of their fathers. We see here plainly the contempt of God's word, and of the preachers of the same, walking after their covetous minds and lewdness of their hearts, and following of their idolatrous inventions, brought the wrath of God upon the people, as witnessed also Jesus Sirach, saying, Because of unrighteous dealing, wrong, blasphemies, and divers deceits, a realm shall be translated from one people to another. And a little after he saith, The Lord hath brought the congregation of the wicked to dishonour, and destroyed them unto the end. God hath destroyed the seats of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead. God hath withered the root of proud nations, and planted the lowly among them. God hath over-

thrown the lands of the heathen, and destroyed them unto the ground. He hath caused them to wither away: he hath brought them to nought, and made the memorial of them to cease from the earth. But what availeth it to read such threats of God, if we believe them not; or, if we believe them to be God's threats, and despise them? Doubtless, the Lord is righteous, a jealous God, a punisher of sin, as he himself saith: I punish the sins of the fathers upon their children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. God give us grace to remember this, and with speedy and unfeigned repentance to turn unto God. I say unfeigned repentance, and not, alas! as we have done in times past, like hypocrites to dissemble with God and man, making God's holy word nothing else but a cloak to cover our malice, covetousness, whoredom, pride, excess, gluttony, wrath, envy, hatred, murder, with all other wicked living, most detestable in the sight of God. If men will well consider themselves, they have long enough dissembled, and heaped the wrath of God heavy enough upon their heads. It is now high time to become a new people, to amend indeed, and to follow the counsel of the Holy Ghost, saying unto us by the prophet Jeremy, Why do mortal men murmur against God? let them murmur against their own sins. Let us search our own ways, and let us seek and return unto the Lord. Let us lift up our hearts and hands unto the Lord in heaven, for we have done wickedly, and provoked the Lord to wrath: and therefore wilt thou not be entreated. Doubtless, the Lord will not be entreated, except men very earnestly turn unto him. We have felt in ourselves, and seen before our eyes, that when God striketh, no man can be able to abide the heavy stroke of his fist. He hath hitherto corrected us with mercy, as a Father; let us thank him, and return unfeignedly; so will he not extend his wrath as a Judge. His will is, that we should return and live, and not perish with the wicked. I live, saith the Lord, and will not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live. Here the godly oath certifieth us of forgiveness; and requireth an unfeigned conversion unto God, that is, that men acknowledge in heart their wicked living, and be sorry that ever they have with wicked living offended against that so good and loving a Father; and trust to have forgiveness through Christ's blood, and fully and firmly set their hearts to serve God, and to walk the ways of his commandments all the days of their life. Then shall we be true Christians, built upon the corner-stone Christ, not wavering or changing at every puff of wind, not seeking an epicurish life in all voluptuous and vain vanity: not ravening, extortioning, or with usury

oppressing the poor and needy; but stedfast, unmovable, living in the fear of God's judgments, and trust upon his mercy, mortifying our brutish and carnal lusts, being merciful and helpful to the poor and needy, waiting for the blessed time when Christ shall call us, to be ready and accepted before him. Our merciful Lord and good Father grant us grace so to do, for the love of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our certain and most dear Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour for ever and ever, Amen.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.

"These are they which are come out of great troubles; and have washed their clothes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

Certain cautions of the author to the reader, of things to be considered in reading this story.

Amongst other escapes and oversights in the edition of this story committed, part of them we leave to thine own gentle castigation, gentle reader: certain other specialties there be, whereof we thought it good and expedient to give thee warning, as hereafter followeth.

First, when mention is made of Peter's being at Rome, and suffering at Rome, following certain authors; yet forasmuch as other writers there be, and reasons to prove that he was not at Rome, I desire therefore that this my affirmation may not prejudice other men's judgments, if any see or can say further in that matter.

Touching the story of the Turks, whereas I, in following our Christian authors writing of the Turks, have noted Solyman to be the twelfth Turk after Ottoman, as they do all record; I have found since, by the computation of the Turks set forth in the table of their own descent, the said Solyman to be the sixth emperor of the Turks; and this Solyman his son, which now reigneth, to be but the twelfth. Which I thought here to signify unto thee, because of their own Turkish prophecy noted before, lest, in construing of that prophecy, being in the same place expounded, thou be deceived.

Item, Where Master George Blage is named to be one of the privy-chamber; here is to be noted also, that although he were not admitted as one of the privy chamber, yet his ordinary resort thither, and to the king's presence there, was such, as, although he were not one of them, yet was he so commonly taken.

Item, In the story of the duke of Somerset, where it is said, that at the return of the earl of Warwick out of Norfolk, there was a consultation amongst the lords assembling themselves together in the

house of Master York, &c., against the duke of Somerset; here is to be noted, that the coming of the lords to the said house of Master York, was not immediately upon the duke of Northumberland's return; but first he went to Warwick, and from thence, after a space, came to the house aforesaid.

Item, Here is also to be noted touching the said duke of Somerset, that albeit at his death relation is made of a sudden falling of the people, as was at the taking of Christ, this is not to be expounded, as though I compared in any part the duke of Somerset with Christ.

And though I do something more attribute to the commendation of the said duke of Somerset, which died so constantly in his religion, yet I desire thee, gentle reader, so to take it, not that I did ever mean to derogate or impair the martial praise or facts of other men, which also are to be commended in such things where they well deserved.

Item, Touching the same duke of Somerset, where the story saith, he was "attainted," read "indicted."

Item, Where mention is made of one Nicholas Underwood to be the betrayer of the duke of Suffolk; join with the said Underwood also Nicholas Laurence, alias Nicholas Ethel, keeper of Astley-park; who, taking upon him and promising to keep the duke for two or three days, until he might find some means to escape, conveyed him into a hollow tree, and after most traitorously betrayed him.

Item, In the story of Sir Thomas Wyatt there is also to be corrected, that whereas the story saith, that he was taken by Sir Clement Parson, which was not so, and he no such knight, amend it thus: "that he first came to Clarencius, being sent unto him, and afterward yielded him to Sir Maurice Barkley." Briefly and in general, besides these castigations above noted, if thou find any other committed in the printing hereof, gently I desire thee, gentle reader, to bestow a little pains with thine own hand to amend them.

*Notes omitted of them that were burnt at
Bristol.*

The eighth day of August was brought William Sarton, weaver, of Bristol, before one Dalby, chancellor of Bristol aforesaid; and by him committed to prison, and also condemned, for holding that the sacrament was a sign of a holy thing: also he denied, that the flesh and blood of Christ is there after their words of consecration. He was burnt the eighteenth of September, anno 1556, and as he went to the fire, he sung psalms. The sheriff, John Griffith, had prepared green wood to burn him; but one Master John Pikes, pitying the man, caused

divers to go with him to Ridland, half a mile off, who brought good store of helme-sheaves, which indeed made good despatch with little pain, in comparison to that he should have suffered with the green wood. In the mean space, whilst they went for the sheaves, the said Sarton made many good exhortations to the people, and after died constantly and patiently with great joyfulness.

A note of Prest's wife of Exeter.

In Cornwall, not far from Launceston, within the diocese of Exeter, in Queen Mary's days, dwelt a poor man, whose name was Prest; his wife being an honest woman, very simple, but of good zeal and upright life, being taught by God in hearing of his word, (albeit it was in those days very seldom preached any where,) and feeling a sweet taste thereof, framed her life anew after the rule of the same; and banished quite from her all the popish dregs of superstition and hypocrisy, and gave herself wholly to prayer, and invocating the name of God, both for the afflicted church of Christ, in those days very dangerously tossed and turmoiled; as also for her own inward contentation and spiritual consolation, which she not a little felt to her unspeakable joy and incomparable comfort. And when some, who before had known her, saw that marvellous change in her, and (as the cruel serpent) envied her felicity, they went upon the same immediately, and accused her to certain justices of the shire, being extreme enemies to the truth, and very persecutors of the same; who, taking the matter in hand, as very glad of such occasion, sent for her to the place where she was, and began at the second, if not at the first dash, to demand her belief in their popish sacrament of the altar.

The good poor woman, who had learned not to be ashamed to confess her Master Christ before men, and to render account of her faith when it was asked, told freely and frankly her opinion therein. and hid back nothing that either she thought might profit them, if they had any grace to receive it, or else might sound to God's glory and praise, though it were never so much by them threatened and rebuked. Whereupon she was forthwith committed to the gaol of Launceston, where she remained a quarter of a year, or thereabouts; and afterwards was despatched of that vile and filthy prison, and delivered over to the hands of two champions of the pope's, the one called Dr. Raynolds, dean of Exeter, and the other named Master Blaxton, treasurer of the same church; men surely fervent hot in the furtherance of the Romish affairs, and in withstanding the truth of the pure evangelical gospel. So the time that this good poor woman was under their hands,

she had many sore conflicts by them. And the said Blaxton having a concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his gossips, always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house; and there, to make his minion with the rest of his company some mirth, he would examine her with such mocking manner, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any Christian soul to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this Christian martyr, in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving sometimes he would send for her, when his foresaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, the vile wretches, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions,) wherein they played the part of a cat with a mouse, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power, who within short space after most cruelly brought her forth to the place where she should suffer; and there, in great contempt of the truth, (which she most constantly confessed,) they consumed her carcass immediately with fire into ashes; which she very patiently suffered and most joyfully received, yielding her soul and life unto the Lord, and her body to the tormentors; for the which the Lord's name therefore be praised, Amen.

The martyrdom of one Snel, burnt about Richmond in Queen Mary's time, omitted in this history.

At Bedale, a market town in Yorkshire, were two men in the latter days of Queen Mary, the one named John Snel and the other Richard Snel; who, being suspected for religion, were sent unto Richmond, where Dr. Dakins had commission from the bishop of Chester, to have the examination of them.

This Dr. Dakins many times conferred with them, sometimes threatening fire and faggot if they would not recant, and sometimes flattering them with fair fables if they would return into the holy catholic church. But they stood constantly to the sure rock Jesus Christ, in whom they put their whole trust and confidence, whilst at last, being so sore imprisoned that their toes rotted off, and the one of them could not go without crutches, they brought them to the church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abominable mass, having a certain sum of money given him by the benevolence of the people, and so departed thence: but the first news that was heard of him within three or four days, was, that he had drowned himself in a river running by Richmond, called Swaile.

Immediately after, Dr. Dakins giving sentence

that the other should be burnt, came home to his house and never joyed after, but died. The commissary of Richmond, named Hillings, preached at his burning, exhorting him to return to the church; but his labour was in vain, the constant martyr standing strongly to the faith which he professed.

Then, being brought to the stake, whereunto he was tied by a girdle of iron, there was given unto him gunpowder, and a little straw was laid under his feet and set round about with small wood and tar-barrels; the fire was put in the straw, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together, "Christ help me:" insomuch that one Robert Atkinson, being present, said, "Hold fast there, and we will all pray for thee!" Thus this blessed martyr ended his life.

A story of one Laremouth, omitted in this history.

Albeit I am loth to insert any thing in this book which may seem incredible or strange to ordinary working for quarrelling adversaries, which do nothing but spy what they may cavil: yet, forasmuch as, besides other reporters, the person is yet alive, called Thorne, a godly minister, which heard it of the mouth of the party himself, I thought therefore, first, for the incredible strangeness thereof, neither to place this story in the body of these Acts and Monuments, and yet in some out-corner of the book not utterly to pass it untouched, for the reader to consider it, and to credit it as he seeth cause. The story is this: There was one Laremouth, otherwise called Williamson, chaplain to the Lady Anne of Cleve, a Scottishman, to whom, being in prison in Queen Mary's days, it was said, (as he thought,) thus sounding in his ears, "Arise and go thy ways." Whereunto when he gave no great heed at the first, the second time it was said to him again, in the same words. Upon this, as he fell to his prayers, it was said the third time likewise to him, "Arise and go thy ways;" which was about half an hour after. So he arising upon the same, immediately a piece of the prison wall fell down, and as the officers came in at the outward gate of the castle or prison, he, leaping over the ditch, escaped, and in the way, meeting a certain beggar, changed his coat with him, and coming to the sea-shore, where he found a vessel ready to go over, was taken in, and escaped the search, which was straitly laid for him in all the country over.

A little short letter of William Hunter, sent out of prison to his mother a little before his martyrdom, to be referred and placed in his story.

“Most reverend and loving mother, after my most humble wise I have me most heartily commended unto you, desiring you to pray unto God most heartily for me, that I may have his blessing and yours, the which I esteem more worth unto me than any worldly treasure. In this present letter you shall understand the cause of my writing unto you at this time, that I am in good health and prosperity, as ever I was in this present life. Wherefore I render thanks unto Almighty God for it, who alone is most worthy of all praise, trusting in God you be in health also. Furthermore, I certify you wherefore my father continueth here, to the intent to hear some godly and joyful tidings both for soul and body, which I trust it shall be to your singular comfort and consolation, and to the great rejoicing of all other of my friends. Therefore I desire you, gentle mother, to admonish my brother unto a godly life with diligent attendance, and to pray for me, considering his bounden duty, that God may, by your faithful prayer, aid and strengthen me in this my prosperous journey and course which I run, trusting to obtain a crown of everlasting life, which doth ever endure.—No more unto you at this time, but God preserve you unto everlasting life. So be it.”

The oration in effect of Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight, lord keeper of the great seal of England, spoken in the Star Chamber the twentieth of December, in the tenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. And in the year of our Lord God 1567: then being present as under:—

Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury.

William, marquis of Northampton.

Francis, earl of Bedford.

Lord Clinton, admiral of England.

William Howard, lord chamberlain.

The bishop of London.

Lord Grey of Wilton.

Sir Edward Rogers, knight.

Sir Ambrose Cave, knight, chancellor of the duchy.

Sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary.

Sir Francis Knollis, knight, vice-chamberlain.

Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Cattelene, chief justice of the King's Bench.

Lord Dyer, chief justice of the Common Pleas.

Sir William Cordell, knight, master of the Rolls.

Justice Western, Justice Welsh, Justice Southcote, Justice Carrus.

“It is given to the queen's Majesty to understand, that certain of her subjects, by their evil dispositions, do sow and spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation and dishonour, first of Almighty God, in the state of religion stablished by the laws of this realm, and also to the dishonour of her Highness, in disproving her lawful right of supremacy amongst her subjects. And this that they do, is not done as in secrecy or by stealth, but openly avouched, and in all companies disputed on. And thus, by their bold attempts, they seem not to obey or regard the authority of laws, nor the quiet of her subjects. As for example, by bringing in and spreading abroad divers lewd libels and seditious books from beyond the seas; and in such boldness, that they do commend those writers in their seditious books, containing manifest matter against the estate established. Which boldness of men, so universally and every where seen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the least way winked at by them whom the queen's Highness hath placed in authority to repress these insolencies. And the queen's Highness cannot more justly charge any for this disorder, than such who be in commissions chosen to repress these disorders.

“If it be answered me, that they cannot see such open boldness and factious disorders, I must say that they have no eyes to see; and if they hear not of such contemptuous talk and speech, I may say that they have no ears. I would have those men judge what will come of these unbridled speeches in the end, if reformations be not had thereof. What cometh of factions and seditions, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beseech God long to defend us from. If such disorders be not redressed by law, then must force and violence reform: which when they take place, may fortune to fall as soon on them that seem to have least consideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then ye know that law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should only maintain good order. If it be replied against me, that to the suppressing of these open talks there is no law, which by special letter can charge any man offender; I must say, that whatsoever the letter of the law be, the meaning of the law was and is clean contrary to the liberty of these doings. If it be said, that no man can be charged by the law, except it can be proved against him, that

his speech and deeds be done maliciously; what ye call malice, I cannot tell. But, if the bringing in of these seditious books make men's minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh seditions, seditions bring in tumults, tumults work insurrections and rebellion, insurrections make depopulations and desolations, and bring in utter ruin and destruction of men's bodies, goods, and lands: and if any sow the root whereof these men come, and yet it can be said that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroy both public and private wealth, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciously.

"And further, if it be said to me, that the man which should be charged with offence, must be proved to have done his act advisedly: to that I answer, If any bring in those books, distribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done advisedly, I have no skill of their advisedness. If it be said, that the law entreateth of such acts as be directly derogatory, and of none other; what is direct overthwarting the law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the truth by arguments condemned? It may be said again, that the world doth not now like extremity in laws penal, and calleth them bloody laws. As for extreme and bloody laws, I have never liked of them; but where the execution of such laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the non-execution may bring in danger half a hundred, I think this law nor the execution thereof may justly be called extreme and bloody. In such-like comparison I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if, by whipping, a man may escape hanging, in this respect, *not*-whipping bringeth in this bloodiness and extremity, and not the execution of the law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped, than once hanged: the pains do differ, but wise men will soon consider the diversity. The truth is, to suffer disobedient subjects to take boldness against the laws of God and their prince, to wink at the obstinate minds of such as be unbridled in their affections; to maintain a foreign power of the bishop of Rome, directly against the prince's prerogative established by laws, is not this to hatch dissension, and to cherish sedition? To extol the writings of such, who, by all their wits, devise to supplant the prince's lawful authority? If these doings be not means to the disturbance and utter ruin of this realm, I know not what is good governance. If these be not the sparks of rebellion, what be they?

"Thus much having spoken to your Wisdoms, I doubt not of your assenting with me; the rather

also because I utter them unto you as from the queen's Majesty by commandment, who doth require of us all a more diligence in execution of laws, than is spied commonly abroad: whereby we shall do our duties to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our sovereign, regard the majesty of the laws, love the quiet of our country, and procure the safety of ourselves.

"God save the queen."

And here, I trust, we are now come to an end of all our English martyrs which hitherto have been burnt for the verity of the gospel, if we add besides to the same a godly countryman of ours, one named Richard Atkins, a Hertfordshire man, who of late, about two years past, in the reign of this our gracious queen, anno 1581, most miserably was tormented at Babylon, that is, in the city of Rome. The cause and manner of whose suffering and martyrdom here ensue, taken out of a certain late printed story, and testified by such as were present, witnesses and beholders of the same most tragical execution. The purport of which story in words, as it is put down by the said reporter, hereunder followeth.

"About the month of July, anno 1581, one Richard Atkins, born in Hertfordshire, an Englishman, came to Rome, and having found the English college, knocked at the door; to whom divers of the students there came out, to welcome him, understanding that he was an Englishman. Among other talk had with him they willed him to go to the hospital, and there to receive his meat and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he answered, 'I come not, my countrymen, to any such intent, as you judge; but I come lovingly to rebuke the great disorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold. I come likewise to let your proud antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, and poisoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies; making them do homage to stocks and stones, and that filthy sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish idol.' When they heard these words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, and student in the college, caused him to be put in the Inquisition; where, how they examined him, and how he answered them, I know not, but after certain days he was set at liberty again. And one day, going in the street, he met a priest carrying the sacrament, which offending his conscience, to see the people so crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down; but missing of his purpose, and it being judged by the people, that he did catch at the holiness that (they say) cometh from the sacrament, upon mere devotion, he

was let pass, and nothing said to him. A few days after he came to St. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing mass, and the priest at the elevation; he using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the priest's hands; for which divers rose up and beat him with their fists, and one drew his rapier, and would have slain him: so that, in brief, he was carried to prison, where he was examined wherefore he had committed such a heinous offence: whereunto he answered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickedness, and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which sentence, he said, he was right willing to suffer, and the rather because the sum of his offence pertained to the glory of God.

"During the time he remained in prison, sundry Englishmen came unto him, willing him to be sorry for that he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the means they used were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of Scripture, and willed them to be sorry for their wickedness, while God did permit them time; else they were in danger of everlasting damnation. These words made the Englishmen depart; for they could not abide to hear them.

"Within a while after, he was set upon an ass without any saddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having some English priests with him to talk with him; but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in so good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them, for Christ's sake, to have regard to the saving of their souls. All the way as he went, there were four that did nothing else but thrust at his body with burning torches, whereat he never moved, nor shrunk one jot, but with a cheerful countenance laboured to persuade the people, often bending his body to meet the torches, as they were thrust at him; and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning still upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almost the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peter's, where the place of execution was.

"When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his legs first, which they did, he not dismayed any whit, but suffering all marvelously cheerfully; which moved the people to such a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a cross, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he died a Christian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evil

men, to trouble him with such paltry, when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal rest. They seeing him in this mind, departed, saying, 'Let us go and leave him to the devil, whom he serves.' Thus ended this faithful soldier and martyr of Christ, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Master: whereunto God grant us all to come, Amen."

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time and a good while after in Rome, in service with Master Doctor Morton; who seeing the martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of Master Smith his son, Master Creed, and the said John Young, spake as followeth:

"Surely this fellow was marvellous obstinate, he nothing regarded the good counsel which was used to him, nor shrank all the way when the torches were thrust at his naked body. Beside, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burnt him by degrees, as his legs first, to put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtless, but that the word of God cannot but be true, else we might judge this fellow to be of God; for who could have suffered so much pain as he did? but truly I believe the devil was in him."

The cursed life, and bloody end, of Dr. Story, a cruel persecutor of Christ in his members.

I had thought, Christian reader, here to have made an end, and to have concluded the volume of this book, had not the remembrance of Dr. Story, an arch-enemy to Christ's gospel, and bloody persecutor of God's people, come into my mind. The discourse of whose life and doings, I thought good here briefly to lay open to the view of the world, as followeth. This Dr. Story, being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancy not only nursed in papistry, but also even as it were by nature earnestly affected to the same, and growing somewhat to riper years, in the days of Queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel persecutor of Christ in his members; as all the stories in this book almost do declare. Thus he raging all the reign of the foresaid Queen Mary against the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and the true professors thereof, never ceased till he had consumed to ashes two or three hundred blessed martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the testimony of his truth. And thinking their punishment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new torments for the holy martyrs of Christ, such was his hatred to the truth of Christ's gospel. But, in the end, the Lord God, looking upon the affliction and cruel

bloodshedding of his servants, took away Queen Mary, the great pillar of papistry. After whom succeeded Lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, who staying the bloody sword of persecution from raging any further, caused the same Dr. Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his complices, sworn enemies to Christ's glorious gospel. The said Story, having been a while detained in prison, at the last, by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conveyed himself over the seas, where he continued a most bloody persecutor, still raging against God's saints with fire and sword. Insomuch as he, growing to be familiar and right dear to the duke of Alva in Antwerp, received special commission from him to search the ships for goods forfeited, and for English books, and such like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a space, by the which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman to trouble and extreme peril of life through his blood-thirsty cruelty: but at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to pass in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the bruit thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not only intended the subversion and overthrow of his native country of England, by bringing in foreign hostility, if by any means he might compass it, but also daily and hourly murdered God's people, there was this platform laid, (by God's providence no doubt,) that one Master Parker, a merchant, should sail unto Antwerp, and by some means convey Story into England.

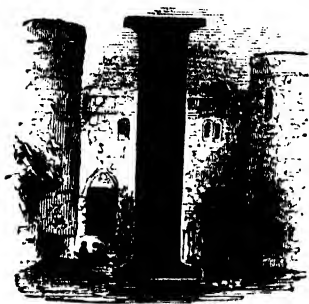
This Parker arriving at Antwerp, suborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him that there was an English ship, fraught with merchandise, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he should find store of English books, and other things for his purpose. Story, hearing this, and suspecting nothing, made haste towards the ship, thinking to make the same his prey; and coming aboard, searched for English heretical books (as he called them); and going down under the hatches, because he would be sure to have their blood if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoisted up their sails, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away into England; where they arriving, presented this bloody butcher, and traitorous rebel Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He, being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was laboured and solicited

daily by wise and learned fathers, to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform himself to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was sworn subject to the king of Spain, and was no subject to the Queen of England, nor she his sovereign queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned as a traitor to God, the queen's Majesty, and the realm, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tyburn, where he, being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and stripped; and (which is not to be forgotten) when the executioner had performed his last office, he, rushing up upon a sudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by. And thus ended this bloody Nimrod his wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

Queen Mary's scourge of persecution.

Considering the great and terrible scourge of persecution in the time of Queen Mary, and recounting the number of them that, under some part or other of the cross, were at that time afflicted and molested, I suppose from the highest to the lowest under the queen herself, no condition, state, degree, age, or calling of person or persons, can be reckoned, which at the same time escaped free and untouched without some print of the Lord's cross upon them. In the number and catalogue of whom, first, to begin with the most noble and renowned, the only sister of the queen herself, also the only and next heir then, now just possessor of the crown of England, Queen Elizabeth, (whose shoulders sustained then no small portion of that cross of Christ,) and so, from her Majesty, descending to all and singular states inferior; what vocation or condition here was excepted! whether he or they were archbishop, duchess, bishops, archdeacons, deans, priests, ministers, deacons, gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, artificers, soldiers, rich, poor men, women, wife, widow, virgin, old men, young men, boys, infants, blind, halt, and lame—and what state else can be reckoned of men, which, from some touch of this scourge, was exempted—and so, what condition, I say, of men escaped the papists' hands, in the time of Queen Mary, without affliction and danger, insomuch that, coming to the lowest of all other, one poor hermit (being but one then, as I think, in all the realm) could not pass their hands without open penance and other molestations, as, in the story here following, to the reader may appear.

The examination and trouble of Thomas Parkinson, a silly poor hermit, driven to open penance by the papists.



IN the last year of Queen Mary, anno 1558, Thomas Parkinson, of the diocess of Coventry and Lichfield, being of the sect of Anchorite, was produced before Dr. Draycot, upon the suspicion to have a wife: he was examined as followeth. Being asked what age he is now of, he saith, that he shall be, at Whitsuntide next, seventy years old, and was born and christened in a town called Bedale in Yorkshire; and was son to one Thomas Parkinson, bailiff of Thirsk in the same county of York; and when he was twelve years old, he was set to the tailor's craft, to one Thomas Dent, of Thirsk, and served him for seven or eight years, as his apprentice: and, after that, before he was twenty years old, he took to wife one Agnes, the daughter of Hugh Hallywell, dwelling in the franchise of Ripon, being a maid of twenty-four years; and was married to her in Thirsk, by one Sir William Day, then curate there; and, within two years after their marriage together, his wife was delivered of a man-child, which, although while it was in her body, did stir and live, (as she and other perceived,) yet, after the birth, it was dead, so as it could not be christened; insomuch as the midwife, and other women with her, buried the said child, as they said, in the fields—where, he (this examinee) cannot tell. And, within three weeks after, it chanced that a raven had gotten up the said child out of the ground, and torn the clothes from about the same child, and had begun to break into the said child, to feed upon it; and had brought it into a tree, near unto the churchyard of Thirsk, upon a Saturday, a little before even-song time. And, as the people and the priest before named saw the same child, they made means to drive away the raven, and to get the child from him; so that they, reasoning among themselves whose child it should be, did judge that it was this examinee's child that was dead-born, and buried in the fields. "And the said William Day came home to this examinee and asked him for his child, and he showed him that the women had buried it in the fields, which the priest also examined of the women, and found it to be true; and then he showed this examinee of the bringing of the child by the raven.

Whereupon this examinee and his wife were therewithal stricken with repentance to God-ward, and each of them vowed themselves from thenceforth to live chaste and solitary, insomuch as, this examinee, when he was but twenty-two or twenty-three years old, professed the order of Saint Francis at Richmond, five miles from Madlam, and was a hermit or penitentiary at Thirsk, and kept the chapel of Saint Giles at the end of the town of Thirsk. And his wife also was sister of Saint Francis's order, and had a bead-woman's room at Northallerton, by the help of Sir James Strangeways, knight; and after he had kept the order of Saint Francis two or three years, he determined to live a more hard and strait life, and to be an Anchorite, and to seclude himself from the company of the world. And, thereupon, he was first closed up in a little house in the church-porch at Thirsk, where he lived, by the help of good people, two years, before he was professed; and when it was perceived that he liked that kind of life and could endure the same, there was a chapel and a place provided for him in the Mount of Grace, above the Charter-house, by Queen Katharine, and he was professed in that house by one Dr. Makerel, then suffragan to Cardinal Wolsey, and the suffragan had of this examinee's friends, for his profession, five pounds; and there this examinee remained twelve years and more in that house, and his wife would sometimes take one of his sisters, and come over and see how this examinee did; but she died six or seven years before this examinee came out of his house, and, after this, came Doctor Lee, and he pulled this examinee out of his house, and the monks also out of the charter-house, so as this examinee was driven to go abroad to get his living of good people; and when he could get any work to get a penny, to take it: howbeit he kept his habit still. Then he went to London, and there was amongst his friends, that had seen him at Mount Grace, and thence he went to Lincolnshire, thinking to have the Anchorite's house at Stamford, but it would not be as then. He was counselled by Sir John Harrington, then sheriff, to change his habit from grey, which he then wore, to black; and so he wandered from place to place in a black habit like a priest. And at length, about nine years past, he came into Shropshire, to Bridgenorth, and there, by chance, fell in acquaintance with one Elizabeth, which was wife to one William Romney, a tinker, that died there. And, forasmuch as he had in these days both punishment and trouble, for declaring himself a professed man to the order of an Anchorite, and was plainly showed that it was against God's commandment that any man should make any such vow, he therefore, in that point, be-

ing partly persuaded, and crediting the same, was the rather moved to desire the said Elizabeth Romney to be his wife; and she thereunto agreeing, they were married together about six years past in the chapel, within the castle of Bridgenorth, by one Sir William Malpas, that is now dead. And so they dwelled together in the lower town of Bridgenorth, this examine using the tailor's craft, and going abroad into the country to get his living and his wife's, and came not home some time, for a month together. Being asked what moved him to marry, he said that he was foul troubled with vermin, and had no help of washing and tending, as was requisite, nor had any house to be in; and so made his moan to this woman; and then she being troubled, as she said, with certain unruly children of hers, and could not be quiet for them, was content to go with this examine, and to be his wife. Being asked if he knew her not carnally, as men do their wives, he utterly denieth the same: and sayeth that it was not meant of any of them. Being asked how he chanced to come to this town, he saith that he was moved in conscience to the observance of his former profession, now, since the queen's reign; and the hiring of this house here at Stow, where an Anchorite had been before, made means to my Lady Gifford of his intent, not declaring any thing that he was married; and the said Lady Gifford wrote to Sir T. Fitzherbert, to move the lord bishop in his favour, and so the said Sir Thomas did, and gat my Lord's favour in that behalf. Being asked, if my Lord did, of new, profess him into the religion, he saith, nay; but did put him into the house, and restored him to his former religion and profession. Being asked where his wife was, when he came hither to be closed up, he said, she was at Bridgenorth, and knew nothing of his mind that he purposed to return to his religion; howbeit he showed her that he would go to Lichfield; and then about Whitsuntide last she came hither to hearken for this examine. And he said, that it was communed between him and her, that she should go to Worcester and be an Anchoress there, but that she fell sick and was not able to go. Again, being asked when she was last with him, he said that she was with him upon Palm Sunday last, and had nothing to do or say to him, but asked him how he did. They asked moreover what moved her to come to town that day: to whom he said, that she came for her clothes that were in the town there. Furthermore, they asked him whether he showed Sir Thomas Fitzherbert that he was married. He said, nay, but he showed him that he had a sister, who was a poor woman, and was desirous that she should attend him; which was the said Elizabeth that he

married at Bridgenorth." For this cause the papists, suspecting the poor hermit to have a wife, (as he had indeed,) therefore, after other molestations, enjoined him penance:—to go before the cross barefoot, and bare-legged, in the cathedral church of Lichfield, with a taper, and I cannot tell what, in his hand, &c.; and, at Easter, cast him into a close cabin, there to remain, till he heard more of the bishop's pleasure.

A note of Ralph Lurdane, persecutor of George Eagles.

In the history of George Eagles, alias Trudge-over-the-World, mention is made of his apprehension in a corn-field, where, by the benefit of the height of the corn, and breadth of the field, he had escaped, had not one of his persecutors, with more malicious craft, climbed a high tree to view over the place, and so descried him. This persecutor, named Ralph Lurdane, (as we have since learned,) a lewd fellow of life for theft and whoredom, was, within few years after he had apprehended the fore-said George Eagles for gain of money, attached of felony for stealing a horse, condemned, and hanged in the same place and town of Chelmsford, where George Eagles before suffered martyrdom.

A brief note concerning the horrible massacre in France, anno 1572.

Here, before the closing up of this book, in no case would be unremembered the tragical and furious massacre in France, wherein were murdered so many hundreds and thousands of God's good martyrs. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large, in a book by itself, and extant in print already, it shall the less need now to discourse that matter with any new repetition; only a brief touch of summary notes for remembrance may suffice. And first, for brevity's sake to overpass the bloody butchery of the Romish catholics in Orange against the protestants, most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom some being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the streets, some they smothered in their houses with smoke, with sword and weapon sparing none, the carcasses of some they threw to dogs; which was anno 1570, in the reign of Charles the Ninth. Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Rouen, where the protestants being at a sermon without the city-walls, upon the king's edict, the catholics in fury ran upon them coming home, and slew of them above forty at least; many more they wounded. This example at Rouen stirred up the papists in



Dieppe to
practise the
like rage also
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Christians
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ing from the
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whose slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wisely before been provided of weapons for their own defence at need : all which happened about the same year aforesaid, anno 1570. But these with such like I briefly overslip, to enter now into the matter above promised, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and most barbarous massacre wrought in Paris, such as I suppose was never heard of before, in any civil dissension amongst the very heathen. In few words to touch the substance of the matter :

After long troubles in France, the catholic side, foreseeing no good to be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how by crafty means to entrap them, and that by two manner of ways : the one by pretending a power to be sent into the

lower country, whereof the admiral to be the captain ; not that the king so meant indeed, but only to understand thereby what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was by a certain marriage suborned, between the prince of Navarre and the king's sister. To this pretended marriage, it was devised that all the chiefest protestants of France should be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom first they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince that should marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to obtain her consent thereunto. She, being then at Rochelle, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, consented at length to come, and was received at Paris ; where she, after much ado, at length being won to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, shortly upon the same fell sick, and within five days departed, not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign of poison could there be found, save only that a certain apothecary made his brag, that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odours and smells by him confected.

After this, notwithstanding, the marriage still going forward, the admiral, the prince of Navarre, Condé, with divers other chief states of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris; where with great solemnity they were received, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of August, anno 1572. Which marriage being celebrate and solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon upon a high stage set up of purpose without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Condé came down, waiting for the king's sister being then at mass. This done, they resorted all together to the bishop's palace to dinner. At evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, being the twenty-second of August, the admiral, coming from the council-table, by the way, was struck with a pistolet, charged with three pellets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the vidame gave him counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watchword at the commandment of the prince; upon which watchword given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, first beginning with the admiral himself, who, being wounded with many sore wounds, was cast out of the window into the street, where, his head being first struck off, and embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope, the savage people raging against him, cut off his arms and privy members. And so, drawing him three days through the streets of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the city, and there hanged him up by his heels, to the greater show and scorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all other of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew or could find within the city gates enclosed. This bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbered to be slain, as the story writeth, above ten thousand men, women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown in the river: so that not only the river was all stained therewith, but also whole streams, in certain places of the city, did run with gore blood of the slain bodies. So great was the outrage of that heathenish persecution, that not only the protestants, but also certain, whom they thought indifferent papists, they put to the sword

instead of protestants. In the number of them that were slain of the more learned sort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapusius, with others.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen: in which cities it is almost incredible, nor scarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was showed, what numbers of good men were destroyed; insomuch that within the space of one month thirty thousand, at least, of religious protestants are numbered to be slain, as is credibly reported and storied in the commentaries of them which testify purposely of the matter.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the pope first heard of this bloody stir, he, with his cardinals made such joy at Rome, with their procession, with their gunshot, and singing of *Te Deum*, that in honour of that festival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope with great indulgence, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what spirit and charity these catholics are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France, no less rejoicing there was upon the twenty-eighth day of the said month, the king commanding public processions through the whole city to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and singing; where the king himself, with the queen his mother, and his whole court resorting together to the church, gave thanks and laud to God, for that so worthy a victory achieved upon St. Bartholomew's day against the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in all the realm for ever.

And in very deed, to man's thinking it might appear no less after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their religion, returned to the pope, divers fled out of the realm, such as would not turn, keeping themselves secret, durst not be known nor seen, so that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel should ever have any more place in France. But such is the admirable working of the Lord, where man's help and hope most fail, there he most showeth his strength and helpeth, as here is to be seen and noted. For whereas the little small remnant of the gospel side, being now brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already against conscience, yielding to time, yet the Lord of his goodness so wrought, that many were stayed and re-

claimed again through the occasion, first, of them in Rochelle; who, hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and slaughter at Toulouse, most constantly, with valiant hearts, (the Lord so working,) thought to stand to their defence against the king's power; by whose example certain other cities, hearing thereof, took no little courage to do the like: as namely Montalban, the city called Nismes, Sancerre in Occitania, Millaud, Mirebeau, Foix, with other towns and cities more: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices not to be trusted of the merciless papists, intending nothing but blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochelle, the king hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to Captain Strozzi and Guardes to see to Rochelle. After this he sendeth a nobleman, one Biron, requiring of the Rochelle men to receive him for their governor under the king. Of this great consultation being had, at length the Rochelle men began to condescend upon certain conditions; which being not easily granted unto, and especially they hearing, in the mean time, what was done to other of their fellows, which had submitted themselves, thought it so better to stand to the defence of their lives and consciences, and to adventure the worst. Whereupon began great siege and battery to be laid against Rochelle both by land and sea, which was anno 1572, about the fourth day of December.

It would require another volume to describe all things, during the time of this siege, that passed on either side, between the king's part, and the town of Rochelle. Briefly to run over some parts of the matter: In the beginning of the next year following, which was in 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king to all and sundry nobles and peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in most forcible wise to the assaulting of Rochelle. Whereupon a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was there assembled, amongst whom, was also the prince of Anjou, the king's brother, (who there not long after was proclaimed king of Poland,) accompanied with his other brother the duke of Alençon, Navarre, Condé, and other a great number of states besides. Thus, the whole power of France being gathered against one poor town, had not the mighty hand of the Lord stood on their side, it had been impossible for them to escape.

During the time of this siege, which lasted about seven months, what skirmishes and conflicts were on both sides, it would require a long tractation.

To make short, seven principal assaults were given to the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make: in all which assaults ever the pope's catholic side had the worst. Concerning the first assault thus I find written, that within the space of twenty-six days were charged against the walls and houses of Rochelle, to the number of thirty thousand shot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adversary to invade the city: but such was the courage of them within, (not men only, but also of women, matrons, and maidens, with spits, fire, and such other weapon as came to hand,) that the adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their soldiers: only of the townsmen were slain and wounded to the number of sixty persons. Likewise in the second assault two thousand great field-pieces were laid against the town; whereupon the adversary attempted the next day to invade the town, but through the industry of the soldiers and citizens, and also of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly away faster than they came. No better success had all the assaults that followed: whereby consider, gentle reader, with thyself, in what great distress these good men were, not of Rochelle only, but of other cities also, during these seven months above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord Almighty sustained them: concerning whose wondrous operation for his servants in these hard distresses, three memorable things I find in history to be noted.

The one concerning the siege of Sancerre; which city being terribly battered and razed with gunshot of great cannons and field-pieces (having at one siege no less than three thousand bullets and gunstones flying upon them, wherewith the crests of their helmets were pierced, their sleeves, their hose, their hats pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their walls shaken, their houses rent down); yet not one person slain or wounded with all this, save only at the first a certain maiden, with the blast of the shot flying by her, was struck down, and died.

The second thing to be noted is this, that in the same city of Sancerre, during all the time of the siege, which lasted seven months and a half, for all the ordnance and battering-pieces discharged against them, which are numbered to six thousand, not so much as twenty-five persons, in all, were slain!

The third example, no less memorable, was at Rochelle: whereas the poorer sort began to lack corn and victual, there was sent to them every day in the river (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fish, called *surdones*, which the

poorer people did use instead of bread; which fish, the same day as the siege brake up, departed and came no more.—Testified by them which were present there in Rochelle all the time.

What number was lost on both sides during all this seven months' war, it is not certainly known. Of the king's camp what number was slain, by this it may be conjectured, that one hundred and thirty-two of their captains were killed and slain, of whom the chieftest was duke D'Aumale.

To close up this tragical story, concerning the breaking up of this seven months' siege, thus it fell out: that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochelle, which was anno 1573, about the month of June, word came to the camp, that the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland: whereat great joy was in the camp. By occasion whereof the new king, more willing to have peace, entered talk with them of Rochelle; who, as he showed himself to them not ungentle, so found he them again to him not unconformable. Whereupon a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them upon conditions: which agreement the new Polish king eftsoons preferred to the French king his brother, not without some suit and intercession to have it ratified. The king also himself, partly being weary of these chargeable wars, was the more willing to assent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lord's great work, the king's royal consent under form of an edict was set down in writing, and confirmed by the king, containing twenty-five articles: in which also were included certain other cities of the protestants, granting to them benefit of peace and liberty of religion. This edict or mandate, sent down from the king by his herald-at-arms, Biron, in the king's name, caused to be solemnly proclaimed at Rochelle, in the year 1573, the tenth day of June.

The next year following, 1574, for two things seemeth fatal and famous; for the death first of Charles the Ninth, the French king, also most of all for the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to Guise. Of the manner of the cardinal's death, I find little mention in stories. Touching the king's death, although Richard Dinothus saith nothing, for fear belike, because he being a Frenchman, his name is expressed and known: but another story, (whom the said Dinothus doth follow,) bearing no name, saith thus: that he died the twenty-fifth day of May, upon Whitsun-even, being of the age of twenty-five years; and addeth more: "Certain it is, that his sickness came of bleeding." And saith further: "The constant report so goeth, that his blood gushing out by divers parts of his body,

he, tossing in his bed, and casting out many horrible blasphemies, laid upon pillows with his heels upward and head downward, voided so much blood at his mouth, that in few hours he died:" which story, if it be true, as is recorded and testified, may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kings and princes polluted with the blood of Christian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible persecution in France.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORK.

And thus to conclude, good Christian reader, this present tractation, not for lack of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for largeness of the volume, I here stay for this present time, without further addition of more discourse, either to overweary thee with longer tediousness, or overcharge the book with longer prolixity; having hitherto set forth the acts and proceedings of the whole church of Christ, namely, of the church of England, although not in such particular perfection, that nothing hath overpassed us; yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much hath escaped us, necessary to be known, touching the principal affairs, doings, and proceedings of the church and churchmen. Wherein may be seen the whole state, order, descent, course, and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining his truth, the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of the enemies, the alteration of times, the travails and troubles of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gospel, to the end of Queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious Queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the space now of twenty-four years, as my wish is, so I would be glad the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable stories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But so it is, I cannot tell how, the elder the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it hasteneth to its end, the more Satan rageth; giving still new matter of writing books and volumes: insomuch that if all were recorded and committed to history, that within the said compass of this queen's reign hitherto hath happened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, Germany, besides this our own country of England and Ireland, with other countries more, I verily suppose one Eusebius, or Polyhistor, which Pliny writeth of, would not suffice thereunto.

But of these incidents and occurrents hereafter more, as it shall please the Lord to give grace and space. In the mean time, the grace of the Lord Jesus work with thee, gentle reader, in all thy studious readings. And while thou hast space, so employ thyself to read, that by reading thou mayest learn daily to know that which may profit thy soul, may teach thee experience, may arm thee with patience, and instruct thee in all spiritual knowledge more and more to thy perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be glory *in secula seculorum*, Amen.



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